2012.1

THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

From the Earlieſt Accounts till the

Diviſion of the Macedonian Empire in the Eaſt.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

Εκ μεν τοιγε της ἁπαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε ὁμοιοτητος και διαφορας, μονως αν τις εφικοιτο και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, ἁμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ἱσοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

LONDON:

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MDCCLXXXVI.

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THE History of Greece exposes the dangerous turbulence of Democracy, and arraigns the despotism of Tyrants. By describing the incurable evils inherent in every form of Republican policy, it evinces the inestimable benefits, resulting to Liberty itself, from the lawful dominion of hereditary Kings, and the steady operation of well-regulated

Monarchy. With ſingular propriety, therefore, the preſent Work may be reſpectfully offered to Your MAJESTY, as Sovereign of the freeſt nation upon earth; and *that* Sovereign, through whoſe diſcerning munificence, the intereſt of thoſe liberal arts, which diſtinguiſhed and ennobled Greece beyond all other countries of antiquity, has been more ſucceſſfully promoted in Your MAJESTY's dominions, than during any former period in the Britiſh annals. That Your MAJESTY may long reign the illuſtrious Guardian of public freedom, and the unrivalled Patron of uſeful learning, is the fervent prayer of

YOUR MAJESTY's

Moſt dutiful Subject and Servant,

LONDON,
Feb. 10, 1786.

JOHN GILLIES.

PREFACE.

THE following Hiſtory commences with the infancy of Greece, and deſcribes its gradual advancement towards civilization and power. But the main deſign of my Work is confined to the ſpace of ſeven centuries, which elapſed from the ſettlement of the Ionians in Aſia Minor till the eſtabliſhment of the Macedonian empire in the Eaſt; during which memorable period, the arts and arms of the Greeks, conſpiring to excite the admiration and terror of the ancient world, juſtly merit the attentive ſtudy of the preſent age, and poſterity. In the general revolutions of their national confederacy, which, though always looſe and imperfect, was never altogether diſſolved, I have interwoven the deſcription and principal tranſactions of each independent republic, however ſmall or inconſiderable; and, by comparing authors ſeldom read, and not frequently conſulted for hiſtorical materials, have endeavoured to trace the intricate ſeries, and to explain the ſecret connection, of ſeemingly detached events, in order

to

to reduce the ſcattered members of Grecian ſtory into one perpetual unbroken narrative; a deſign, difficult indeed, and new, yet evidently well calculated to promote the great purpoſes of pleaſure and utility.

In the view which I have taken of my ſubject, the fluctuation of public affairs, and the viciſſitudes of war and fortune, appear ſcarcely the moſt ſplendid, and ſurely not the moſt intereſting, portion of Grecian hiſtory. By genius and fancy, not leſs than by patriotiſm and proweſs, the Greeks are honourably diſtinguiſhed among the nations of the earth. By the Greeks, and by them alone, Literature, Philoſophy, and the Fine Arts, were treated as important concerns of ſtate, and employed as powerful engines of policy. From their literary glory, not only their civil, but even their military tranſactions, derive their chief importance and dignity. To complete, therefore, my preſent undertaking, it ſeemed neceſſary to unite the hiſtory of arts with that of empire, and to combine with the external revolutions of war and government, the intellectual improvements of men, and the ever-varying picture of human opinions and manners.

In the execution of this extenſive plan, might I aſſume any merit to myſelf, it would be that of having diligently ſtudied the Greek writers, without adopting their prejudices, or copying their narratives with ſervility.

Many events, highly intereſting to the citizens of Athens or of Sparta, now intereſt no more; concerning many important tranſactions, anciently too familiar to be explained, the Modern Reader will reaſonably expect information. On ſome occaſions, therefore, I found it neceſſary to concentrate and abridge; on others, to dilate and expatiate; but have never ſacrificed that due relation of parts to the whole, and to each other, or violated that unity of deſign which I was ambitious to attain in the preſent Hiſtory, by condeſcending to copy or tranſlate. In the Work throughout, I have ventured to think for myſelf; and my opinions, whether well or ill founded, are, at leaſt, my own.

The preſent Hiſtory was undertaken, and a conſiderable part of it written, many years ago; by the advice of ſome perſons of taſte and learning, who, having read my hiſtorical Introduction to the Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, wiſhed to ſee the whole ſeries of Grecian ſtory treated on the ſame plan. My ſituation, and my leiſure, enabled me to meet their wiſh; but before my manuſcript was prepared for the Preſs, my ſtudies were interrupted by the only employment, not enjoined by ſome poſitive duty, which I ſhould have *allowed* (ſuch are the ſanguine hopes of authors!) to ſuſpend my literary labours. During that long interval, different portions of Grecian hiſtory have been ably treated in Engliſh,

liſh, as well as in foreign* languages. Yet, as moſt of thoſe works ſtill remain incomplete, and as none of them embrace the whole extent of my ſubject, or at all pre-occupy my plan, I venture to offer the preſent Hiſtory, deeply ſenſible as I am of its imperfections, to the indulgence of the Public.

* Among the foreign works, I diſtinguiſh with pleaſure thoſe of Mr. Meiners of Gottingen. To the author of this Hiſtory it would be very flattering to find the opinions which he hazarded in his introduction to Lyſias, confirmed in a ſubſequent work of ſuch an admired ſcholar as Mr. Meiners (ſee his Geſchichte des Luxus der Athenienſer, Lemgo 1782), were it not extremely natural that writers, who draw from the ſame ſources, ſhould advance the ſame facts, and deduce ſimilar concluſions. In the following Hiſtory, my views of the *Pythagorean band*, and of the *Platonic philoſophy*, though ſufficiently remote from vulgar opinion, nearly coincide with thoſe of Mr. Meiners in his Geſchichte des Urſprungs, Fortgangs and Verfalls der Wiſſenchafften in Griechenland; that is, " the Hiſtory of the Origin, Progreſs, and Decay of Philoſophy in Greece:" a work not yet completed, but which, as far as it extends, I will venture to recommend as one of the moſt valuable and accurate treaſuries of Greek learning contained in any modern tongue.

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THE

MAP I

Containing the

WESTERN DIVISION

of the

GRECIAN COLONIES,

& CONQUESTS.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

CHAP. I.

View of the Progreſs of Civilization and Power in Greece, preceding the Trojan War.—Hiſtory of that War.—Its Conſequences.

CHAP. I. Introduction.

IN the infancy of ſociety, men are occupied with the buſineſs of the preſent hour, forgetful of the paſt, and careleſs of the future. They poſſeſs neither ability nor inclination to contemplate their public tranſactions in the impartial light of hiſtory, far leſs to treaſure, and to record them. Their recent victories over hoſtile tribes are celebrated in the artleſs ſong[a], or commemorated by the rude monument; but to preſerve any regular ſeries of connected events, is a deſign, which they enjoy not the means to execute, ſcarcely the capacity to comprehend.

Their ſimple and obſcure adventures, which thus paſs unremembered by themſelves, rarely excite the inquiſitive curioſity of their more cultivated neighbours. In remote ages of the world, one

[a] Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 43.

CHAP. I.

people became an object of attention to another, only as they became conſiderable; nor before the full maturity of Grecian refinement, did the moſt poliſhed nations of antiquity think of inveſtigating the nature and powers of man in the untutored efforts of ſavage life. The daring ſpirit, and fierce incurſions, of the Barbarians in the eaſt of Europe, excited terror and conſternation among the more civilized and more effeminate inhabitants of Leſſer Aſia[a]; but the luxurious pride of the latter never condeſcended to examine the origin and hiſtory of the people who were occaſionally the object of their fears. The only circumſtantial information concerning both the Aſiatics and the Europeans, muſt be derived from the early hiſtorians of Greece; and when we reflect on the innumerable cauſes which conſpire to bury in oblivion the exploits of riſing communities, there is reaſon to wonder that we ſhould know ſo much concerning the ancient ſtate of that country, rather than to regret that our knowledge is imperfect.

It muſt be allowed, however, that our materials for the firſt portion of Grecian hiſtory, are more copious than conſiſtent[b]. The ſubject,

[a] The Lydians, Phrygians, &c. Hiſtory and Fable atteſt the early civilization, the wealth, and wickedneſs, of thoſe nations. See particularly Herodotus, l. i. c. 93 & ſeq. and Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. & ſeq. and l. xii. & xiii. p. 572.

[b] It is ſufficient to read Thucydides's introduction to his admired hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, to perceive how little correct information could be obtained by that diligent inquirer into the antiquities of his country. If we admit the common chronology, there is reaſon to believe that the ſcattered fragments of Grecian hiſtory were preſerved during thirteen centuries by oral tradition. The tales or rhapſodies of the ἀοιδοὶ, or bards, were ſucceeded by thoſe of the Cyclic poets, of whom an account is given in Caſaubon ad Athenæum, l. vii. c. 4. Salmaſ. in Solin. & Schwarzius Altdorf in diſſ. de poetis Cyclicis. Compoſition in proſe began with the uſe of alphabetic writing about ſix centuries before Chriſt. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. v. c. 29. The firſt proſe writers, or more properly the firſt *writers*, were, Pherecydes of Syros; Acuſilaus of Argos; Hellanicus of Leſbos; Hecatæus and Dionyſius, both of Miletus; the laſt of whom flouriſhed in the 65th Olymp. 520 B. C. and immediately preceded Herodotus. From the work of Herodotus, which forms, as it were, the ſhade between Epic Poetry and Hiſtory, we may judge of the writings of his predeceſſors; from whom, together with the Cyclic poets, Anaximenes of Lampſacus, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the time of Julius Cæſar, compiled the firſt books of their very extenſive but inaccurate collections. Apollodorus, Hyginus (and many others, whoſe works are now loſt) combined the more

CHAP. I.

ſubject, indeed, is ſuch, as a very cautious writer would chooſe entirely to avoid, ſince, whatever authorities he follows, his narrative muſt, in ſome parts, be liable to objection*. Yet it ſeems eſſential to the integrity of the preſent work, to explain from what aſſemblage of nations the Greeks were formed, and by what fortunate ſteps they arrived, from feeble beginnings, to that condition of manners and ſociety in which they are deſcribed by Homer; whoſe immortal poems, like a meteor in the gloom of night, brighten the obſcure antiquities of his country.

First inhabitants of Greece.

The traditions of the Greeks agree with the authentic records of ſacred hiſtory, in repreſenting the countries afterwards known by the names of Thrace, Macedon, and Greece, as peopled at an earlier period than any other portion of the weſtern world. The ſouthern corner of Europe, comprehended between the thirty-ſixth and forty-firſt degrees of latitude, bordering on Epirus and Macedonia towards the north, and on other ſides ſurrounded by the ſea, was inhabited,

more ancient records, whether in proſe or verſe, with the additions and embelliſhments of the lyric and tragic poets. When the Greek learning became known to the Romans, this compound of hiſtory and fable furniſhed the ſubject and the incidents of innumerable tragedies to Ennius, Accius, Livius Andronicus, &c. After the downfal of Rome, learning took refuge in the eaſtern world. The antiquities and early hiſtory of Greece again became objects of ſtudy among the natives of that country; but the heterogeneous maſs of truth and fiction was rather amalgamated, than purified, by Malala, Cedrenus, Tzetza, Conſtantinus Manaſſes, and other Greeks of the middle ages. See Heine, Not. ad Æneid. II. and Voſſius de Hiſtoric. Græcis. With few exceptions, the Greek writers may be pronounced extremely careleſs in matters of chronology. Herodotus, who has been emphatically ſtyled the father of profane hiſtory, commonly reckons by the ages of men. The accurate hiſtories of Thucydides and Xenophon, where the time of each event is preciſely aſcertained, comprehend no more than a period of ſeventy years. Even in their time, chronology ſeems not to have been cultivated as a ſcience, ſince the firſt ſpecimen of that kind is ſaid to have been given by Demetrius Phalerius, in his αρχοντων αναγραφη, about the middle of the fourth century before Chriſt. The labours of Demetrius were corrected and extended by Philochorus in his Αθις. The hiſtorian Timæus, who flouriſhed in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, firſt arranged his narrative in the order of Olympiads, which began 776 B. C. His contemporary Soſibius gave a work, intitled χρονων αναγραφη; Apollodorus wrote the συνταξις χρονων; and on ſuch Chronologers reſts the credit of all later compilers, as well as of the Arundelian marbles, which were compoſed only 264 years before Chriſt.

* What Strabo (l. ix.) ſays of the firſt hiſtorians of Attica, "that they differed "widely from each other (πολλα διαφωνουσι)," may be applied to all profane hiſtories of thoſe early times.

CHAP. I.

The Pelaſgi and Hellenes.

above eighteen centuries before the Chriſtian æra, by many ſmall tribes of hunters and ſhepherds, among whom the Pelaſgi and Hellenes were the moſt numerous and powerful[5]. The barbarous Pelaſgi venerated Inachus, as their founder; and for a ſimilar reaſon, the more humane Hellenes reſpected Deucalion. From his ſon Hellen, they derived their general appellation, which originally denoted a ſmall tribe in Theſſaly[6]; and from Dorus, Eolus, and Ion[7], his more remote deſcendants, they were diſcriminated by the names of Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians[8]. The Dorians took poſſeſſion of that mountainous diſtrict of Greece, afterwards called Doris; the Ionians, whoſe name was in ſome meaſure loſt in the illuſtrious appellation of Athenians, ſettled in the leſs barren parts of Attica; and the Eolians peopled Elis and Arcadia, the weſtern and inland regions of the Peloponneſus[9]. Notwithſtanding many partial migrations, theſe three original[10] diviſions of the Hellenes generally entertained an affection for the eſtabliſhments which had been preferred by the wiſdom or caprice of their reſpective anceſtors; a circumſtance which remarkably diſtinguiſhed the *Hellenic*, from the *Pelaſgic* race. While the former diſcovered a degree of attachment to their native land, ſeldom found in barbarians, who live by hunting or paſturage, the latter, diſdaining fixed habitations, wandered in large bodies over Greece, or tranſported themſelves into the neighbouring iſlands; and the moſt conſiderable portion of them gradually removing to the coaſts of Italy and Thrace, the remainder melted away into the Doric and Ionic tribes. At the diſtance of twelve centuries, obſcure traces of the Pelaſgi occurred in ſeveral Grecian cities; a diſtrict of Theſſaly always retained their name; their colonies continued, in the fifth century before Chriſt, to inhabit the ſouthern coaſt of Italy, and the ſhores of the Helleſpont: And in

The latter divided into Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians.

[5] Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 6. Apollodor. Biblioth. l. ii.
[6] Thucydid. l. i. c. 28.
[7] Strabo, l. viii. p. 383.
[8] Herodot. l. i. c. 56. and l. vii. c. 94.
[9] Diodor Siculus, l. v.
[10] Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

thoſe

thoſe widely ſeparated countries, their ancient affinity was recogniſed in the uniformity of their rude dialect and barbarous manners, extremely diſſimilar to the cuſtoms and language of their Grecian neighbours [11].

Colonies from Egypt and the Eaſt.

Greece, when delivered from the turbulence of a rugged race of men, who never attained much conſideration, either in the territories where they originally dwelt, or in thoſe to which they afterwards removed, was not left to be ſlowly civilized by the progreſſive ingenuity of the Hellenic tribes. The happy poſition of a country, which, forming as it were the frontier of Europe with Aſia, is divided only by a narrow extent of ſea from Egypt and Syria, and ſituate within reach of thoſe parts of the Eaſt which were anciently moſt flouriſhing and populous, naturally invited the viſits of travellers, and attracted the eſtabliſhment of colonies. Theſe tranſient viſits, or temporary ſettlements, were marked by many ſignal benefits, the memory of which was long preſerved by the gratitude of Greece, and the merit probably exaggerated by her fondneſs for panegyric. Even thoſe Grecian communities, which juſtly claimed the honour of ſuperior antiquity, acknowledged themſelves indebted to ſtrangers for the moſt important diſcoveries, not only in religion, but in agriculture and the arts; and contented themſelves with the glory of having diffuſed a borrowed light over the melancholy gloom of ignorance which overſpread their neighbours [12]. But national vanity at length produced a material change in the tradition. When the refined deſcendants of the rude Greeks viewed with complacence their own ſuperiority in arts and arms to all the nations around them, they began to ſuſpect that the Gods alone were worthy to have reared the infancy of a people, who eminently excelled the reſt of mankind. To the Gods, they tranſ-

[11] Herodot. l. i. Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. i. Pauſan. l. viii.

[12] Iſocrat. Panegyr. paſſim.

ferred

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ferred the merit of the many uſeful inventions communicated by the generous humanity of their ancient viſitants; an oſtentatious fiction coloured by a faint ſemblance of truth, ſince the worſhip of ſeveral divinities was introduced at the ſame time, and by the ſame perſons[11], who made known the arts moſt ſubſervient to the purpoſes of human life[14].

New colonies from the ſame countries.

While fable thus diſguiſed the benefits conferred by the firſt tranſitory voyages into Greece, hiſtory preſerved the memory of four ſucceſſive eſtabliſhments erected there by foreigners. From the middle of the ſixteenth, to the middle of the fourteenth century before Chriſt, an inundation of Egyptians, Phenicians, and Phrygians overflowed the Hellenic coaſts. The cauſes aſſigned for theſe emigrations are extremely conſonant to the manners of remote antiquity, as deſcribed by ſacred and profane authors: Hatred of a rival, impatience of a ſuperior, in one inſtance the perſecution of a brother and an enemy, and, in general, that uneaſy reſtleſſneſs of diſpoſition, which univerſally prevails among men, who have become ſenſible of their own powers, without having ſufficiently learned to direct them to the happy purſuits of arts and induſtry[15]. The
A. C. 1556. principal colonies were conducted by Cecrops[16], and Danaus, Egyp-
1485. tians, who reſpectively ſettled in Athens and Argos; Cadmus[17], a
1493. Phenician, who founded Thebes in Bœotia, and Pelops, a Phry-
1350. gian[18], whoſe deſcendants, intermarrying with thoſe of Danaus, king of Argos, and Tyndareus, king of Lacedæmon or Sparta, acquired, in the perſon of Agamemnon, ſo powerful an aſcendant in the Peloponneſus[19]. The family of Deucalion ſtill reigned in Theſſaly; but Thebes, Athens, Argos, and Sparta, which in all ages

[11] The Tytans, Idæi Dactyli, Triptolemus, &c. Compare Diodor. Sicul. l. v. and Iſocrat. Panegyr.

[14] Idem, ibid.

[15] Iſocrat. Hellen. ſub initio. Pind. Olymp. 1.

[16] Strabo, l. ix. and Plut. in Theſeo.

[17] Strabo, ibid. and Iſocrat. Hellen.

[18] Iſocrat. Panathen. Thucydid. l. i. Diodor. l. iv.

[19] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. l. iv. Iſocrat. Panathen.

were

were regarded as the principal cities of Greece, thus fell under the dominion of four foreign lines of princes, whoſe exploits, and glory, and misfortunes, are immortalized by the firſt and nobleſt productions of Grecian genius[20].

Improvements introduced by theſe colonies into Greece.

The countries, which theſe adventurers abandoned, had not, according to modern ideas, attained a very high degree of maturity in laws and government. Yet it cannot be doubted, that the natives of Egypt and the Eaſt, were acquainted with many improvements unknown to the Hellenic tribes. Conjectures are not to be placed in the rank of facts; yet, in matters ſo ancient and obſcure, we may be allowed to conjecture from the only facts on record, that the invaders of Greece introduced into that country the knowledge of the Phenician alphabet; improved the practice of agriculture; multiplied the rites of religion; diſcovered to the Greeks ſeveral uſes of the metals; but, on the other hand, gradually adopted, in their turn, the Grecian language, and generally conformed to the Grecian cuſtoms and inſtitutions[21].

The Phenician alphabet.

The introduction of the Phenician alphabet was an improvement too delicate and refined to be immediately attended with any important conſequences. The groſs underſtandings of the Hellenes could not eaſily comprehend the utility of ſuch an ingenious invention. The knowledge of it was acquired and preſerved by a few individuals[22] of more enlightened minds: but the far greater

[20] The works of Homer and Pindar, and the writings of the Greek Tragedians. In theſe, and ſcarcely any where elſe, the ſtories of Cadmus, Semele, Bacchus, Amphitryon, Hercules, Œdipus, &c. may be read with pleaſure and advantage; for as Strabo, l. ix. ſays, "All there is monſtrous and tragic land."

[21] Compare Herodotus, l. v. c. 59. l. vii. paſſim. Montfaucon, Palæograph. Græc. l. ii. Plin. l. v. c. 56 & 57. Hyginus, Fab. 274. and Ephorus apud Diodor. l. v.

[22] Herodotus mentions three inſcriptions on three tripods, conſecrated in the temple of Ismenian Apollo. The firſt, of Amphitryon; the ſecond, of the ſon of Hippocoon; the third, of Laodamus the ſon of Eteocles. The inſcriptions on the ſhields of the heroes who beſieged the capital of Eteocles, are noticed by Æſchylus, in his tragedy intitled, "The "Seven againſt Thebes." Yet we know from Homer, Iliad vi. that when Prætus ſent Bellerophon to the king of Lycia, he gave him, not a written letter, but σηματα λυγρα, mournful ſigns. Writing could not be common till many centuries afterwards, ſince the firſt written laws were given in Greece only ſix centuries before Chriſt. Herodot. l. ii. Strabo, l. vi.

part

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part were long contented with the ancient mode of picture writing, which, however limited in its application, ſeemed ſufficient to expreſs the ſimplicity of their rude ideas.

Several uſes of the metals.

The Phenicians were well acquainted with the precious metals as the medium of exchange. But the uniform tranſactions of the Greeks, as yet required not any ſuch nicety of refinement. Even during the Trojan war, cattle, being the commodity of moſt general demand, was univerſally regarded as the moſt convenient meaſure of value[23]. It is not eaſy to determine whether gold or iron be more advantageous to man, the one by exciting his induſtry, the other by ſeconding that induſtry in all the variety of uſeful arts. The diſcovery of iron in Greece afforded the neceſſary implements of agriculture, the gradual extenſion of which alike improved the ſterility of the ſoil, and the rudeneſs of the inhabitants. Before the arrival of Egyptian colonies, the cultivation of the ground might occaſionally employ the divided induſtry of ſcattered families; but this valuable art was not conſidered as an object of general concern. Cecrops firſt engaged the wandering hunters or ſhepherds of Attica to unite in villages of huſbandmen. Corn, wine, and oil, rewarded

Extenſion of agriculture.

[23] In a well-known paſſage, Homer after mentioning other articles, with which the Greeks purchaſed wine, adds, αυτοισι βοισσι, "with oxen themſelves." Some ſcholiaſts and commentators have imagined, that the βους of Homer, was a coin ſtamped with the figure of an ox, ſaid to have been introduced by Theſeus Vid. Plut. in Theſeo. But were it allowed, which is very improbable, that Theſeus had a mint, it would ſtill be improbable that Homer meant ſuch a coin; for in the epiſode of Glaucus and Diomed, he ſays, that the former gave his golden armour, worth an hundred oxen, for the brazen armour of the latter, worth only nine. Now we know from Pollux Onomaſt. l. ix. c. 7. that the coin βους, at whatſoever time it was introduced, continued to be valued at two drachmas. Diomed's arms, therefore, upon the ſuppoſition of the ſcholiaſts, muſt have been worth about nine ſhillings; and Glaucus's, which were of maſſy gold, worth only nine pounds. Talents of gold are often mentioned by Homer. They were propoſed as prizes to combatants, and offered as dedications in temples, but too valuable to ſerve as current ſpecie. Homer and Herodot. paſſim. νομισμα, money, is derived from νομος, law, becauſe, as Ariſtotle ſays, η φυσει, αλλα νομω, εστι, "the origin of money is not natural, but "conventional and arbitrary." But in Homer's time, the word νομος was uſed in a quite different ſenſe: νομισμα muſt therefore have been derived from it at a later period. Com. Iliad. l. xx. v. 249. and Ariſtot. Ethic Nicom. l. v. c. 5.

their

their uſeful labours[24]; and theſe productions being acquired by common toil, were regarded, with the ground itſelf, as a common property[25].

Religious rites.

The idea of an excluſive and permanent right to all the uſes of a piece of land, whether belonging to communities or to individuals, is one of the moſt important ſteps in the progreſs of ſociety. In Greece, this invaluable right was immediately followed by ſuch inſtitutions as tended to ſecure its enjoyment, and to check the injuſtice of man, who is ſeldom willing to acquire, by ſlow labour, what he can raviſh by ſudden violence. The ſalutary influence of religion was employed on this neceſſary occaſion. We are told by ſeveral writers, that the practice of agriculture, and the rites of religion, were introduced at the ſame time[26]. But the ſame authors inform us, that their pretended founders of religious worſhip aboliſhed the uſe of living ſacrifices[27]; a cuſtom, which evidently ſuppoſes the prior eſtabliſhment of an ancient and more bloody ſuperſtition. Yet in this humane prohibition, we may perhaps diſcern a laudable attempt to correct the barbarity of the Greeks, and to raiſe the new profeſſion of agriculture above the ancient employment of hunting.

The Hellenes diffuſe their colonies and language over Greece;

Before and during the time that the Hellenic tribes received continual acceſſions of population from diſtant countries, they were no leſs diligent in ſending forth their own colonies. As they originally ſubſiſted by hunting, fiſhing, and paſturage, a large extent of territory was requiſite to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They were not afflicted by the oppreſſive terrors of deſpotiſm; they were long unacquainted with the gentle, but powerful, operation of regular

[24] Pauſan. l. iii. Æſchyl. Eumen.

[25] The τιμενος, or *cut* of ground ſo often mentioned in Homer, as beſtowed by general conſent on admired kings and chiefs, might have ſuggeſted this obſervation, which ſeems to have eſcaped notice, though attended, as we ſhall find, with very important conſequences.

[26] Diodor. Pauſan. Apollod.

[27] Οιν κατεις γαλλειν, ζωα μη πινειν. Porph. de Abſtinent.

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government; and, without being ſubject to the one or the other, it is ſcarcely poſſible for men to live together in large ſocieties. When any of their communities ſeemed inconveniently numerous, they divided it into ſeveral portions, of which the principal kept poſſeſſion of their original ſeats, while the others occupied and peopled the ſurrounding territories. It was thus that the Eolians diſperſed through many parts of the Peloponneſus; the unfortunate Siſyphus [28], who founded the city of Corinth, being a deſcendant of Eolus, and the anceſtors of the wiſe Neſtor, who reigned in ſandy Pylos, being ſprung from the ſame Eolic race [29]. A conſiderable diviſion of the Ionians ſettled along the ſouthern ſhores of the Corinthian gulph, in the province which, eighty years after the Trojan war, changed the name of Ionia for that of Achaia [30]. The territory beyond the Corinthian iſthmus was parcelled out among innumerable ſubdiviſions of the Hellenic tribes [31]. When the continent of Greece ſeemed ſufficiently populous, the Athenians gave inhabitants to the iſle of Eubæa; and many centuries before the famous eſtabliſhments formed by the Greeks on the coaſts of Aſia Minor, of Italy, and of Thrace, the Dorians had ſent a colony to Crete [32], and the Eolians, under the conduct of Dardanus, had planted the eaſtern banks of the Helleſpont [33]. During the Trojan war, the inhabitants of thoſe various and widely ſeparated countries ſpoke the ſame language that was uſed among the Hellenes, and acknowledged the general influence of the ſame principles and manners. Unleſs it is ſuppoſed, therefore, that not only the Phrygians, but the Phenicians and Egyptians, originally ſpoke the ſame Hellenic tongue, it ſeems reaſonable to conjecture, that the colonies conducted by Cecrops, Cadmus, and

[28] Και σισυφον εισιδον κρατερα αλγια εχοντα. Homer Odyſſ.

[29] Pauſan. in Corinth. & Meſſen.

[30] Strabo, l. vii.

[31] Strabo, l. vii. Pauſan. & Diodor.

[32] Diodor. ibid. Strabo, l. vii. p. 496.

[33] Servius in Æneid. III.

Danaus,

Danaus, gradually adopted the language of the Aborigines of Greece [34].

together with their inſtitutions of government.

A ſingle reflection appears ſufficient to prove, that they likewiſe conformed to the Grecian inſtitutions of government. The inflexible rigour of deſpotiſm, which has in all ages prevailed in [35] Egypt and the Eaſt, was unknown to the conquerors of Troy. Since the abſolute power of kings was not acknowledged during a long period of war and danger, requiring the ſtricteſt military ſubordination; and ſince the Greeks preſerved their freedom, after the increaſing wealth of many centuries had a tendency to prepare them for ſervitude, it cannot reaſonably be imagined, that an Oriental ſyſtem of oppreſſion ſhould have prevailed in the more early ages of poverty and independence [36].

Happy ſituation of Greece for commerce.

The Phenicians being conſidered as the principal navigators and merchants of the ancient world, it is commonly believed that the example of the Phenician colonies firſt taught the Greeks to brave the dangers of the ſea, and to maintain a commercial intercourſe with

[34] Herodotus, l. v. c. 58. ſays, that the colony of Cadmus changed their ſpeech, being ſurrounded by the Ionians, an Hellenic tribe. He ſays further, that together with their language, they changed the power of ſome of their letters. He acknowledges that the Cadmeians, or Phenicians, communicated to the Ionians the uſe of letters; but the Ionians, he ſays, adapted the Phenician alphabet to the ſounds of their own language. The eaſtern tongues are in general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much diſputed whether the ancient Orientals uſed any characters to expreſs them. Their languages, therefore, had an inflexible thickneſs of ſound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumſtance denotes, in the Greeks, organs of perception more acute, elegant, and diſcerning. They felt ſuch faint variations of liquid ſounds, as eſcaped the dulneſs of Aſiatic ears, and invented marks to expreſs them. They diſtinguiſhed, in this manner, not only their articulation, but their quantity, and afterwards their muſical intonation, as ſhall be explained hereafter, in treating of the Grecian muſic and poetry.

[35] The government of the Egyptians as well as of the Aſiatics, is uniformly repreſented in ſcripture as an abſolute monarchy. Herodotus and Diodorus mention ſome laws of the Egyptians, which ſeem to circumſcribe the power of their kings. But theſe laws, if well examined, will confirm the obſervation in the text. They were eſtabliſhed, not in favour of the nation at large, but of the prieſts and ſoldiers. The throne of Egypt was ſupported by the altar, and defended by the ſword; and what deſpotiſm can be upheld but by the ſame means?

[36] See the principles eſtabliſhed by Tacitus de Mor. German.

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each other, as well as with foreign nations. But it is ſufficient to throw a glance on the geography of Greece, to perceive how naturally commerce, without foreign aid, might have ariſen ſpontaneouſly in that highly favoured country. The continent, *itſelf* waſhed on three ſides by the ſea, is ſurrounded by innumerable iſlands, abounding in excellent harbours. The variety of ſoils and productions is greater, perhaps, than in any other part of the world, of an equal extent. All the ſhores of the Mediterranean, comprehending the moſt beautiful, and anciently the moſt flouriſhing part of the earth, are more acceſſible to Greece than to any neighbouring country. Yet it appears from the light of hiſtory, that the Greeks did not early avail themſelves of their fortunate ſituation, or of the ſuppoſed leſſons of their Phenician inſtructors.

Circumſtances which retarded the progreſs of ſociety in Greece.

Face of the country.

Many circumſtances conſpired to prolong the infancy of their nation, and to retard, during ſeveral centuries, their improvement in commerce, as well as in agriculture, and the other uſeful arts. The ſurface of Greece is more indented by creeks and rivers, and more roughened by mountains and promontories, than that of any other part of Europe. Theſe natural diviſions kept the different communities in a ſtate of ſeparation and hoſtility. The ideas of their ancient conſanguinity, and common origin, were weakened or effaced by the recent confluence of foreigners. They could not travel beyond their own narrow diſtricts without being expoſed to the inſults of enemies. Theſe inſults excited reſentment; mutual injuries were offered and retorted; each city was at war with all its neighbours; thus did the *ſmallneſs* of the Grecian States, a circumſtance which, during the happy ages that form the ſubject of the preſent hiſtory, tended to break the force of cuſtom and opinion, and to encourage that noble emulation ſo favourable to the progreſs of virtue and ſcience, produce, in leſs fortunate times, an effect of the moſt oppoſite nature, choke the ſeeds of order, and repreſs the feeble ſhoots of arts and humanity.

Smallneſs of the different ſtates.

The

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The coaſts ravaged by pirates.

The metals, originally deſtined to promote the peaceful labours of man, were converted into powerful inſtruments of deſtruction; and, while the land was ravaged by the ſword, the ſea was covered with pirates. The Phenicians, the Carians, and the inhabitants of the Greek iſlands in general, conſidered navigation, not as the means of uniting nations by mutual intercourſe and commerce, but as a happy expedient for enabling the poor and the brave to plunder the rich territories of their leſs warlike neighbours. The coaſts of Greece, though in early times their bleak forbidding aſpect might have repelled the avarice of freebooters, yet on account of the proximity of their ſituation, and the valuable cargoes of hardy ſlaves in which they abounded, were continually infeſted by naval depredations. The unfortified places near the ſhore ſurrendered without reſiſtance; the fruits of their painful induſtry were plundered or deſtroyed, and the moſt valuable portion of their inhabitants dragged into captivity. The practice of piracy and invaſion was not a temporary reſource of war, prompted by neceſſity, or a juſt revenge; it grew into an ordinary profeſſion, which was ſo far from being deemed diſhonourable, that it conferred much glory and renown on thoſe who exerciſed it with ſkill and bravery[37].

The inland country invaded by ſavages.

During this diſordered ſtate of ſociety, the arts of peace were almoſt entirely neglected, and Greece was ready to be plunged into the groſſeſt barbariſm, by its domeſtic diſſentions. The irruptions of the Thracians, Amazons, and other northern ſavages, threatened to accelerate this melancholy event, and to complete the ruin of the unhappy Hellenes[38]. But it may be obſerved in the affairs of human life, that any extraordinary meaſure of good or evil commonly leads men to dread, or to expect, a ſudden revolution of fortune; a natural ſentiment which, though liable to be abuſed by credulity and ſuper-

[37] Thucydid. l. i. ὡς κοσμος καλως τω το δρᾶν. The explanation in the text ſeems more conſonant to Grecian manners, in thoſe ages, than that of the ſcholiaſt, which is tranſlated by Mr. Rochford, "Chez qui la piraterie étoit exercée avec une certaine probité." M. de l'Acad. v. 39.

[38] Lyſias Orat. Funeb.

ſtition,

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ſtition, is founded on the firm baſis of experience. The rudiments of the moſt uſeful deſigns are ſuggeſted always by neceſſity, often by calamity. The inroads of the wild mountaineers of Thrace, and of other barbarians more remote, whoſe deſtructive cruelty may be underſtood by the unexampled ravages with which even the [39]feebler ſex carried on the ravages of war, occaſioned the firſt inſtitution which reſtored ſome degree of preſent tranquillity to Greece, and laid the foundation of its future grandeur.

Circumſtances which tended to civilize Greece.

The northern diſtricts of Theſſaly being peculiarly expoſed to the dangerous fury of invaders, the petty princes of that province entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence[40]. They aſſembled in ſpring and autumn at Thermopylæ, a place afterwards ſo illuſtrious,

Origin of the Amphictyonic council.

and then governed by *Amphictyon*, a deſcendant of Deucalion, whoſe name is immortalized in the *Amphictyonic* council. The advantages which the confederates derived from this meaſure, were ſoon perceived by their neighbours. The central ſtates gradually acceded to their alliance; and, about the middle of the fourteenth century before Chriſt, Acriſius king of Argos, and other princes of the Peloponneſus, were allowed to ſhare the benefits and ſecurity of this uſeful aſſociation.

The Argonautic expedition, A. C. 1263.

After this event, the Amphictyons appear to have long confined themſelves to the original purpoſe of their inſtitution. The ſtates, whoſe meaſures were directed by this aſſembly, found ſufficient occupation in defending their own territories; and near a century elapſed, before they undertook, by common conſent, any diſtant expedition. But it was not to be expected that their reſtleſs activity could be always exhauſted in defenſive war. The eſtabliſhment of the Amphictyons brought together the chiefs moſt diſtinguiſhed by birth and bravery. Glory and emulation prompted them to arms, and revenge

[39] The Amazons. See Lyſias Orat. Funeb. and Herodotus paſſim. Yet the exiſtence of theſe warlike females was doubted as early as the days of the emperor Hadrian, as we learn from Arrian: but what is ſaid by that judicious and manly hiſtorian, ſeems ſufficient to diſpel the doubt. See Arrian. Expedit. Alexand. l. vii. p. 156.

[40] Marm. Oxon. E. 5.

directed

directed thoſe arms againſt the barbarians. Jaſon, Admetus, and other chieftains of Theſſaly[41], having equipped a ſmall fleet in the neighbouring harbour of Iolcus, and particularly the ſhip Argo, of ſuperior ſize and conſtruction to any before known, were animated with a deſire to viſit foreign lands, to plant colonies in thoſe parts of them that appeared moſt delightful, and to retort on their inhabitants the injuries which Greece had ſuffered from ſtrangers[42]. The princes of the north having proclaimed this ſpirited deſign over the central and ſouthern provinces, the ſtandard of enterprize and glory was ſpeedily ſurrounded by the flower of the Grecian youth[43], who eagerly embraced this honourable opportunity to ſignalize their manly valour. Peleus, Tydeus, Telamon, and, in general, the fathers of thoſe heroic chiefs, who, in the ſucceeding age, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre in the plains of Troy, are numbered among the leaders of the Argonauts. They were accompanied by the choſen warriors, and by the venerable prophets, of their reſpective tribes; by an Eſculapius, the admired father of the healing art, and by the divine Orpheus[44], whoſe ſublime genius was worthy to celebrate the amazing ſeries of their adventures.

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Theſe adventures, however, have been too much adorned by the graces of poetry, to be the proper ſubjects of hiſtorical compoſition. The deſigns of the Argonauts are veiled under the allegorical, or at leaſt doubtful, phraſe, "of carrying off the golden fleece;" which, though eaſily explained, if we admit the report that the inhabitants of the eaſtern banks of the Euxine extended fleeces of wool, in order to collect the golden particles which were carried down by the tor-

[41] Their names are mentioned by Apollodorus, Diod. Siculus, Pindar, Apollonius, &c.

[42] Herodot. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv.

[43] Pindar, Pythic. iv.

[44] The teſtimony of Plato de Repub. l. x. of Iſocrates in Buſirid. ſufficiently atteſt the poetical fame of Orpheus. The Argonautica, and other works aſcribed to him, are collected by Eſchenbachius, and publiſhed at Nuremberg 1702. That theſe, however, are the productions of a much later age, appears from innumerable circumſtances, ſome of which are mentioned by Fabricius, Bib. Græc. vol. i. p. 120.

rents

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rents from Mount Caucaſus[45], is yet deſcribed in ſuch various language by ancient writers, that almoſt every modern who examines the ſubject, thinks himſelf entitled to offer, by way of explanation, ſome new conjecture of his own. But in oppoſition to the moſt approved of theſe conjectures, we may venture to affirm, that the voyage to Colchis was not undertaken with a view to eſtabliſh extenſive plans of commerce[46], or to ſearch for mines of gold, far leſs to learn the imaginary art of converting other ſubſtances into that precious metal[47]; all ſuch motives ſuppoſing a degree of ſpeculation and refinement unknown in that age to the gallant but uninſtructed youth of Theſſaly. The real object of the expedition may be diſcovered by its conſequences. The Argonauts fought, conquered, and plundered[48]; they ſettled a colony on the ſhores of the Euxine[49]; and carried into Greece a daughter of the king of Colchis, the celebrated Medea[50], a princeſs of Egyptian extraction, whoſe crimes and enchantments are condemned to eternal infamy in the immortal lines of Euripides.

Important conſequences of the Argonautic expedition.

Notwithſtanding many romantic fictions that diſfigure the ſtory of the Argonauts, their undertaking appears to have been attended with a conſiderable and a happy effect on the manners and character of the Greeks. From the æra of this celebrated expedition, we may diſcover not only a more daring and more enlarged ſpirit of enterpriſe, but a more deciſive and rapid progreſs towards civilization and humanity. The ſullen and unſociable chiefs, whoſe acquaintance with each other moſt commonly aroſe from acts of mutual hoſtility, hitherto gave full ſcope to the ſanguinary paſſions which characterize barbarians[51]. Strength and courage were almoſt the

[45] Strabo, l. xi. p. 499.

[46] Euſtach. in Homer.

[47] Suidas, Memoires de l'Academ. v. 9. Exped. Argon.

[48] Diodor. ibid.

[49] Xenoph. Anabaſ.

[50] Euripid. Med.

[51] This was the brazen age deſcribed by Heſiod, Oper. & Di. l. i. p. 142—155. and by Plutarch in the life of Theſeus.

only

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only qualities which they admired: they fought and plundered at the head of their reſpective tribes, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtricts were regarded as fit objects only to excite their rage, and gratify their rapacity. But theſe gloomy warriors, having exerted their joint valour in a remote expedition, learned the neceſſity of acquiring more amiable virtues, as well as of adopting more liberal notions of the public intereſt, if they pretended to deſerve the eſteem of their equals. Military courage and addreſs might alone procure them the reſpect of their immediate followers, ſince the ſafety of the little community often depended on the warlike abilities of the chieftain; but when ſeveral tribes had combined in a common enterpriſe, there was leſs dependence on the proweſs of any ſingle leader. Emulation and intereſt naturally rendered all theſe leaders as jealous of each other, as deſirous of the public applauſe; and, in order to acquire this applauſe, it was neceſſary to brighten the luſtre of martial ſpirit by the more valuable [52] virtues of juſtice and humanity.

Change of manners.

When this glorious field firſt opened to the ambition of the Greeks, they cultivated it with a degree of induſtry equally ardent and ſucceſsful. Innumerable were the exploits of Hercules, of Theſeus, and of the divine ſons of Leda [53], and undertaken with infinite toil and dan-

The heroic age.

[52] Heſiod marks this change of manners. It happened between the expedition of the Argonauts and the ſiege of Thebes, ſince the latter was the firſt exploit in which his new race of men, γενος δικαιοτερον και αριστον, were engaged. See Heſiod. Oper. & Di. l. i. v. 155—165.

[53] "In order to obtain the immortal fruits of merit," ſays Ariſtotle, in his beautiful Ode to Virtue,

ὁ διος Ἡρακλης,
Λιπδας τε κυρσοι, πολλα ανιτλασαι,
Εργοις σαι αγριωντες δυναμιν·
Σοις δε πυθοις Αχιλλευς,
Αιας τ' Αιδαο δομον ηλθον.

This ode, which is preſerved in Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtot. and in Athenæus, l. xv. c. 16. proves the mind of the Stagyrite to have been as lofty as capacious; and, while it comprehended the whole circle of ſcience, capable of reaching, in Lyric poetry, the higheſt flights of Pindar and Horace. The latter, probably, had Ariſtotle in view, in ode 3. b. 3.

Hac arte Pollux, & vagus Hercules
Innixus, arces attigit igneas.

But in the order of his names, he is not ſo faithful to chronology.

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ger, to promote the intereſt and ſafety, not of their particular tribes, but of the general confederacy. The Grecian woods and mountains abounded in lions, boars, and other fierce animals [54], that often roamed from their haunts, and ſpread terror and deſolation through the adjoining vallies. The vallies themſelves teemed with men of brutal ſtrength and courage, who availed themſelves of the weakneſs of government to perpetrate horrid deeds of violence and cruelty. The firſt worthies of Greece, animated rather with the daring and uſeful, than with the romantic ſpirit of chivalry, ſet themſelves with one accord to remedy evils which threatened the exiſtence of ſociety. Their adventures have, doubtleſs, been embelliſhed by the elegant fancy of poets and orators; but they will remain eternal monuments of generous magnanimity, which ſacrifices the inſtinctive love of eaſe and pleaſure to the acquired taſte for glory and renown [55].

The war of Thebes. A. C. 1225.

The laws of war and peace gradually improved with the progreſs of humanity; and the firſt general enterpriſe, which ſucceeded the expedition of the Argonauts, proves that whole communities, as well as individuals, had begun to reſpect the virtues moſt eſſential to public happineſs. The war of Thebes has deſerved, therefore, to be recorded; while the more ancient hoſtilities between the Hellenic tribes, of which juſtice was not even the pretence, but luſt or avarice the only cauſe, and wealth or beauty the only prize, are univerſally condemned to oblivion. Contempt of an ancient oracle, the involuntary crimes of Oedipus, and the unnatural cruelty of his ſons, involved the royal family of Thebes in that maze of calami-

[54] In the ſhield of Hercules, Heſiod deſcribes a boar fighting with a lion, and almoſt prevailing in the combat. That animal was no leſs terrible on the oppoſite coaſt of Aſia than in Greece, as we learn from Herodotus, l. i. c. 34, & ſeq.

[55] Pauſan. l. i. Iſocrat. Hellen. Encom. & Panegyr. Lyſias & Demoſthen. Orat. Funebr.

ties,

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ties, appropriated, in all ages, from Sophocles[56] to Voltaire, as favourite ſubjects of the Tragic Muſe. Eteocles and Polynices (theſe were the miſerable ſons of Oedipus) having haſtened the death, and drawn down the maledictions, of their unhappy father, agreed to ſway, by turns, the Theban ſceptre. Eteocles, the elder brother, reigned during the firſt year; but his ambitious temper, corrupted by the honours of royalty, refuſed to reſign the throne at the appointed term of his command. His rival, Polynices, married the daughter of Adraſtus, king of Argos, who enabled his ſon-in-law to aſſert, by force of arms, his juſt pretenſions to the alternate inheritance. The allied princes, reinforced by Tydeus, Capaneus, and three other chiefs, marched to Thebes at the head of ſeven bands of armed followers, who inveſted the ſeven gates of the city. The Thebans, impatient of confinement within the walls of a place ill provided in ſupplies, yielded to the martial ardour of Eteocles, and repelled the aſſailants by a vigorous ſally, in which the moſt illuſtrious combatants fell on both ſides, and the wretched brothers periſhed by mutual wounds. The cauſe of the war being removed by this horrid cataſtrophe, the Argives craved leave to bury their dead; but the Thebans, exaſperated againſt the daring invaders of their country, returned them an anſwer, which, according to the principles of that age, bid defiance to the dictates of nature, and the precepts of religion. In this extremity, Adraſtus, the only chief who ſurvived the battle, had recourſe to the humane piety of the Athenians, who, uninfluenced by motives of ambition or intereſt, took arms in defence of public juſtice, and compelled the cruel obſtinacy of the Thebans to grant the laſt melancholy honours to the aſhes of their deceaſed enemies[57]. At the diſtance of ten years, the more fortunate ſons of the

[56] I might have ſaid Æſchylus, whoſe "Seven againſt Thebes" is founded on the hiſtory related in the text. But the name of Sophocles will bring to the mind of every reader of taſte and humanity, the Oedipus Tyrannus, and particularly the Oedipus Coloneus.

[57] Lyſias Orat. Funeb.

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chiefs, who had fallen before the Theban walls, resented, with the fury of religious rage, the indignities that had been impiously offered to the manes of their fathers. They again laid siege to the guilty city, destroyed the lives and property of many of the inhabitants, dragged many into captivity, and compelled the remainder to acknowledge, as their king, the infant son of the injured Polynices [58].

Circumstances which favoured the progress towards internal tranquillity in the Grecian states.

In their progress towards civilization, the Greeks perceived the advantage of political confederacy, before they became fully sensible of the benefits of civil union. The necessity of providing for defence against the assaults of foreign enemies, and the natural dictates of interest and ambition, unfolded the idea of a federal association between different communities, before the members of any one state had been sufficiently united in the system of domestic policy. Various clusters of towns and villages, situate in winding vallies, divided by lofty mountains, acknowledged the authority of kings or chieftains, who led forth their warlike youth to glory and danger. Summoned to arms against foreign enemies, they readily flocked to the standard of their king, and received, with implicit submission, his commands in the field: but when no common cause roused their emulation, or excited their valour, the inhabitants of each little township aspired at independent jurisdiction, and the nominal subjects of the same prince often terminated their differences by the decision of the sword [59].

The example of Crete.

To cement such disorderly communities by laws and government, required an acquaintance with some more civilized people, among whom the effects of this happy union visibly prevailed. Such an example fortunately occurred in the wise institutions and policy of the Cretans, which are represented not only as the most ancient,

[58] Confer. Homer. l. iv. v. 337. & passim. Hesiod. Op. & Di. Æschyl Septem contra Thebas. Lysias Orat. Funeb. Statius. Thebaid. Apollod. l. iii. Diodor. l. iv. Pausan. in Baeotic.

[59] Thucydid. l. i. Plut. in Theseo.

but

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but the beſt regulations, that ever were eſtabliſhed in any portion of the Grecian territory[60]. The celebrated iſland, which fable has dignified with the imaginary honour of giving birth to ſome of the gods[61] of Greece, poſſeſſed the real merit of communicating to that country many uſeful improvements. It had been early planted, as we had occaſion already to obſerve, by a colony of Dorians. This colony, which received various[62] acceſſions from Greece, enjoyed two advantages above their brethren on the continent. Their inſular ſituation left them expoſed, indeed, to naval depredations, but delivered them from thoſe fierce incurſions by land, which often diſfigured and deſolated the mother country. A favourable gale wafted the unſkilful mariners of antiquity from the ſhores of Crete to the capital of Egypt. The facility of communication thus introduced between the two countries an habitual intercourſe, from which the barbarous iſlanders had nothing to loſe, and every thing to gain. Rhadamanthus[63], and others of their early kings or chieftains, whom intereſt or curioſity carried into Egypt and the Eaſt, appear to have had ſagacity to obſerve, and dexterity to employ, ſeveral of the inventions and inſtitutions of thoſe powerful and civilized kingdoms, for the uſeful purpoſe of confirming their own authority, and bridling the fierce paſſions of their countrymen.

Peculiar circumſtances of that iſland.

The elder Minos is peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for promoting this beneficial deſign. The doubtful appellation of Son of the Ocean, which, perhaps, he might derive from his numerous voyages, leaves it uncertain whether he was a native Cretan, or a foreigner. In the countries which he had viſited, he obſerved certain families inveſted, from time immemorial, with unbounded honours, as the immediate vicegerents of the divinity. The uncultivated, but free-

The elder Minos.

born

[60] Plat. de Leg. & in Minoe. Ariſtot. Pol. l. ii. Plut. in Lycurg.

[61] Heſiod. Theog.

[62] Homer. Iliad. l. xix. v. 172, &c.

[63] Strabo, l. x. p. 480.

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born genius of Greece, always rejected this odious profanation; yet it ſeemed poſſible to Minos to acquire that reſpect for his office, which he would have vainly ſolicited for his perſon. We are not informed by what virtues, civil or military, he acquired, before the eſtabliſhment of his laws, an extraordinary influence among the Cretans. But as ſlaves multiplied to ſuch a degree in the iſland during his reign, that agriculture and the mechanic arts were exerciſed by them alone, there is reaſon to conjecture that he had been extremely ſucceſsful in war againſt his neighbours, and no leſs equitable in dividing the booty among the various Cretan tribes who followed the fortune of his arms. However this may be, it appears from the general evidence of antiquity, that Minos had addreſs to perſuade men, prone to wonder and to believe, among whom, whatever dazzled the imagination announced the preſence of a divinity, that their favourite hero was admitted to the familiarity of the gods[64]. From them he pretended to derive an invaluable ſyſtem of laws, which he was enjoined to engrave on tables of braſs. From Jupiter he received the regal ſceptre, which entitled him to adminiſter theſe laws, but obliged him to reſpect them. By command of the ſame god, he founded the cities of Cnoſſus, Cydonia, and Pheſtus, and united the diſtant ſubjects of his wide-extended domain, by ſuch regulations as ſerved alike to ſupport the authority of the prince, and to maintain the rights of the people[65].

Expedition of Theſeus into Crete. A. C. 1234.

The beautiful arrangement of this political edifice ſtruck the diſcerning eye of Theſeus, the illuſtrious ſon of Ægeus, king of Athens, in his celebrated expedition to Crete, during the reign of the ſecond Minos. The laſt-mentioned prince joined the ſplendor of military

[64] Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής. Odyſſ. l. xix. v. 179. which Horace tranſlates,

Jovis arcanis Minos admiſſus. L. i. Ode 28.

[65] Strabo, l. x. p. 480. Plato in Minoe. Diod. l. v.

renown

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renown to the famed wiſdom of his revered anceſtor. His maritime force exceeded the united ſtrength of his neighbours; he ſubdued ſeveral of the circumjacent iſles; and while he permitted his own ſubjects to ravage the coaſts of Greece, under pretence of lawful war, he effectually checked the piratical depredations of the Carians, Lycians, and Phœnicians, which had hitherto proved ſo frequent and ſo deſtructive [66]. Athens experienced the effects of his power and ambition, and reluctantly ſubmitted to a diſgraceful tribute of ſeven youths, and as many virgins [67], which was cruelly exacted by a nation who ſubſiſted on the labour of ſlaves. The tributary captives were drawn by lot from the body of the people, who trembled at the annual return of the Cretan veſſel. Diſcontents aroſe againſt the government of Ægeus, who ſeemed to bear the indignity with too much tameneſs; when his heroic ſon, with a patriotiſm congenial to his character, generouſly offered his life in the ſervice of his country [68]. The fame of Theſeus had already reached the ears of Minos, who reſpected his virtues; and this reſpect was converted into admiration, on beholding the Athenian prince a voluntary captive. Minos treated him with the affectionate kindneſs of ancient hoſpitality; gave him his daughter Ariadne in marriage; and declared the Athenians thenceforth free from a contribution equally cruel and ignominious. Theſeus reaped great glory from this tranſaction. The veſſel, in which he ſailed, continued to be annually ſent, for more than eight centuries afterwards, to return thanks to Apollo, in his favourite iſland of Delos [69]; and the fortunate voyage to Crete was celebrated by ſacrifices, and other ceremonies, handed down to the lateſt times of the Athenian republic [70].

[66] Thucydid. l. i.

[67] Odyſſ. l. xi. v. 320. & Virgil, Æn. 6.

Tum pendere pœnas
Cecropidæ juſſi, miſerum! ſeptena quotannis
Corpora natorum.

[68] Ipſe ſuum Theſeus pro caris corpus Athenis
Projicere optavit.—— Catullus.

[69] Plato. Phædo.

[70] Plut. in Theſeo.

Many

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Theſeus communicates the Cretan improvements to Attica.

Many extraordinary circumſtances, invented by the poets, diſfigure events, which are otherwiſe ſufficiently authenticated. The unnatural amours of the abominable Paſiphaé, and the bloody feaſts of the monſtrous Minotaur [71], have been faithfully tranſcribed, from one age to another, in the tireſome compilations of injudicious mythologiſts; but it ſeems not to have occurred to thoſe writers, that the expedition to Crete laid the foundation of the improvements afterwards introduced by Theſeus into the Athenian government. The inſtitutions and manners of that iſland preſented a picture of more regular compoſition, and more harmonious colouring, than could be ſeen in any part of the Grecian continent. Various ſocieties of freemen, all united under one government, all equal among themſelves, and all ſerved by ſlaves; no private property in land; the men eating at public tables, and their families ſubſiſting from the common ſtock; the youth regularly trained to the gymnaſtic exerciſes, navigation and war; a ſevere morality enforced by law; honour the reward of age and merit; and the whole community acknowledging the prerogative of an hereditary king, who derived his authority from Jupiter, but who was no longer intitled to the divine protection than he continued to obſerve juſtice, and to maintain the unalienable privileges of his ſubjects [72]. Impreſſed with the ſalutary inſtitutions, which he beheld in this flouriſhing iſland, Theſeus, upon his acceſſion to the throne of his father, was ambitious to imitate them in his native country. The rudeneſs of the Athenians, indeed, admitted not the introduction of written laws. But the ſcattered villages of Attica were perſuaded to embrace the regulations of the capital [73]; to unite in common ceremonies of religion; to acknowledge the reciprocal obligations of ſubjects; and,

[71] Hìc crudelis amor tauri, ſuppoſtaque furto
Paſiphaë, &c.
The judicious Virgil places theſe ſtrange ſtories in the ſculptured porch of an ancient temple.

[72] Ariſtot. Polit. l. ii. c. 9, &c. Strabo, ibid. Plato de Leg.

[73] Thucydid. l. ii. Plut. in Theſeo.

while

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while they asserted the right of citizens, to respect, during peace and war, the sacred prerogative of royal majesty.

Thence diffused through Greece.

The improvements in domestic policy, thus introduced into Attica by the example of Crete, and the wisdom of Theseus, were gradually adopted by the neighbouring provinces[74]. At the commencement of the Trojan war, all the Grecian states had embraced one uniform system of government, uniting the independent spirit of European freedom with the respectful veneration of Egyptian and Asiatic superstition[75]. This singular frame of policy, composed of materials seemingly incapable of alliance, was peculiarly well adapted to great and generous undertakings; and unless the divine, though limited authority of kings, had fortified the other institutions which served to tame the ferocity of the Greeks, there is reason to doubt whether their leaders could have engaged above an hundred thousand stubborn barbarians to undertake a distant and difficult enterprise, much less have detained their reluctant impatience during ten years in the siege of Troy.

This enables the Greeks to undertake the Trojan war.

Before we examine the causes and the incidents of this celebrated siege, to which the exploits hitherto related seem but unworthy preludes, it may be proper to take a short view of the strength and resources of the two nations, who were eager to shock in a conflict, that totally destroyed the one, and proved extremely ruinous to the other. Exclusive of the provinces of Epirus and Macedonia, which long remained barbarous and uncultivated, the continental possessions of the Greeks were nearly equal to Scotland in extent, marked with still bolder features, and blessed with a warmer sun. In its length, the whole country is almost equally divided by two opposite gulphs, compressing between them a mountainous neck of land, to the breadth of only five miles, into the peninsula of Peloponnesus, and the territory extending northwards, from the extremity of the

Description of Greece; its strength and resources.

[74] Dionys. Halic. l. v.

[75] Homer, passim.

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Corinthian iſthmus to the ſouthern frontier of Macedonia [76]. The Peloponneſus, ſcarcely two hundred miles in length, and one hundred and forty in breadth, is every where interſected by mountains, particularly the towering ridges of Zarex and Taygetus. During the flouriſhing ages of Greece, this ſmall peninſula contained ſeven independent communities, of unequal power and fame, which ranked in the following order: The comparatively large, and highly diverſified, territory of Laconia; the fruitful vale of Argos; the extenſive coaſt of Achaia; the narrow but commercial iſthmus of Corinth; the central and mountainous region of Arcadia; together with the more level countries of Elis and Meſſenia, which are throughout better adapted to tillage than any other provinces of the Peloponneſus [77]. The Grecian poſſeſſions beyond the Corinthian iſthmus were more conſiderable, extending two hundred and ſixty miles from eaſt to weſt, and one hundred and fifty from north to ſouth. They were naturally divided, by the long and intricate ridges of Olympus, Pindus, Oeta, and Oſſa, into nine ſeparate provinces; which, during the celebrated ages of Grecian freedom, were occupied by nine independent republics. They comprehended the extenſive and fertile plains of Theſſaly and Bœotia, both of which were, in early times, much expoſed to inundations; and the latter, abounding in ſubterranean caverns, was peculiarly ſubject to earthquakes; the leſs fertile, but more ſecure territory of Attica; the weſtern provinces of Ætolia and Acarnania, encompaſſed on one ſide by dangerous ſeas, and confined on the other by almoſt impaſſable mountains; and the four ſmall rocky diſtricts of Phocis, Doris, Locris, and Megara [78].

It has been obſerved, that theſe names and diviſions, which remained to the lateſt times, are pretty accurately marked by Homer, whoſe poems continued, through ſucceeding ages, to be the

[76] Strabo, l. vii. [77] Strabo, ibid. & Pauſan. Meſſen. [78] Strabo, ibid.

approved ſtandard and legal code, to which neighbouring communities appealed, in adjuſting their diſputed boundaries [79]. This obſervation, however, muſt be qualified chiefly by two exceptions. During the Trojan war, the extenſive province of Theſſaly ſent forth above a fourth part of the whole Grecian ſtrength, and was divided among many warlike leaders. It might naturally be expected, while agriculture and paſturage were the principal occupations ſubſervient to human life, that a country, abounding in plains and meadows, ſhould excel in population and in power [80]. When commerce, navigation, and the mechanic arts enriched and adorned the middle and ſouthern diviſions of Greece, the northern diſtrict of Theſſaly loſt its ancient pre-eminence. The ſecond exception aroſe from the extenſive power of the houſe of Pelops, which, as already mentioned, had, by fortunate marriages and rich ſucceſſions, acquired dominion over the northern and eaſtern parts of the Peloponneſus, formerly containing ſeveral independent principalities, and, after the misfortunes of Agamemnon and his family, again divided into the immortal republics of Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and Achaia.

Number of the Grecian ſhips and troops.

From this general view of the country, it will not appear remarkable, that, in an age when every able-bodied man was a ſoldier, Greece ſhould have raiſed an army of an hundred and two thouſand men. The Acarnanians alone, for reaſons unknown, ſent no forces to Troy. But the continent was aſſiſted by the generous efforts of Crete, of Rhodes, and of many ſmaller iſlands, which were ſubject to their reſpective princes, or governed by the wide-extended dominion of Agamemnon. The veſſels collected for tranſporting theſe forces to Aſia amounted to twelve hundred ſail. They were equipped at little expence, and built with little ingenuity, moved by only one bank of oars, and entirely unprovided with decks or

[79] Plut. in Solon.

[80] Plato in Menon.

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anchors. Their complement varied in different veſſels; ſome contained an hundred and twenty, others only fifty men, who appear to have been equally acquainted with the military art, as practiſed in that remote age, and with the rude ſimplicity of ancient navigation [81].

Deſcription of Troas, or Leſſer Phrygia.

The celebrated kingdom of Priam, againſt which this armament was directed, occupied the eaſtern banks of the Helleſpont, the ſouthern coaſt of the Propontis, and the northern ſhores of the Ægean. From the river Eſepus to the promontory of Lectum, the Trojan dominions extended in length two hundred miles; but their breadth was far leſs conſiderable, being irregularly compreſſed between three ſeas, and the lofty ridges of mount Ida. This delightful and pictureſque country, which excelled Greece in fruitfulneſs of ſoil and ſoftneſs of climate [82], was diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Helleſpontian, from the large inland province, which bore the common name of Phrygia [83]. The Leſſer, or Helleſpontian Phrygia, was planted, according to tradition, by a Grecian colony, about two hundred years before the Trojan war. The ſimilarity of religion, language, and manners, ſufficiently juſtified that opinion, and ſeems to have induced the moſt diligent inquirers of antiquity to regard not only the Trojans, but the Lycians and Pamphylians, as ſcattered branches of the Hellenic nation [84], which diſtance of place had gradually cut off from all communication with the trunk. The Aſiatic Greeks were expoſed to none of thoſe unfavourable circumſtances already mentioned, which long retarded the improvement of their brethren in Europe. The fertile and extenſive plains of Aſia offered them the materials of more powerful kingdoms than Greece could afford; and, inſtead of being haraſſed and endangered by the continual incurſions of northern ſavages, they enjoyed the vicinity

History of that country.

[81] Thucydid. ibid. Homer. paſſim.
[82] Hippocrat. de Loc.
[83] Strabo, l. xiii.
[84] Herodot. l. vii. Strabo, l. xiv.

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of the Phrygians and Lydians, nations deſcribed as flouriſhing in wealth and peace from the remoteſt antiquity [85]. From the prevalence of the Grecian language and cuſtoms on the one hand, and the name of the country on the other, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Trojans were a mingled race of Greeks and Phrygians, collected by Dardanus, anceſtor fifth in degree to old Priam.

This adventurer, whoſe parentage Homer leaves uncertain, by calling him ſon of Jupiter [86], founded a city on one of the many weſtern branches of mount Ida, commanding a beautiful and fertile plain, and watered by the immortal rivers Simois and Scamander [87]. The new ſettlement flouriſhed under his ſon, the wealthy Erichthonius, who, by the judicious management of his mares and ſtallions, ſupplied the neighbouring kingdoms with horſes of a ſuperior breed. His ſucceſſor, Tros, communicated his name to the territory, which was often called Troas, and to the celebrated city Ilion, which his ſon Ilus, having removed his reſidence from the mountain, built on the adjoining plain. Laomedon, the ſucceſſor of Ilus, fortified the town of Ilion, or Troy, with walls of ſuch uncommon ſtrength, that, in the language and belief of the times, they were deemed the work of the gods [88]. Whether he defrauded his ſuppoſed auxiliaries of their promiſed rewards and ſacrifices, or ſupplied the expence of this undertaking by deſpoiling their ſacred ſhrines, it is certain that the guilt of Laomedon was believed to entail calamity on his unhappy deſcendants.

Reign of Priam.

His ſon Priam, however, long enjoyed the deceitful gifts of fortune, before he was overtaken by the vengeance of heaven. Having attained old age in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of a throne, he was

[85] Herodot. l. i. Dionyſ. Halic. l. i. Suidas in voc. Ανακος.

[86] Iliad, xx. v. 215.

[87] Homer, Iliad, xx. v. 216, &c. Strabo, lxiii.

[88] Homer and Strabo, ibid.

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ſurrounded by a numerous and flouriſhing family, beloved by his ſubjects, and reſpected by his neighbours. Yet this amiable, but too indulgent prince, was deſtined to feel the ſharpeſt pangs of human miſery.

Cauſes of the Trojan war.

Hereditary feuds ſubſiſted between the anceſtors of Priam and thoſe of Agamemnon, when the latter quitted their eſtabliſhments in Aſia, to ſeek new ſettlements in Greece. The inſult offered to Ganymede, a beautiful Trojan youth, by the brutal fury of Tantalus [89], was retorted on Menelaus, the fourth in deſcent from this infamous prince, by the rape and detention of his queen, the celebrated Helen. Paris, the ill-fated ſon of Priam, was the author of this new injury. But reſentment for the wrongs of his houſe formed not the only motive which engaged the youthful levity of Paris to diſhonour the ſiſter-in-law of Agamemnon. Helen was the daughter of Tyndareus, king of Sparta. The illuſtrious honours of her family were adorned by the generous magnanimity of her brothers, Caſtor and Polydeuces, whoſe exploits ſhone conſpicuous in all the military expeditions of that gallant age. But the native luſtre of Helen needed not the aid of foreign ornament. Even in the tender age of childhood, her opening charms had inflamed the heart of Theſeus [90], the moſt admired, and the moſt virtuous of the Grecian chiefs. The fame of her beauty encreaſed with her ripening age, and her perſon became an object of eager contention among thoſe who, by birth or merit, were entitled to aſpire at the invaluable prize. Tyndareus, ſolicitous to prevent the violence of a ſecond lover (for, agreeably to the manners of his age, Theſeus had carried her off by force), bound the various ſuitors by oath to defend the honour of his daughter, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of her

Beauty and adventures of Helen, daughter of the king of Sparta.

[89] It has been obſerved, that the ſtory of Tantalus, father of Pelops, was probably the invention of a later age. It is certain that, whatever might prevail in Phrygia, the unnatural paſſion, which diſgraced the later times of Greece, was unknown in that country during the heroic ages. Natal. Com. l. ix. c. 13.

[90] Plut. in Theſeo.

charms

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charms to the man who ſhould be honoured with her choice[91]. The princely mien and inſinuating manners of Menelaus, were preferred to the more ſolid qualities of his numerous competitors. Having married the heireſs of Tyndareus, he ſucceeded, in her right, to the Spartan throne[92]. The graceful pair had not long enjoyed the honours of royalty, and the ſweets of conjugal union, when their happineſs was interrupted by the arrival of the ſon of Priam, the handſomeſt man of his age, and ſingularly adorned with the frivolous accompliſhments that often captivate the weakneſs of a female mind. Though a ſoldier of no great renown, Paris had ſtrongly imbibed the romantic ſpirit of gallantry which[93] prevailed in the heroic ages, and was diſtinguiſhed by an ardent paſſion for beauty, which, notwithſtanding the general ſoftneſs of his unwarlike character, enabled him to brave every danger, in purſuit of his favourite object. Animated by the hope of beholding the inimitable model of what he moſt adored, he ſeized the opportunity afforded him by a voyage of Menelaus into Crete, viſited the dominions of his hereditary enemies, and ſolicited the rites of hoſpitality at the Spartan court.

She marries Menelaus, who ſucceeds to that kingdom.

Character of Paris, ſon of Priam.

His perſon, his accompliſhments, his addreſs, and ſtill more the voluntary hardſhips which he had endured for her ſake, ſeduced the inconſtant affections of the Grecian queen. Enamoured of the elegant ſtranger, ſhe abandoned her country and her huſband, and having tranſported her moſt valuable treaſure within the Trojan walls, defied the reſentment of Greece, and the vengeance of heaven.

Who ſeduces, and carries her to Troy.

It was now the time for Menelaus to crave the ſtipulated aſſiſtance of his ancient rivals. His demand was enforced by the authority

The Greeks determine to recover her.

[91] Thucydid. l. i. c. 9.

[92] Pauſan. Lacon.

[93] Perſeus had carried off the African Meduſa; Jaſon, Medea of Colchis; Theſeus, the Amazon Antiope; Hercules, Megara, Iole, Deaneira, &c. The hiſtorical poets of the heroic ages might have ſaid, with Arioſto,

Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gli amori,
Le corteſie, l'audaci impreſe Jo canto.

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of Agamemnon [94]. At the ſummons of the two brothers, the confederates aſſembled at Ægium, the capital of Achaia; confirmed the obligation of their former promiſe; ſettled the proportion of troops to be raiſed by each prince; determined the time and place of their departure; and named Agamemnon, the moſt powerful among them, to the chief command, in an expedition which ſo deeply concerned the honour of his family.

Sail to Troy under the command of Agamemnon.

Aulis, a ſea-port of Bœotia, was appointed for the place of rendezvous and embarkation [95]. Before the whole armament ſailed from thence, Ulyſſes king of Ithaca, and, what may ſeem extraordinary, the injured Menelaus, undertook a ſolemn embaſſy to Troy, in order to demand reſtitution and reparation; but returned highly diſguſted with their reception and treatment. Some members of the Trojan council had the barbarity to propoſe putting them to death. Their juſt indignation increaſed the warlike ardour of their aſſociates. But contrary winds long retarded their departure. The Trojans had time to ſtrengthen their ramparts, to collect arms and proviſions, and to ſummon the aſſiſtance of their diſtant allies. The martial ſpirit of the age, together with a ſenſe of common danger, brought many powerful auxiliaries to Priam. His cauſe was defended by the hardy mountaineers, who covered the back of his kingdom; by the Carians, Lycians, and other nations of Aſia Minor, extending from the mouth of the river Halys to the ſouthern extremity of Cilicia; and by the Pelaſgi, Thracians, and Pæonians, fierce barbarians who inhabited the European ſide of the Helleſpont and Propontis.

Effect a deſcent on the Trojan coaſt.

Confiding, however, rather in their domeſtic ſtrength, than in foreign aſſiſtance, the Trojans determined to defend their native ſhores againſt hoſtile invaſion. The debarkation of the Greeks was purchaſed by much blood. Having effected a deſcent, they encamped on the Trojan plain, but loſt the only opportunity

[94] Thucydid. ibid.

[95] Heſiod, Oper. & Dies.

which

which they enjoyed during many years, of cruſhing at once the power of their enemies; who immediately ſhut themſelves up within their impenetrable walls, leaving the city open only on the ſide of Mount Ida, from which they received corn, cattle, and other neceſſary ſupplies.

Cauſes which protracted the ſiege of Troy.

Agamemnon, as there was reaſon to expect from the manners of his age, had been more induſtrious in collecting a great army, than provident in contriving means by which it might keep the field. The proviſions, tranſported from Greece, were ſpeedily conſumed, while the operations of the ſiege promiſed little hope of ſucceſs, the Greeks being unacquainted with any military engines fitted to make an impreſſion on the Trojan walls. With ſuch a numerous army, they might have converted the ſiege into a blockade; but ſcarcity of ſupplies compelled the greater part of them to quit the camp. The reſource of ravaging the adjacent country ſoon exhauſted itſelf. Many betook themſelves to cultivating the rich vales of the Cherſoneſus, whoſe induſtrious inhabitants had recently been expelled, or deſtroyed, by the fierce incurſions of the barbarous Thracians [96]. Others had recourſe to piracy, ſcoured the neighbouring ſeas, ravaged the unprotected coaſts of the Helleſpont and Ægean, and plundered or demoliſhed ſuch unfortified places as acknowledged the dominion, or aſſiſted the arms of Troy [97]. Theſe ravages excited the rage of the Aſiatics, and rendered them more hearty in the cauſe of their confederates. In this manner nine ſummers and winters elapſed, without affording the nearer proſpect of a deciſion to the conteſt; but, in the tenth year of the war, the ſeeming misfortunes of the Greeks precipitated the downfal of the proud city of Priam. A dreadful peſtilence invaded the camp of the beſiegers, and long continued to rage with unabating fury. This calamity was followed by the well-known quarrel between Agamemnon and

That city taken in the tenth year of the war.

[96] Thucydid. l i.

[97] Homer, paſſim.

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Achilles, which deprived the Grecian army of its principal ſtrength and ornament. The Trojans derived new ſpirits from the misfortunes of their enemies; they ventured to abandon the protection of their walls, boldly aſſailed the Grecian camp, and riſked ſeveral engagements, in moſt of which they were victorious. In the laſt of theſe, the beloved friend of Achilles was ſlain by the arm of Hector, the braveſt and moſt generous of the Trojan race. This event, which was infinitely more dreadful than death to the affectionate ardour of the Grecian chief, ſtifled his hitherto inexorable reſentment againſt the proud tyranny of Agamemnon. His return to the camp reſtored the declining fortune of the Greeks; and the indignant fury of his rage was quenched in the deteſted blood of Hector, whoſe patriotic valour had long been the firmeſt bulwark of his father's kingdom. The deſtruction of Troy [98] ſoon followed the death of her darling hero. The city, whether taken by ſtorm or by ſurpriſe, was ſet on fire during night; moſt of the citizens periſhed by the ſword, or were dragged into captivity; and only a miſerable remnant eſcaped through the confuſed horror of raging flames and expiring kinſmen.

Future fortunes of Troy.

The burning of Troy happened eleven hundred and eighty-four years before the Chriſtian æra. Neither the city nor territory ever aſſumed, in any ſucceeding age, the dignity of independent government [99]. The ſea-coaſt was planted eighty years after the Trojan war, by new colonies from Greece; and the inland parts

[98] We ſhould probably know ſomething more of the hiſtory of the Trojan war, if the works of Piſander remained. Macrobius, in ſpeaking of the plagiariſms of the Romans from Greek writers, has the following paſſage: "Quæ Virgilius traxit a Græcis, dicturumne "me putetis, quæ vulgo nota ſunt? . . . vel "quod everſionem Trojæ cum Sinone ſuo & "equo ligneo, ceteriſque omnibus, quæ li-"brum ſecundum faciunt, a *Piſandro* pene "ad verbum tranſcripſerit, qui inter Græcos "poetas eminet," &c. Macrob. l. v. c. 2.

[99] I have carefully examined the evidence given by Bochart (Epiſt. num Æneas unquam fuit in Italia), and by Mr. Wood (Eſſay on the original Genius of Homer), to prove that the deſcendants of Æneas reigned in Troy. But notwithſtanding the learned ingenuity of a profound, and the plauſible criticiſm of an elegant ſcholar, the matter ſeems ſtill too doubtful to warrant contradicting the popular opinion.

ſubmitted

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ſubmitted to the growing power of the Lydians, whoſe arms overſpread and conquered all the fineſt provinces of Leſſer Aſia [100].

The calamitous return of the Greeks.

The Greeks had recovered poſſeſſion of the admired beauty of Helen; they had taken complete vengeance on the family [101] and nation of her unhappy ſeducer; but the misfortunes, which were the natural conſequence of the Trojan expedition, left them little reaſon to boaſt of their victory. Of five Bæotian commanders, only one remained, and the ſiege had been proportionably fatal to the leaders of other tribes, as well as to their warlike followers. Thoſe who lived to divide the rich ſpoils of Troy, were impatient to ſet ſail with their newly-acquired treaſure, notwithſtanding the threatening appearance of the ſkies. Many of them periſhed by ſhipwreck; the reſt were long toſſed on unknown ſeas; and when they expected to find in their native country the end of their calamities, they were expoſed to ſuffer greater calamities there, than any which they had yet endured. The thrones of ſeveral of the abſent princes had been uſurped by violence and ambition; the lands of various communities had been occupied by the invaſion of hoſtile tribes: even the leaſt unfortunate of thoſe adventurers found their domains uncultivated, or their territories laid waſte; their families torn by diſcord, or their cities ſhaken by ſedition. And thus the moſt celebrated enterprize of combined Greece tended to plunge that delightful and once happy country into barbariſm and miſery [102].

[100] Herod. l. ii. Thucyd. l. i. Juſtin, l. xviii. Strabo, l. iii.

[101] I dwell not on a ſubject which has been handled by the great maſters of the paſſions. See Virgil:

Forſitan et Priami fuerint quæ fata requiras, &c.

[102] Plato, de Leg. l. iii. Thucyd. l. i. p. 9.

CHAP. II.

Religion.—Government.—Arts.—Manners, and Character.

CHAP. II. Introduction.

THE ancient Greeks had ſtrongly imbibed an opinion, that the country in which they lived was peculiarly favourable to the dignity of human nature. The voluptuous climates of Aſia produced invention and ingenuity, but ſoftened the tempers of men into a fitneſs for ſervitude. The rigorous ſeverity of European ſkies gave ſtrength and agility to the limbs, and hardy boldneſs to the mind, but chilled the fancy, and benummed the finer feelings of the ſoul. The inhabitants of the eaſt and ſouth were degraded below the condition of humanity, by an unfortunate abuſe of power, while the turbulent ſons of the north and weſt were incapable, from ignorance and indocility, of ſubmitting to any regular ſyſtem of government. The Greeks alone, poſſeſſing an intermediate ſituation between the extremes of cold and heat, united courage and capacity; tempered the ſtern and manly, with the gentler virtues; and enjoyed the double advantage of liberty and laws[a].

The authority of Homer, as an hiſtorian.

This ſplendid obſervation is too flattering to the dictates of national vanity to be haſtily adopted by a cautious inquirer into truth, who will be apt to aſcribe the ſuperior luſtre of Grecian manners, rather to the elegant imagination of authors, than to the intrinſic merit of their ſubject. Yet it muſt be acknowledged, ſeveral circumſtances would lead us to believe, that the great poet to whom we owe our principal information concerning the ancient ſtate of Greece, copied from nature only. The majeſty of Virgil, the ſplen-

[a] Ariſtot. Politic. l. vii. c. 7. Iſocrat. Govern Athen. Panegyric. & Panathen.

dor of Taſſo, and the ſublimity of Milton, are not ſufficient to conceal an effort in thoſe noble writers to maintain the tone which they have aſſumed; a deſire to embelliſh the manners which they deſcribe; an ambition to elevate and to adorn their poems by the uſe of a marvellous machinery, which had not its foundation in the experience, and (as to Virgil and Taſſo) ſcarcely in the belief of their own age. In Homer there is neither embelliſhment, nor effort, nor diſguiſe of any kind; he relates what he has ſeen and heard with unaffected ſimplicity; his ideas and ſentiments are not only clothed in the graces of poetry, but arrayed in the charms of truth; and an amazing diverſity of characters, preſerving amidſt innumerable ſhades of diſcrimination a general air of reſemblance, diſtinguiſh the Iliad and Odyſſey above other poetical compoſitions, and prove them to have been copied, not from the limited combinations of human invention, but from the wide variety of impreſſions in the rich ſtore-houſe of nature. In ſome deſcriptive parts of his poem, Homer doubtleſs yielded to the pleaſing dictates of his inimitable fancy; but it ſeems plain from internal evidence only, that he delineates with minute accuracy the geography, mythology, hiſtory and manners of Greece; and that his obſervations concerning all theſe ſubjects are perfectly agreeable to the opinions and belief which univerſally prevailed among his countrymen. If this matter required the aid of foreign evidence, it might be fully confirmed by the teſtimony of the Greek hiſtorians, who ſupport in every inſtance the veracity of the poet; aſſerting not only the authenticity of the facts which he relates, but the influence of the cauſes to which he aſcribes them [2].

It

[2] The nature and tranſactions of the gods, Thucydides, Xenophon, and all ſucceeding writers. Herodotus, l. i. c. 131. explains the reaſon why the Perſians erected neither temples, nor images, nor altars, by ſaying, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας νομίσαι τοὺς θεοὺς, κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι, "becauſe they did not, like as "the

which juſtly ſhock the feelings of the modern reader, are perfectly conformable to the belief of the Greeks. The continual interpoſition of theſe etherial beings in the affairs of human life, is juſtified by Herodotus,

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Comparison between the Greeks of the heroic ages, and the Germans as described by Tacitus.

It may be observed, however, by those who would repress the ebullitions of Grecian vanity, that, admitting the poems of Homer as complete evidence concerning the ancient state of his country, all the advantage that would follow from this supposition is, that the Greeks have been accurately described at an earlier period of their society than most other nations; but the silence of those nations cannot reasonably be interpreted as a proof of their inferiority to the Greeks in manners or in policy. The masterly description of a philosophic historian has rescued the antiquities of one other people from oblivion; and the generous spirit of *their* simple, but manly institutions, as painted by his expressive pencil, is scarcely disgraced by a comparison with the boasted customs of the heroic ages.

In the preference of military glory to all other advantages, in the freedom of debate in the public assemblies, and in the protection afforded to the rights and liberties of the meanest citizen, the treatise of Tacitus will equally apply to the Germans and to the Greeks. But there is one material circumstance wanting in the German, which adds peculiar beauty to the Grecian character. Among the rude inhabitants of ancient Germany, the offices of priest and king were not united in the same person. The rites of religion were administered by a particular order of men, who might abuse the superstitious fears of the multitude to promote their own selfish designs; and the dread of superior powers, though sometimes employed to enforce the dictates of nature, and to promote the operations of government, might also, with equal success, be employed to weaken the impressions of the one, and to resist the authority of the other. Besides this unfavourable circumstance, the

" the Greeks, believe the gods to partake of " a human nature, or form." That the gods often appeared in a human shape, is taken for granted by Pausanias in Arcad. and Plutarch, de Musica. The same opinion was firmly maintained by Julian, an othodox pagan, in a later age. See Gibbon, Vol. II. Many instances will occur in the following history, to prove the exact conformity of Homer's descriptions to the general belief of his country.

superstition

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ſuperſtition of the Germans was of a dark and gloomy kind, little connected with the ordinary duties of ſociety, recommending principally the practice of courage, the only virtue which there was not any occaſion to recommend; and promiſing, as the reward of what was deemed the higheſt excellence in life, the enjoyment of an infamous paradiſe of immortal drunkenneſs after death [3].

The religion of the Greeks.

The mythology of the Greeks was of a more agreeable, and of a far more uſeful nature. The ſceptre, which denoted the connection of civil power with ſacred protection, was conferred on thoſe who, while they continued the humble miniſters of the gods, were appointed to be the chief, but accountable guardians of the people [4]. The ſame voice that ſummoned the warriors to arms, or that decided, in time of peace, their domeſtic contentions, conducted the order of their religious worſhip, and preſided in the prayers and hymns addreſſed to the divinity. Theſe prayers and hymns, together with the important rite of ſacrifice (which likewiſe was performed by royal hands), formed the *ceremonial* part of the Grecian religion. The *moral* was far more extenſive, including the principal offices of life, and the nobleſt virtues of the mind. The uſeful quality of courage was peculiarly acceptable to the ſtern god of war; but the virtues of charity and hoſpitality were ſtill more pleaſing to the more amiable divinities [5]. The ſubmiſſion of ſubjects to their prince, the duty of a prince to preſerve inviolate the rights of his ſubjects [6], the obedience of children to their parents [7], the reſpect of the young for the aged, the ſacred laws of truth, juſtice, honour, and decency, were inculcated and maintained by the awful authority of religion. Even the moſt ordinary tranſactions of pri-

Its happy influence on ſociety.

[3] Tacit. de Morib. German. Mr. Gibbon's Roman Empire.

[4] ποιμενες λαων.

[5] —— προς γαρ Διος εισιν απαντες
Ξεινοι τε πτωχοι τε·
All ſtrangers and beggars come from Jove.
Odyſſ. xiv. 56.

[6] Iliad, xvi. v. 385.

[7] It is not humanity, but the fear of the gods, that is mentioned as the reaſon by Telemachus for not ſending away his mother. Odyſſ. 2.

vate

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vate life were conſecrated by the piety of the Greeks. They ventured not to undertake a voyage, or a journey, without ſoliciting the propitious aid of their heavenly protectors. Every meal (and there were three [8] in a day) was accompanied with a ſacrifice and libation. The common forms of politeneſs, the cuſtomary duties of civility, were not decided by the varying taſte of individuals, but defined by the preciſe voice of the gods [9].

The ſanctions of their religion.

It would have anſwered little purpoſe to oppoſe ſalutary laws to the capricious licence of barbarians, without guarding thoſe laws by very powerful ſanctions. Whether theſe ſanctions be founded on opinion or on fact is, with reſpect to their influence on the mind, a matter of little moment. The dreaded vengeance of imaginary powers may be equally effectual with the fear of the axe and halter. The certainty of this vengeance was firmly eſtabliſhed in the Grecian creed; and its operation was ſuppoſed to be ſo immediate and palpable, that it was impoſſible for the inattention of men to overlook, or for their addreſs to elude its force [10]. The daring violations of the ſacred law [11] were ſpeedily overtaken by manifeſt marks of the Divine diſpleaſure. "The inſolence and violence of the cor-" rupted youths, ſays Homer [12], cried aloud to heaven, whoſe de-" crees were ſoon executed by the avenging hands of Ulyſſes." The judgments inflicted on guilty communities were ſo familiar to the minds of men, that the poet introduces them by way of ſimilies [13]; and it is evident from his writings throughout, that every important

[8] Αριστον δειπνον δοχπος.

[9] The king of the Phæacians does not detain Ulyſſes longer than he chooſes, leſt he ſhould offend the gods, Odyſſ. viii. See alſo the behaviour of Ulyſſes and Telemachus, in the cottage of Eumæus, Odyſſ. xiv. and xvi.

[10] See the firſt book of Heſiod's poem "Of Works and Days," throughout: and particularly

Ω Περση συ δ' ακης δικης μηδε υβριν οφιλλε, from v. 110 till v. 242: and again,

Τοιδε γαρ ανθρωποισι νομον διεταξε Κρονιων, from v. 274 till v. 291.

[11] Θεμιστας θεος. Homer, paſſim.

[12] Odyſſ i.

[13] See a beautiful example of this, Iliad xvi. v. 385. The expreſſion of Heſiod is remarkable:

Παντα

portant event, prosperous or adverse, which happened either to individuals or to nations, appeared to the pious resignation of the Greeks, the reward of their religion and virtue, or the punishment of their irreligion and vice [14]. The merit of the father was often acknowledged in the protection of the son; and the crimes of a guilty progenitor were often visited on his descendants to the third and generation [15].

These observations are confirmed, not only by the writings of Homer and Hesiod throughout, but by almost every page of Herodotus, of Pindar, as well as of the Greek tragedians and historians; and yet they seem to have escaped the notice of some of the most ingenious inquirers into the opinions of antiquity. The authority of Greek writers strongly opposes two systems, which have been supported with great ability, and which have gained considerable credit in the world. The first, that the religion of the ancients had little or no connection with morality: the second, that the governments of Greece could not have been supported without the doctrine of a future state [16]. The connection between religion and morality

Παντα ιδων Διος οφθαλμος, και παντα νοησας
Και ρυ ταδι, οικι εθιλησι, επιδερκεται, &c.

"The eye of Jove, that beholds all, and ob-
"serves all, looks upon these transactions,
"when he pleases; nor does it escape his
"notice what kind of justice is rendered in
"the city."

[14] The success of the Greeks against Troy proves both parts of the proposition. All the misfortunes of the Grecian chiefs were inflicted as punishments. Oilean Ajax was slain for his presumption, by Neptune (Odyss. iv); and Ajax, the son of Telamon, was a memorable example of the fatal effects of the same vice. When Minerva offered him her assistance, he desired her to go to others, for the enemy would never attempt to penetrate where Ajax fought. Before his departure for Troy, Telamon prayed that the gods would give valour to his son; when the proud son, aspiring above the condition of humanity, said, That any man might be brave and victorious by the assistance of the gods; for his part, he expected to obtain glory by his own merit. The gods punished him with madness, and, after exposing him to the ridicule of his enemies, made him fall by his own hands. See the Ajax of Sophocles, from v. 760 to v. 800.

[15] Minerva protected Telemachus on account of his father's merit. Odyss. passim. The misfortunes of the royal families of Thebes and Argos, described in the many tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, abundantly prove the truth of the last observation.

[16] See Hume's Natural History of Religion, and Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses. The eleventh book of the Odyssey, which the ancients called the Νεκρομαντια, is the obscurest, and, in my opinion, the least

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morality is clearly aſſerted in the various paſſages to which we have had occaſion to allude; and the belief of a future ſtate of retribution cannot, according to the principles of the learned author of the Divine Legation of Moſes, be reckoned neceſſary to the government of men, who are fully perſuaded of the actual and immediate interpoſition of Divine wiſdom and juſtice, to regulate, by temporal rewards and puniſhments, the affairs of the preſent life [16].

Origin of the gods of Greece

As this perſuaſion had ſuch general and happy effects on the manners of the Greeks, it may be proper to conſider its origin, and to deſcribe more particularly the nature and genius of the ſuperſtition to which it gave birth; a ſuperſtition which, two thouſand years after loſing its imaginary authority over the uſeful occupations of men, ſtill preſerves a real power over their moſt elegant amuſements.

not explained in hiſtory.

It belongs not to the deſign of this work to ſearch for the mythological tenets of Greece in the opinions of other nations: a ſubject of inquiry upon which much learned conjecture and much laborious ingenuity have already been very laudably, but I fear not very ſucceſsfully employed [17]. By the dim light of etymology and tradi-

leaſt agreeable part of Homer. The ghoſts are all condemned to a melancholy dreary ſituation; even the greateſt heroes are very miſerable and dejected; and there is not any mention of the place of reward for the virtuous. Homer ſpeaks of the Elyſian fields but once (Odyſſey iv. ver. 563). Proteus tells Menelaus, that he is not *deſtined to die at Argos*, and that the gods would ſend him εις Ηλυσιον πεδιον και πειρατα γαιης; ſo that, if the language is not metaphorical, Homer's Elyſium was only a delicious ſpot on this earth, and ſituated, according to Strabo's conjecture, on the ſouthern coaſt of Spain. Strabo, l. iii. Ulyſſes (Odyſſ. ii. ver. 600) ſees the image of Hercules in Tartarus, but the hero himſelf, as the poet informs us, was feaſting with the immortal gods. I have never met with any unintelligible explanation of this paſſage, the abſurdity of which appeared a proper ſubject of ridicule to Lucian, in Diogen. & Hercul.—Heſiod's Elyſium is more agreeable.

[16] The gods, indeed, are ſometimes engaged in very unwarrantable tranſactions; but theſe are only means to compaſs ſome wiſe and juſt end, which the will of providence, the Διος βουλη, or fate, had previouſly determined. Examples alſo may be brought from Homer, of men attempting to obtain, by coſtly ſacrifices, the aſſiſtance of the gods in acts of injuſtice and cruelty. This muſt be allowed to be an inconſiſtency in Grecian ſuperſtition, or rather in the paſſions which gave it birth.

[17] Bochart's Geograph. Bryant's New Analyſis. Fourmant, Le Clerc, de la Pluche, &c. Their doctrine is oppoſed in the extraordinary work of Veco Neapolitano, entitled, "Principi di Scienza nuova d'intorno alla "comune natura delle nazione." The third edition of this work was publiſhed at Naples in 1744.

tion,

tion, and the deceitful glare of legend and fable, inquiſitive men have endeavoured to trace the corrupted ſtreams of Pagan worſhip to the pure fountain of the Jewiſh diſpenſation [18]. But the majeſty of Jehovah is very feebly repreſented by the united power of Homer's divinities: and the mythology of the Greeks is of ſuch a peculiar texture, that, whenceſoever originally derived, it muſt have undergone a particular modification in the Grecian ſoil; nor is it eaſy to concur with the opinion of writers who bring it immediately from Egypt, Chaldea, or Leſſer Aſia, when we conſider that there is not the ſmalleſt veſtige in Homer of the judicial aſtrology which prevailed ſo ſtrongly in the two firſt [19], or of the worſhipping of idols, which almoſt univerſally predominated in the laſt [20].

Philoſophic account of it.

The difficulty of giving ſuch an hiſtorical deduction of the Grecian faith as would not be expoſed to innumerable objections, obliges us to trace its origin in the natural paſſions of the human heart, the hopes, the fears, the wants, the miſery of man, which have in all ages rendered him a prey to the terrors of ſuperſtition [21]. This miſerable paſſion, which, in the civiliſed countries of modern Europe, operates only at diſtant intervals, and chiefly in the unfortunate moments of diſeaſe and danger, maintains a conſtant and uninterrupted power over the minds of barbarians. The diſproportionate force of the ſame principle among rude and among civiliſed men, is aſcribed by a common proverb to the groſs ignorance of the former; but it may, with more propriety perhaps, be deduced from their precarious and unhappy manner of life, the continual dangers to which their exiſtence is expoſed, and the dreadful calamities in which the

[18] The general doctrine of providence, ver. 165, and Theog. ver. 725 and ver. 220. the rebellion in heaven, the ſtate of innocence, the fall of man, atonement by ſacrifice, a future ſtate of retribution, for which the preſent life is only preparatory: all, or ſome of theſe tenets, are found in the traditions of all nations, Greeks and Barbarians. See Heſiod Oper. & Di. ver. 110 and

[19] Diodorus Sicul. l. ii. Exod. chap. vi. Plin. l. xxx.

[20] The Old Teſtament, paſſim.

[21] Παντες δι θιων χατιυσι ἀνθρωποι—"All men "ſtand in need of the gods." Hom. Odyſſey iii.

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whole ſociety is too frequently involved [22]. Even among poliſhed nations, the power of reaſon and philoſophy, however highly it may be extolled when the gentle current of life flows with placid tranquillity, always proves too feeble to reſiſt the mountain torrent and the ſtorm of winter. Under the preſſure of ſudden or inextricable calamity, all thoſe, who are not more or leſs than men, have recourſe to the immediate aſſiſtance of inviſible powers; and in the ſplendid abodes of wealth and power, as well as in the American village or Tartar horde, the æra of a famine, a peſtilence, or an earthquake, is marked by ſincere expreſſions of faith, and commemorated by ſignal monuments of piety [23].

The great pillar of ſuperſtition, raiſed by the anxious paſſions of men, was fortified in Greece by a circumſtance incidental to all nations at a certain ſtage of their political progreſs. There is a period when nations emerging from barbarity, but not yet corrupted by the narrow purſuits of avarice, not yet ſoftened by the mean pleaſures of luxury, or contracted by the dangerous refinements of a ſelfiſh philoſophy, enjoy a peculiar ſenſibility of character, which exerts itſelf in the ardour of ſocial affection, and ſtrengthens, by a thouſand aſſociations, their belief of inviſible and intelligent powers. To men, thus diſpoſed to wonder and to believe, whatever dazzles the imagination, announces the preſence of a deity; dreams and celeſtial appearances are deemed ſacred and infallible admonitions; the ſilence and thick ſhade of a foreſt fills the ſoul with religious awe; and perſons, diſtinguiſhed by juſtice and piety, eaſily perſuade themſelves and others, that, as the beloved favourites of heaven, they are frequently honoured with holy inſpirations, and ſometimes indulged with the viſible preſence and happy intercourſe of their Divine pro-

[22] Δυσυχιας επιτασις και σωτηριας απογνωσις ευχη θεων. Schol. in Homer. Tum præcipuus votorum locus eſt, cum ſpei nullus eſt. Plin. l. viii. c. 16.

[23] In moſt men, true religion itſelf muſt, from the nature of human paſſions, have the greateſt, becauſe an undivided, influence over the mind, in ſeaſons of inextricable calamity.

tectors.

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tectors [24]. Not only the religion but the ancient language and manners of Greece, ſufficiently atteſt the exiſtence of this exceſſive ſenſibility, which, in thoſe early times, gave an eaſy victory to the indulgent powers of fancy, over the ſevere dictates of reaſon.

The nature of the gods.

The nature, the characters, and the occupations of the gods, were ſuggeſted by the lively feelings of an ardent, rather than by the regular invention of a cultivated, mind. Theſe celeſtial beings were ſubject to the blind paſſions which govern unhappy mortals. Their wants, as well as their deſires, were ſimilar to thoſe of men. They required not the groſs nouriſhment of meat and wine, but they had occaſion to repair the waſte of their etherial bodies by nectar and ambroſia; and they delighted in the ſteam of the ſacrifices, which equally gratified their ſenſes and flattered their vanity [25]. The refreſhment of ſleep was neceſſary to reſtore their exhauſted ſtrength [26], and with the addition of a ſuperior, but limited degree of power, and wiſdom, and goodneſs, the gods of the heroic ages were nothing more than immortal men.

What was wanting in the dignity and perfection, was ſupplied by the number of the gods [27]. Homer only deſcribes the principal and reigning divinities; but Heſiod, who gives the genealogical hiſtory of this fanciful hierarchy, makes the whole number amount to thirty

[24] Pauſan. (in Arcad.) calls them ξενοι και ομοτραπεζοι, gueſts and *companions at the ſame table*. Plutarch, in his Treatiſe on Muſic, cites as authorities Anticles and Iſtros, two ancient authors, who wrote concerning the apparitions of the gods. All that has reached the preſent times reſpecting this curious ſubject, is collected in a diſſertation of John Gottlob Nimptſch (Leipſic, 1720) in which he treats of the number of the divinities who appeared moſt commonly to men; of the form under which they appeared; the uſual time, and general cauſes, of their appearing, and the ordinary circumſtances accompanying it. See alſo Memoires de l'Academie, vol. ix. Mem. ſur les Mœurs des Siècles Heröiques.

[25] Theſe obſervations naturally reſult from Homer; but the doctrine of ſacrifices, as expiations for crimes, ſo univerſally diffuſed over the ancient and modern world, would merit the examination of an able divine.

[26] Mercury ſays to Calypſo, he would not have fatigued himſelf by travelling over ſuch a length of ſea and land, without a very powerful reaſon. Odyſſ.

[27] Fragilis & laborioſa, mortalitas in partes iſta digeſſit, infirmitatis ſuæ memor, ut portionibus quiſquis coleret, quo maximè indigeret. Plin. ii. 7.

thouſand.

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thouſand. Among theſe, every virtue had its protector, every quality of extenſive power in human life had its patron, and every grove and mountain and river its favourite inhabitants. Twelve divinities [28] of ſuperior rank preſided over the active principles of the univerſe, and the leading virtues of the mind: but even theſe diſtinguiſhed beings were ſubject to the unrelenting power of vengeance [29] and the fates, "who purſue the crimes of men and gods, "and never ceaſe from their wrath till they have inflicted juſt puniſhment on the guilty ſons of earth and heaven [30]."

Particular effects of the Grecian religion.

The materials which fancy had created, poetry formed into beauty, and policy improved into uſe. The creed of the Greeks, thus adorned and enlarged, became the happieſt antidote againſt the furious reſentment, the ſavage cruelty, and the fierce ſpirit of ſullen independence, which uſually characterize the manners of barbarians [31]. Yet theſe dreadful paſſions ſometimes forced their way through every mound which wiſdom had erected in order to oppoſe their courſe. Laws ſacred and profane were feeble barriers againſt the impetuoſity of their rage. The black vengeance of the heart was exerted in deeds of horror. The death of an enemy could not ſatisfy their inhuman cruelty. They burned with deſire to drink his hated blood, to devour his quivering limbs, and to expoſe his mangled remains to indignities equally odious and abominable in the ſight of gods and men [32]. The powerful influence of religion was directed againſt the wild exceſſes of this ſanguinary temper. The brave Tydeus loſt for ever the protection of his adored Minerva by a ſingle act of ſavage fero-

[28] The Roman religion was mere plagiariſm, ſo that Ennius might well tranſlate two lines of an ancient Greek poet, which includes the names of the principal divinities of Greece and Italy:

Juno, Veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo. ENNIUS apud Apuleium.

[29] Νεμεσις.

[30] Heſiod. Theog.

[31] Impiger iracundus inexorabilis acer
Negans jura ſibi facta, nihil non arrogans armis. HORAT.
will be found the general character of all barbarous nations.

[32] See Iliad, iv. ver. 35. Iliad, xxii. ver. 347. Iliad, xxiv. ver. 212.

city.

city. Humanity was inculcated by every precept of reaſon, and enforced by the ſtrongeſt motives of hope and fear. It was a firm article of belief, that hands ſtained with blood, even in the exerciſe of honourable war, were unworthy, till purified by luſtration, to be employed in the moſt ordinary functions of ſacred worſhip [33].

It would require a volume completely to illuſtrate the ſalutary effects of this ancient and venerable ſuperſtition, which was diſtinguiſhed above moſt other falſe religions, by the uncommon merit of doing much good, without ſeemingly occaſioning any conſiderable harm to ſociety. The Grecian tenets, while they inculcated profound reſpect to the gods, tended not to break the ſpirit, or to repreſs the courage, of their warlike votaries. The ancient heroes addreſſed their heavenly protectors in an erect poſture, with the unfeigned ſincerity of manly freedom. They expected to avert the calamities threatened by the anger of their divinities, not by inflicting on themſelves ſuch tortures as could be acceptable only to the mean reſentment of weak and wicked beings, but by repairing the wrongs which they had committed againſt their fellow-citizens, or compenſating, by new attentions, for the neglect ſhewn to the ceremonies of their national worſhip. In *their* eſtimation, the doing of injuries to men, and the omitting of prayer to the gods, were the principal cauſes of the Divine diſpleaſure; the incurring of which, being juſtly conſidered as infinitely greater than all other misfortunes, they were ſolicitous to avert it, not only by an exact performance of external rites, but by a diligent practice of moral duties. The dangerous power of oracles, the abuſed privileges of aſylums, the wild raptures of prophetic enthuſiaſm, the abominable ceremonies of the Bacchanalia, and the horrid practice of human ſacrifice, circumſtances which cover with deſerved infamy the later periods of paganiſm, were all unknown to the good ſenſe and purity of the heroic ages; nor is there to be diſcovered the ſmalleſt veſtige of any of theſe wild or

[33] Homer, paſſim.

wicked

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wicked inventions either in the writings of Homer, or of his contemporary Heſiod.

The amiable ſimplicity of their religious ſyſtem was communicated to the civil and military inſtitutions of the Greeks, to the laws of nations as well as to the regulations of internal policy, and to the various duties of domeſtic as well as of ſocial life. The ſentiments of natural reaſon, ſupported by the ſuppoſed ſanction of Divine authority, generally directed the conduct of men in the wide variety of theſe complicated relations; and from one great and luminous principle, deeply impreſſed on the mind, there reſulted an uniform ſyſtem of unaffected propriety of conduct, the contemplation of which will always be agreeable to every taſte that is not perverted by the falſe delicacy of artificial manners, or the illiberal prejudices of national vanity. In order to give the clearer explanation of the ſeveral parts of this beautiful ſyſtem, we ſhall examine the political, the civil, and the domeſtic condition of the Greeks; that is, the relation of the governors to the governed, and of the governed to one another, whether conſidered as ſubjects of the ſame ſtate, or as branches of the ſame family. We ſhall combine the effect of theſe relations with that of the ordinary occupations and favourite amuſements of this celebrated people, and from the whole endeavour to deduce the general eſtimate of their virtues and defects, of their happineſs and miſery.

Political ſtate of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

The common obſervation, that power follows property, though not altogether correct [34], affords perhaps the beſt ſuccedaneum to written laws, for determining the political rights of the different members of ſociety. If we examine by this rule the policies of the heroic ages, we ſhall find that they deſerve the title of republics, rather than that of monarchies. When a warlike tribe ſallied from its woods and mountains, to take poſſeſſion of a more fertile terri-

[34] The ſame property poſſeſſed by one, or by a few, confers much greater political conſideration and influence, than it would confer if diffuſed among the multitude.

tory,

tory, the ſoldiers fought and conquered, not for their leaders, but for themſelves [35]. The land acquired by their united valour was conſidered as a common property. It was cultivated by the joint labour and aſſiduity of all the members of the tribe, who aſſembled at a public table, celebrated together their religious rites, and, at the end of harveſt, received their due ſhares of the annual produce of the ground, for the maintenance of their reſpective families [36]. Superior opulence gave not to one a title to deſpiſe another, nor was there any diſtinction known among them, but what was occaſioned by the difference of perſonal merit and abilities. This difference, however, had naturally raiſed a chief or leader to the head of every ſociety; the frequent neceſſity of employing his valour, or his wiſdom, rendered his merit more conſpicuous and more uſeful; and his ſuperior uſefulneſs was rewarded, by the gratitude of his tribe, with a valuable portion of ground [37], ſeparated from the common property. This was cultivated, not by the hands of his martial followers, who laboured only for the community, but by the captives taken in war, of whom a conſiderable number were always beſtowed on the general [38]. Being accuſtomed to command in the field, and to direct the meaſures, as well as to decide the quarrels, of his aſſociates, he naturally became the judge of their civil differences; and, as the peculiar favour of the gods always attended on ſuperior virtue, he was alſo inveſted with the honourable office of preſiding in their religious ſolemnities. Theſe important functions of prieſt, judge, and general, which had naturally been conferred on the beſt and braveſt character of each particular tribe, were, upon

[35] The Odyſſey furniſhes innumerable proofs of the limited power of kings. Ulyſſes, on moſt occaſions, puts himſelf on an equal footing with his followers. It is commonly decided by lot, whether he ſhall be one of thoſe who undertake any adventure attended with fatigue and danger. Odyſſ. paſſim.

[36] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

[37] Iliad, l. xii. ver. 310.

[38] In the deſcription of the ſhield of Achille, Homer clearly diſtinguiſhes the domain of the king from the land of the community. Iliad, xviii. ver. 542.

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the union of ſeveral tribes into one ſtate, or nation, conferred on the beſt and braveſt of all the different leaders. Before the various ſtates of Greece had united in a general confederacy, the reſources derived from the domains appropriated to the prince (which, unleſs there was ſome particular reaſon to the contrary, were tranſmitted to his deſcendants), had enabled the ſeveral kings and leaders to extend their influence and authority. Their comparative power and ſplendor did not entirely ariſe from the merit of perſonal abilities, but was determined in part by the extent and value of their poſſeſſions: and Agamemnon was appointed to the command of combined Greece, as much on account of his ſuperior opulence, as of his many princely qualities [39]. But whether we examine the pre-eminence that Agamemnon enjoyed over the other princes of the confederacy, which is fully explained in the Iliad, or the authority with which each prince was inveſted in his own dominions, which is as fully explained in the Odyſſey, or the influence of a warlike chief over the ſeveral members of his tribe, which we have already endeavoured to delineate, we ſhall every where diſcover the limited power of kings, and the mild moderation of mixed government. As in the general confederacy, the councils [40] of princes controuled the reſolves of the monarch, and the voice of the aſſembly [41] was ſuperior to that of the council; ſo in each particular kingdom, the deciſions of the ſenate prevailed over the will of the prince, and the acknowledged majeſty of the people [42] governed the deciſions of the ſenate [43]. If we deſcend ſtill lower, we ſhall find the ſame diſtribution of power in every particular village [44], which afforded a pic-

[39] Thucydid. l. i. Iliad, ii. ver. 110. See alſo Ariſt. Ethic. l. iii. c. v.

[40] In matters of importance, Agamemnon is generally determined by the council of chiefs, many of whom, on various occaſions, treat him with little reſpect

[41] It is referred to the general aſſembly, whether it would be better to return to Greece, or to proſecute the ſiege of Troy.

[42] Several of the nobles of Ithaca even aſpired to the crown. Odyſſ. 21.

[43] In the Odyſſey, Telemachus threatens to appeal to the public aſſembly, of the injuſtice of the ſuitors, among whom were the principal nobles of Ithaca.

[44] Plutarch in Theſeo. Odyſſ. ibid.

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ture, in miniature, of a kingdom, while a kingdom itſelf afforded a ſimilar picture of the whole confederacy.

Their civil regulations.

The ſame ſimplicity which regulated the political ſyſtem, maintained the civil rights of the Greeks. As the price of ſubmitting to the reſtraints of ſociety, a man was ſecured in the enjoyment of his life and property [45]; his moveables were equally divided, at his death, among his deſcendants; and the unnatural right of primogeniture, which, in order to enrich the eldeſt ſon, reduces the reſt of the family to want and miſery, was altogether unknown to the equal ſpirit of the Grecian inſtitutions [46]. Cauſes reſpecting property were decided by the firſt magiſtrate, or by judges of delegated authority. The proſecution of murderers belonged to the relations of the deceaſed; they might accept a compenſation in money for the loſs which the family had ſuſtained [47]; but if this was not tendered them by the criminal, or if their reſentment was too violent to admit of any ſuch compoſition, they were entitled to the aſſiſtance of all the members of their tribe, who either puniſhed the murderer by death, or compelled him to leave the ſociety [48]. Theſe uſages, doubtleſs, prove the ideas of the Greeks, concerning criminal juriſdiction, to have been very rude and imperfect: but this diſadvantage was in ſome meaſure compenſated by their ignorance of thoſe legal cruelties, which in civilized nations are too frequently exerciſed, under the ſpecious pretence of juſtice. "In later times," ſays Thucydides, "puniſhments became more "ſevere, but crimes were not, on this account, leſs frequent." The powerful or wealthy offender (he might have added) frequently

[45] Iliad, xii. Pind. Pyth. Ode iv.

[46] Odyſſ. xiv. If there were no children, the neareſt relations, by the father's ſide, divided the moveable property: αποδαινεν δε δια κτησιν δατεισθαι χηρωται. Heſiod. Theogon. The ſame obſervation is made by Homer, Iliad, v.; but there is no mention of ſucceſſion to land or moveable property.

[47] Iliad, ix. Ajax blames the obſtinacy of Achilles, who refuſes ſuch compenſation for an affront, as a man ſometimes accepted for the murder of a ſon or a brother.

[48] There are examples of this in the 14th, 15th, and 23d Iliad.

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eluded the vengeance of thoſe ſevere laws; whereas in the heroic ages, there was not any reſpect of perſons, princes themſelves being ſubject to the ſame moderate penalties [49], which were juſtly inflicted on their offending ſubjects.

Regulations reſpecting the duties of domeſtic life.

The perfection of civil and political inſtitutions, which was produced in Greece by the influence of religion, is found in moſt countries to be proportional to their improvements in arts, and their attainments in knowledge; while the happy effects of domeſtic union are frequently moſt numerous and moſt conſiderable among the rudeſt and leaſt cultivated nations. The reciprocal duties of the governor and governed, as well as the mutual obligations of ſubjects, are gradually unfolded and enlarged by the progreſſive ideas of utility; but the tender connections of huſband and wife, of father and ſon, of brothers and kinſmen, excite, without reflection, the warmeſt feelings of the heart, and at once inſpire the affectionate ſentiments of love and friendſhip, of kindneſs and gratitude. The dictates of nature alone ſufficiently maintain the duties which correſpond to the ſeveral relations of blood; her voice is ſtrong, and poſitive, in aſſerting *their* obligation; and there is greater danger that theſe ſacred ties ſhould be weakened, or perverted, by the artificial refinements of poliſhed life, than that their influence ſhould continue altogether unknown, or be feebly felt, in the early periods of ſociety.

Agreeably to theſe obſervations, we find in the hiſtory of the heroic ages, the moſt intereſting pictures of conjugal love, of parental affection, and of filial duty. Theſe ſentiments, ſuggeſted by nature, and confirmed by reaſon, were ſtill farther ſtrengthened by the precepts of religion; and their force, thus augmented, became

[49] Thus Midon, the brother of Ajax, was obliged to fly to Phylace. Il. xv. Patroclus, for a ſimilar offence, took refuge with the father of Achilles, Il. 23. Pauſanias (in Eliac) gives examples of the ſame kind in two kings of the Ætolians; and theſe facts are agreeable to the nature of the kingly office in the heroic ages, as deſcribed by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, l. ii. Hiſt. Rom.

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ſo ſtrong and irreſiſtible, that it can ſcarcely be conceived by men, among whom faſhion, and vanity, and intereſt, have uſurped the place of more generous and manly principles.

The comforts of a family were anciently conſidered as equal to the benefits derived from ſocial union. To be deſtitute of the one, was deemed no leſs miſerable than to be deprived of the other. And the total baſeneſs of a man's character was expreſſed by ſaying, that he deſerved not to enjoy the rights of a citizen, the protection of a ſubject, or the happineſs of domeſtic life [50].

Marriage was a neceſſary ſtep in order to attain this happineſs, and the inſtitution of marriage was aſcribed by remote tradition to the bounty of the gods. The Greeks of the heroic ages, among whom the rights of weakneſs and beauty were as much reſpected as they afterwards were deſpiſed by their degenerate deſcendants, celebrated the conjugal union with all the pomp of religious feſtivity. The joyous band, carrying the nuptial torches, marched in pomp through the city, to the ſound of the hymeneal ſong [51]; the luſtral waters were drawn from the ſacred fountain Calliroe, and many revered ceremonies, rendered the connection of huſband and wife equally reſpectable and binding [52]. Marriage.

Adultery was conſidered as a crime of the blackeſt dye, and is always mentioned with the ſame horror as murder. Perſons guilty of theſe atrocious enormities purchaſed impunity [53], and more frequently eſcaped death, by voluntary baniſhment; but in many caſes they were puniſhed by the united vengeance of the tribe which had received the injury. Second nuptials were not abſolutely forbidden; but ſo ſtrong and ſacred was the matrimonial tie, that even the death of one of the parties was ſcarcely thought ſufficient to diſſolve it; and the ſurvivor, by entering into a new connection, ſuffered a dimi-

[50] Αφρητωρ αθεμιστος ανιστιος εστι εκεινος. Iliad, paſſim.

[51] Iliad, l. xxiii.

[52] Thucydides, l. ii. Meurſius Feriæ Græcæ, and the authors there cited.

[53] Odyſſ. viii.

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nution of fame, and ſubmitted to a conſiderable degradation of character [54].

Rank of women in the heroic ages.

Two circumſtances chiefly have rendered it difficult to explain the rank and condition of women in the heroic ages. The Greek word denoting a wife, is borrowed from a quality which equally applies to a concubine, and the ſame term is uſed indifferently to expreſs both. But the women who in ancient Greece ſubmitted to the infamy of proſtitution, were generally captives taken in war, who were reduced by the cruel right of arms to the miſerable condition of ſervitude. Hence it has been erroneouſly inferred, that in ancient Greece, wives as well as concubines were the ſlaves of their huſbands. This miſtaken notion, it has been attempted to confirm, not only by inſiſting on the humiliating condition of the fair ſex in the later ages of Greece, but by expreſsly aſſerting, that, in ancient times, they were purchaſed by their huſbands [55]. But this is to ſupport one error by another. Before entering into the ſtate of wedlock, it was cuſtomary for a man to make a mutual exchange of preſents with his intended father-in-law. The Greeks had particular terms to expreſs the preſent which he beſtowed, as well as that which he received [56]. The former, which has no correſponding term in the modern languages, is tranſlated by the more general word "price," which has given riſe to the falſe notion of the purchaſe and ſervitude of women; but the latter, which may with propriety be tranſlated "dower [57]," was given as a proviſion for the wife, both during marriage and after its diſſolution [58], and was ſufficient to deliver her from that ſuppoſed ſtate of dependence on the huſband, which never had any exiſtence but in the imagination of the ſyſtematic writers of the preſent age.

[54] Penelope was reſtrained from marrying a ſecond huſband: αἰδομένην, υἱὸν ποσιος, δημοιο τε φῆμιν. Il. xv.

[55] Lord Kaims's Sketches, Thomas ſur la Condition des Femmes, &c.

[56] Ἕδνα.

[57] Πρίαξ.

[58] Odyſſ. ii. Telemachus ſays, that if his mother ſhould be ſent from the houſe, he would be obliged to return her dower to her father Icarius.

[59] Homer, paſſim.

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In the modern countries of Europe, women are generally excluded from the ſerious occupations of life, but admitted to an equal ſhare in its gayeſt amuſements. During the heroic ages, they were not abſolutely debarred from the former, although it was impoſſible to aſſociate their natural delicacy and timidity to the warlike labours and pleaſures which formed the principal employments of their huſbands. The intercourſe between the ſexes, therefore, was leſs frequent and general, than would ſuit the refined ſoftneſs of modern manners.

Their occupations and amuſements.

The attention of women was chiefly confined to domeſtic cares, or to the practice of ſuch arts as required neither ſtrength, nor courage, nor wiſdom, but only the patient exertions of mechanical dexterity [59]. Our natural reſpect for the honour of the ſex is offended at hearing them as much extolled for their ſkill in the labours of the loom, as for their beauty and virtue; but it deſerves to be conſidered, that weaving and embroidery being, like all other arts, leſs extenſively diffuſed in Greece than in improved commercial countries, were on this account more highly valued, and therefore better adapted to confer diſtinction on thoſe who excelled in them. They were practiſed by ladies of the higheſt rank, and even by queens, who alſo thought it an honour to be entruſted with the education of their children, till they became fit for the ſociety of their fathers [60]. Beſides theſe employments, the women were permitted to join in celebration of religious rites and ceremonies, and many of them were conſecrated to the ſervice of particular divinities [61]. In the ſeaſons of public feſtivity, they mixed more freely than on ordinary occaſions in the ſociety of the other ſex. This was ſometimes attended with ſuch inconveniencies as might naturally be expected to

[59] Homer, paſſim.

[60] Thus, Thetis educated Achilles. Heſiod ſays poetically, that in the age of ſilver, the children continued, during an infancy of an hundred years, under the care of their mothers.

[61] Theano was prieſteſs of Vulcan, &c. Iliad.

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ariſe in conſequence of the uſual reſtraints impoſed on their behaviour. "The beautiful Polymela, ſays Homer[62], dancing in the "chorus of Diana, was embraced by Mercury; but ſhe had no "ſooner brought forth a ſon, than one of the principal citizens of-"fered her his hand." The inſtitutions of the heroic ages promoted, with admirable propriety, the modeſt reſerve of women, while they permitted not one excuſable error to cover an amiable character with indelible infamy. The crime of having too tender an heart was not deemed inexpiable; and, as the conſequences of female weakneſs were imputed to the affectionate ardour of ſome amorous divinity, they were ſo far from obſcuring the charms of beauty, that they adorned it with new graces and more conſpicuous ſplendour.

Conjugal love.

The ſimplicity of the ancient Greeks was equally remote from the cruel tyranny of ſavages, which condemn women to ſervitude, and the intereſted refinement of luxury and vice, which regards them as mere inſtruments of pleaſure. The natural equality between the ſexes ſuggeſted by the voice of ſentiment, aſſerted by the dictates of reaſon, and confirmed by the precepts of religion, produced the moſt delicate affections that can inſpire a ſuſceptible heart: hence thoſe moving ſcenes ſo admirably delineated by Homer, which retrace the the moſt perfect image of domeſtic felicity; hence thoſe pleaſing pains, thoſe anxious ſolicitudes of tenderneſs and love, which frequently degenerate into melancholy preſages of the loſs of an union to which nothing was wanting but that it ſhould prove immortal[63].

Parental affection.

The ſentiments of parental affection were proportionably ſtrong and ardent with thoſe of conjugal love. The mutual tenderneſs of the huſband and wife was communicated to their offſpring; while the father viewed in his child the charms of its mother, and the mother perceived in it the manly graces of its father. Independently of

[62] Iliad, xvi.

[63] See the interview of Hector and Andromache, and other examples. Iliad, ix. and Odyſſ. vi.

the

Duties of children.

the delicacy of ſentiments, there are, doubtleſs, in all countries, ſavage and civilized, innumerable inſtances of paternal kindneſs, which, indeed, is the moſt ſimple and natural expanſion of ſelf-love. But in the heroic ages alone, we find ſincere and complete returns of filial duty. In the loweſt ſtate of ſavage life men are, for the moſt part, little acquainted with this reſpectful affection: they fear and obey, but without any mixture of love, thoſe who are wiſer and ſtronger than themſelves. When they become wiſe and ſtrong in their turn, they diſregard the trembling hand that reared their tender years, or if any faint emotions of gratitude are feebly felt, they diſcover them in the prepoſterous kindneſs of delivering their aged parents from what appears to their own juvenile impatience the wretched load of life [64]. Among nations, on the other hand, who are ſunk in the corruptions incident to exceſſive luxury and refinement, the ties of nature are perverted or effaced; the young deſpiſe the admonitions, and avoid the company of the aged; and the duties, as well as the buſineſs of ſociety, are degraded into a miſerable traffic of intereſt or pleaſure. But as the Greeks had emerged from the melancholy gloom of the firſt ſituation, and had not yet declined into the foul vapours of the ſecond, they diſplayed the meridian ſplendour of the domeſtic virtues [65]. The reverence of children for their parents approached their veneration for the gods. The moſt violent and impetuous heroes ſubmitted, without reluctance, to the ſevereſt dictates of paternal authority. In ſuch delicate concerns as might ſeem to affect themſelves alone, they relinquiſhed their favourite inclinations, diſavowed any will of their own, and committed their deareſt concerns to the experienced wiſdom and known goodneſs of their fathers. The amiable expreſſions of filial reſpect were extended into a more general ſentiment of regard for the infirm and aged. Even among

[64] Pere Charlevoix Voyage, &c. Lafitau Mœurs des Sauvages.

[65] There is, perhaps, no other language that can expreſs, without a circumlocution, what the Greeks meant by θρεπτα, the obligations of children to repay the maintenance, the education, and the tender cares of their parents.

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brothers who were nearly of the ſame age, the younger was obliged to yield in every inſtance to the elder; and it was an acknowledged principle of religion, that the Furies defended, by their ſtern authority, the ſacred rights of ſuperior years [66].

Occupations of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

The occupations of the ancient Greeks, whether of war or peace, were, for the moſt part, directed by the ſame ſacred influence which governed their behaviour in the various relations of domeſtic and ſocial life. War was their principal employment; and in the field they both diſplayed their nobleſt qualities, and diſcovered the greateſt defects of their character. They were unacquainted with thoſe diſciplined evolutions which give harmony and concert to numerous bodies of men, and enable whole armies to move with the activity and addreſs of ſingle combatants. What was wanting in ſkill, they ſupplied by courage. They marched to the field in a deep phalanx, ruſhed impetuouſly to the attack, and bravely cloſed with their enemies. Each warrior was firmly buckled with his antagoniſt, and compelled by neceſſity to the ſame exertions of valour, as if the fortune of the day had depended upon his ſingle arm. Their principal weapon was the ſpear reſembling the Roman pilum, which, thrown by the nervous and well-directed vigour of a ſteady hand, often penetrated the firmeſt ſhields and bucklers. When they miſſed their aim, or when the ſtroke proved ineffectual through want of force, they drew their ſwords, and, ſummoning their utmoſt reſolution, darted impetuouſly on the foe. This mode of war was common to the ſoldiers and generals, the latter being as much diſtinguiſhed in the day of action by their ſtrength and courage, as by their ſkill and conduct. The Greeks had bows, and ſlings, and darts, intended for the practice of diſtant hoſtility, but the uſe of theſe weapons, which were much employed in the military paſtimes of the heroic ages, was confined in the field to warriors of inferior renown [67]. Their defenſive armour

State of the military art among them.

[66] Περισθυτέροις ἰέμενοι αἰὲν ἔπεσθαι. Homer, paſſim.

[67] Teucer is more than once upbraided in the Iliad as a vain archer.

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was remarkably complete: a bright helmet, adorned with plumes, covered the head and face, a firm corſlet defended the breaſt, greaves of braſs deſcended to the feet, and an ample ſhield looſely attached to the ſhoulders turned in all directions, and oppoſed its firm reſiſtance to every hoſtile aſſault.

The effect of their military regulations on manners.

The cloſe compact combats of the Greeks were fitted to excite the moſt furious paſſions of the heart, and to embitter national animoſity by perſonal hatred and revenge. A battle conſiſted of ſo many duels, which exaſperated to the utmoſt the hoſtility of the contending parties; each ſoldier knew the antagoniſt from whom he had received, or on whom he had inflicted the ſevereſt injuries. They fought with all the keenneſs of reſentment, and often ſullied the honours of victory by thoſe licentious cruelties which are too natural to men in the giddy moment of triumph over a deteſted adverſary.

It is partly to this unfortunate circumſtance, and partly to the ancient mode of appropriating the warlike plunder to thoſe who firſt acquired it, that we are to aſcribe the ſhocking enormities which were ſometimes committed by the braveſt and moſt generous of the Grecian chiefs.

Laws of war.

That the ſeverities exerciſed towards the conquered proceeded not from the barbariſm of the age, and an ignorance of the rights of humanity, is plain from the obſervances deemed neceſſary, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, in carrying on any military expedition, or in enjoying the fruits of victory. Theſe obſervances, which were confirmed by the laws of nations among the Greeks, were practiſed before the commencement of hoſtilities, during their continuance, and after their concluſion. Before any war could be lawfully undertaken, it was neceſſary to diſpatch ambaſſadors, who might explain the injury that had been done, demand immediate and complete ſatisfaction, and if this was refuſed, denounce in form the reſolution of their community, to proſecute its

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claim by force of arms [68]. After they had begun to execute their fatal purpoſe, the characters of heralds, thoſe ſacred miniſters of kings, were equally reſpected by friends and foes. They travelled in ſafety through the midſt of embattled hoſts, proclaimed to the ſilent warriors the commiſſions with which they were intruſted, or demanded a truce for burying the dead, which could not be refuſed without the moſt enormous impiety [69]. The uſe of poiſoned weapons [70] was forbidden, under pain of the divine diſpleaſure. It was agreeable to the will of the gods that the life ſhould be ſpared, when a ſufficient ranſom was promiſed [71]. And after a treaty of peace was concluded between hoſtile nations, without any apparent ratification but the honour of the contracting parties, the perfidious wretches who betrayed the ſanctity of their engagements, were devoted, amidſt ſolemn ſacrifices and libations, to the fury of the terrible goddeſſes [72].

Arts of peace.

From the arts of peace, the Greeks had acquired the neceſſaries, and procured the accommodations, but had not obtained the luxuries of life. Paſturage and agriculture ſupplied them with the moſt indiſpenſable articles of food, and with the principal materials of clothing. The implements of huſbandry were extremely imperfect; the plough itſelf, the moſt uſeful of them all, being compoſed entirely of wood [73], which aroſe rather from the ſcarcity of iron, than from any defect of mechanical ingenuity [74]. They employed, in the time of Heſiod, the invention of ſhears, for depriving the ſheep of their wool, having formerly waited the ſeaſon of its annual ſeparation by nature [75]. Barley was the principal produce of their fields, and furniſhed the ordinary food both of men and of horſes. The invention of mills was unknown, and the grain underwent ſeveral tedious operations, in order to facilitate the

State of agriculture.

[68] See chap. i. p. 32.
[69] Homer, paſſim.
[70] Ilus refuſed Ulyſſes poiſoned arrows, ſince he revered the immortal gods,
Εππη πεμισιζετο θεους αιν ιοιτας. Odyſſ.
[71] Iliad, i. Ibid. vi. 24.
[72] Iliad, iii.
[73] Heſiod, Oper. & Dies.
[74] Homer, paſſim.
[75] Heſiod, ibid.

bruiſing of it between two large ſtones with the hand [76]. Although the Greeks cultivated the olive, they were unacquainted with the benefit derived from the fruit of this plant, ſo well adapted to chear the melancholy gloom of night [77]. The Grecian ſoil was naturally favourable to the grape; but the long and operoſe proceſs by which the juice of it was ſeparated and prepared, rendered wine ſcarce and dear [78].

Of the mechanic arts, weaving was the beſt underſtood; yet this, as well as all the other profeſſions which are qualified by the appellation of ſedentary, were practiſed by the Greeks ſtanding upright [79]; which ſeems to indicate an imperfect ſtate of improvement. The hatchet, wimble, plane, and level, are the tools mentioned by Homer, who appears to have been unacquainted with the ſaw, the ſquare, and the compaſs [80]. The art of cutting marble, which afterwards furniſhed Grecian ingenuity with the materials of thoſe inimitable productions which are ſtill the wonder of the world, was as yet undiſcovered; nor did the poliſhed luſtre of this valuable ſtone adorn the habitations of the Greeks [81]. Mechanic arts.

Homer mentions not the orders of architecture, which were invented in a later age; and pillars are the only ornaments aſſigned to the edifices which he deſcribes. The houſes of the great were ſurrounded by a wall, that conſiſted of two floors; the lower of which was diſtributed into four apartments, which we have tranſlated by the names of hall [82], portico, antichamber, and bedchamber, which expreſs the ſame relative ſituation, rather than any other point of reſemblance. The roofs were flat, and the doors opened towards the Fine arts. Architecture

[76] Plin. l. xviii. c. xiv.

[77] The Greeks had not diſcovered any other contrivance for that purpoſe, than the burning of great fires of wood. The torches mentioned by Homer conſiſted of branches of any reſinous tree, ſplit at the end, and lighted at the fire. Odyſſ. l. vi. ver. 307. l. xviii. ver. 306. & ver. 309.

[78] Odyſſ. l. vii. ver. 122.

[79] Euſtach. in Iliad, i. ver. 31.

[80] Odyſſ. l. v. ver. 234, &c.

[81] In the palace of Alcinous, which ſhone with gold, ſilver, braſs, and amber, there is no mention of marble. Odyſſ. l. iv. ver. 72.

[82] Ἡ παξις ουτως; ερκος περι ὁ πυλαι, μετα δι το ερκιον αυλη, μετα ἡν, αιθουσα, ὁ προδομος, και θαλαμος. Pollux Onomaſt.

ſurrounding

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furrounding wall, while the gates of the wall itſelf opened towards the road or ſtreet [83]. The invention of enamelling metals had been

Painting.

cultivated with ſingular ſucceſs: And though painting, properly ſo called, was rude and unformed during the age of Homer, the genius of the divine poet has deſcribed the rudiments of his kindred art with ſuch graces as would adorn [84] its moſt refined ſtate of perfection.

Muſic.

Muſic was much practiſed among the early Greeks. It was not of the learned kind, and therefore the better adapted to touch the heart. The effects aſcribed to it are wonderful, but not incredible, becauſe the ancient muſic was not merely an agreeable ſucceſſion of melodious, unmeaning ſounds, but an imitation and a heightening of the ſimple, natural, and pathetic tones and cadences of a beautiful and expreſſive language [85].

Sciences.

In the heroic ages men had neither leiſure nor inclination to attend to the ſpeculative ſciences. All the knowledge that they poſſeſſed or eſteemed was of the practical kind. From arithmetic they learned ſuch ſimple calculations as ſuited the narrow ſphere of their tranſactions. Aſtronomy taught them to obſerve the conſtellations moſt neceſſary to direct the adventurous courſe of the mariner: but

[83] Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 441.

[84] The nobler kinds of painting are all illuſtrated in the ſhield of Achilles; and each picture diſcovers a wonderful degree of *invention*, *expreſſion*, and *compoſition*. Iliad, xviii. Perrault and Terraſſon, who thought it impoſſible to place ſo many pictures in the circumference of a ſhield, were anſwered by Boivin, who ſuppoſed a great many concentric circles. This opinion was adopted by Pope, who pretends that all the branches of painting, even aerial perſpective, may be found in Homer's ſhield. "That he was no "ſtranger to aerial perſpective, appears from "his expreſsly marking the diſtance from "object to object," &c. But this obſervation only proves that Pope, who practiſed painting, was little acquainted with the theory of that art; ſince aerial perſpective has nothing to do with the diminution of objects in proportion to their diſtance, and relates entirely to the changing and weakening of colours, according to the condition of the medium through which they are ſeen. The objections of Perrault and Terraſſon, and the concentric circles of Boivin, are equally frivolous. The ſhield of Homer contains, in fact, but ten pictures. The enumeration by the particles μεν and δε fixes the number. But the poet not only deſcribes theſe ten pictures actually repreſented on the ſhield, but alſo mentions their antecedents and conſequents. This is the chief ſuperiority of poetical imitation above painting, that it can deſcribe, in a few pages, what many galleries of pictures could not repreſent.

[85] Odyſſ. iii. ver. 267, & paſſim. This ſubject will be treated fully hereafter.

their

their navigation was ſtill ſo imperfect that they ſeldom abandoned the coaſts; and the only ſtars mentioned by Homer are the Great and Little Bear, the Pleiades, the Hyades, Orion, and the Dog Star. The metaphyſics, ethics, and politics of the ancient Greeks have been explained under the article of religion, from which they were originally derived, and with which they long continued to be inſeparably connected. The main objects propoſed in the education of the young warriors, were, that they ſhould learn to excel in the military exerciſes of the age, eſpecially thoſe of throwing the lance, and of driving the chariot, and to command the attention of the ſenate, or aſſembly, by delivering their opinion in a perſpicuous, elegant, and manly ſtyle [86].

Education.

It was not only in the council and in the field that theſe ſuperior accompliſhments ſolicited and obtained their well-merited rewards. Each community preſented, in time of peace, the picture of a large family. The Greeks lived in continual ſociety with their equals, enjoyed common pleaſures and amuſements, and had daily opportunities of diſplaying their uſeful talents in the ſight of their fellow-citizens. The frequent diſputes between individuals occaſioned litigations and trials, which furniſhed employment for the eloquence and abilities of men, in the neceſſary defence of their friends. The funeral games, and thoſe celebrated in commemoration of ſeveral important events, both of a civil and ſacred kind, opened a continual ſource of entertainment. There the young and vigorous contended in the rapid race; wielded the maſſy cæſtus or ponderous quoit; and exerted equal efforts of ſtrength and ſkill in the other manly exerciſes which confirm the vigour of the body, and the fortitude of the mind. Nor were the aged and infirm allowed to languiſh for want of proper objects to rouſe their emulation, to flatter their pride, and to employ their remaining activity. It belonged to them to offer their wiſe counſels, to interpoſe their reſpected autho-

Ordinary amuſements of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

[86] Μυθων τε ρητηρ' εμμεναι πρηκτηρα τ' εργων.

rity,

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rity, and to decide the quarrels, as well as to determine the merit, of the young candidates for fame. The applauſe and rewards beſtowed on him whoſe counſels and deciſions were moſt generally approved, conſoled the weakneſs of his declining years, while his rivals, though diſappointed for the preſent, expected, on ſome future occaſion, to obtain the ſame honourable marks of the public eſteem [87].

Eſtimate of the Grecian manners and character during the heroic ages.

If, after this general review of the Grecian manners and inſtitutions, we ſhould endeavour to eſtimate their value, they would probably riſe in our eſteem, by being compared either with the rude cuſtoms of ſavage life, or with the artificial refinements of poliſhed ſociety. The Greeks had advanced beyond that uniform inſipidity of deportment, that ſullen ferocity of manners, and that hardened inſenſibility of heart, which univerſally characteriſe the ſavage ſtate. They ſtill poſſeſſed, however, that patient intrepidity, that noble ſpirit of independence, that ardent attachment to their friends, and that generous contempt of pain and danger and death, which render the deſcription of the wild tribes of America ſo intereſting to a philoſophic mind. Of two principal enjoyments of life, ſtudy and converſation, they were little acquainted, indeed, with the conſolations and pleaſure of the firſt, the want of which was compenſated by the ſincerity, the confidence, the charms of the ſecond. Their ſocial affections were leſs comprehenſive in their objects, but more powerful in their effects, than thoſe of poliſhed nations. A generous chief ruſhes to certain death, to revenge the cauſe of his friend; yet refuſes to the prayers of an aged parent the melancholy conſolation of interring the remains of his favourite ſon; till the correſponding image of his own father ſtrikes his mind, and at once melts him to pity [88]. The imaginary wants and artificial paſſions which are ſo neceſſary to urge the hand of induſtry, and to vary the purſuits of men, in improved commercial ſocieties, were ſupplied to the Greeks by that exceſſive ſenſibility, which intereſted them ſo deeply in the affairs of their community,

[87] Iliad, xviii. Ibid. xxiii.

[88] Iliad, xxiv.

munity, their tribe, their family, and their friends, and which even connected them by the feelings of gratitude with the inanimate objects of nature. As they were not acquainted with the ſame diverſity of employments, ſo neither were they fatigued with the ſame giddy round of diſſipated pleaſures which augment the ſpendid miſery of later times. Though ignorant of innumerable arts which adorn the preſent age, they had diſcovered one of ineſtimable value, to render the great duties of life its moſt entertaining amuſement. It will not, perhaps, be eaſy to point out a nation who united a more complete ſubordination to eſtabliſhed authority with a higher ſenſe of perſonal independence, and a more reſpectful regard to the dictates of religion with a more ardent ſpirit of martial enterprize. The generous equality of their political eſtabliſhments, and their imagined intercourſe with the gods, conſpired to raiſe them to a certain elevation of character which will be for ever remembered and admired. This character was rendered permanent, in Sparta, by the famous laws commonly aſcribed to the invention of Lycurgus, but which, as will appear in the ſubſequent chapter, were almoſt exact copies of the cuſtoms and inſtitutions that univerſally prevailed in Greece during the heroic ages.

CHAP. III.

Diſtracted State of Greece.—The Heracleidæ conduct the Dorians into Peloponneſus.—Divide their Conqueſts in that Peninſula.—The Eolic, Ionic, and Doric Migrations.—Eſtabliſhment of Colonies in Thrace, Macedon, Africa, and Magna Græcia.—Influence of the Ionic Colonies in Aſia on the Affairs of the Mother Country.—The Abolition of Monarchy in Greece.—New Diſorders in that Country.—Four Inſtitutions which tended to remove them.—The Amphyctyonic Council.—The Oracle of Delphi.—The Olympic Games.—The Spartan Laws.

CHAP. III.

State of Greece after the Trojan war.

GREECE triumphed over Troy, but it was a melancholy triumph. The calamities of war were followed by diſaſters at ſea, by diſcord among the chiefs, by ruin to the confederacy; yet theſe evils were leſs afflicting than the inteſtine animoſities and ſedition excited by the licence of the people, and fomented by the ambition of the nobles during the long and unfortunate abſence of their kings. The victorious Agamemnon had ſcarce ſet foot on his native land, when he was cut off by an adulterous ſpouſe, and a perfidious aſſaſſin [1]. His ſon Oreſtes found protection in Athens againſt the reſentment of an uſurper. In the eighth year of his exile he returned with his partiſans, and took juſt vengeance on the abominable Egyſtheus and Clytemneſtra [2]. He reigned in

[1] Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 29.
[2] Odyſſ. l. iii. ver. 196, and ver. 305, & ſeq.

Argos,

Argos, but with far leſs glory than his father; nor did that kingdom ever thenceforth aſſume its ancient pre-eminence.

Weakneſs of that country during the four ſucceeding centuries. From A. C. 1184 till 776.

The wanderings and woes of Ulyſſes are too well known to be deſcribed [3]. His patient fortitude regained the kingdom of Ithaca, but not without wading through the blood of his moſt illuſtrious ſubjects [4]. If hiſtory minutely recorded the domeſtic feuds which prevailed in other ſtates, it would probably exhibit a diſguſting picture of fraud and cruelty, and a continual repetition of ſimilar crimes and calamities would equally fatigue the attention, and offend the humanity, of the modern reader. But though it would be neither entertaining nor uſeful to deſcribe the particular and tranſitory conſequences of theſe diſorders, it is of importance to remark their general and laſting tendency to prolong the weakneſs of Greece; whoſe obſcure tranſactions, during the four following centuries, ill correſpond with the ſplendour of the Trojan, or even of the Argonautic, expedition.

Hiſtory of that period obſcure.

The hiſtory of this long period is very confuſedly and imperfectly related by ancient authors, and the chronology is throughout very inaccurately aſcertained; yet ſuch events as are either intereſting in themſelves, or had any permanent influence on the memorable ages of Greece, which form the ſubject of the preſent work, may be clearly explained, and reduced to a narrow compaſs. In order to preſerve an unbroken narrative, we muſt conſider three ſeries of events, which naturally followed each other, and which all tended to the ſame goal. In this view, we ſhall firſt examine the migrations of different tribes or communities within the narrow bounds of Greece; ſecondly, the eſtabliſhment of new colonies in many diſtant parts of Europe as well as of Aſia and Africa; and, thirdly, the internal changes produced in the ſeveral ſtates, by their adopting, almoſt univerſally, the republican, inſtead of the monarchical, form

Diviſion of the ſubject.

[3] Odyſſ. paſſim.

[4] Odyſſ. l. xxii. ver. 290, & ſeq.

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of government[1]. In the fluctuation of theſe commotions we muſt, then, ſeek for the ſeeds of order and ſtability, and endeavour to trace, amidſt extenſive migrations, general revolutions, and unceaſing hoſtilities, the origin and improvement of thoſe ſingular inſtitutions which tended to unite, to poliſh, and to adorn the ſcattered and ſtill ſpreading branches of the Grecian race through every part of the world.

Migrations of the Hellenic tribes or communities

The migrations, which ſoon followed the Trojan expedition, are mentioned but not explained by hiſtorians. Their general cauſe may be diſcovered in Homer, whoſe poems, no leſs inſtructive than agreeable, can alone enable us to travel with equal ſecurity and pleaſure in the dark regions of Grecian antiquity. Domeſtic diſſention, and, ſtill more, the unſettled tenure of landed property, as deſcribed by that immortal poet, naturally engaged the Grecian tribes, notwithſtanding their acquaintance with agriculture, often to change their reſpective habitations. The idea of a ſeparate property in land is the principal tie which binds men to particular diſtricts. The avarice of individuals is unwilling to relinquiſh the fields, which it has been the great object of their induſtry to cultivate and to adorn, and their pride is averſe to a ſeparation from their hereditary eſtabliſhments. Theſe paſſions, which cover the bleak heaths and inhoſpitable mountains of the north, with fair and populous cities, while far more inviting regions of the earth ſtill remain deſtitute of inhabitants, could not have much influence on a people, who regarded land as the property of the public, rather than of individuals. In ſuch a nation, men are connected with the territory which they inhabit, only as members of a particular community, and when expoſed to any ſlight inconvenience at home, or allured by fairer proſpects from abroad, they iſſue forth with one accord to acquire, by their united valour, more ſecure or more agreeable ſettlements. Governed by motives of this kind a tribe of Bœo-

in the north of Greece. A. C. 1124.

[1] Velleii Paterc. l. i.

tians

tians, ſoon after the Trojan war, ſeized the rich vale of Theſſalian Arné. The ſame reſtleſs ſpirit urged a warlike band of Theſſalians to quit the ſeats of their anceſtors. The new emigrants poured down with irreſiſtible violence on the unprepared Bœotians, who were thus reluctantly compelled, ſixty years after the taking of Troy, to rejoin their brethren in the ancient kingdom of Cadmus [6].

The deſcendants of Hercules conduct the Dorians into the Peloponneſus. A. C. 1104.

Twenty years after this event, a more extenſive migration totally changed the affairs of the Peloponneſus; and, in its conſequences, gave new inhabitants to the whole weſtern coaſt of Aſia Minor. The rival families of Perſeus and Pelops anciently contended for the dominion of the Grecian peninſula. The fortune of the Pelopidæ prevailed; but their ſuperiority led them rather to perſecute, than to forgive, their enemies. The deſcendants and partiſans of the great Hercules, the moſt illuſtrious hero of the Perſeid line, were diveſted of their poſſeſſions, and driven into baniſhment. The exiles were firſt received by the Athenians, whoſe more humane, or more enlarged policy, rendered Attica, ever ſince the reign of Theſeus, the moſt ordinary reſource of the miſerable [7]. Their leader Hyllus was afterwards adopted by Epalius, the aged king of Doris; and the death of their benefactor ſoon made the Heracleidæ maſters of that mountainous province [8]. But the wilds of Oeta and Parnaſſus were little fitted to ſatisfy men, whoſe anceſtors had enjoyed far more valuable poſſeſſions. Their natural ambition was long repreſſed by the growing greatneſs of the Pelopidæ, and the glory of Agamemnon. After the unexpected diſaſters of that prince, they twice attempted, unſucceſsfully, to break through the Corinthian iſthmus, and to recover their ancient dominion in Argos and Lacedæmon [9].

[6] Thucydid. l. i. p. 9 and 10. Diodor. l. iv. Strabo, l. ix. p. 630. Pauſan. l. ix. c. xl.

[7] Lyſias Orat. Funeb.

[8] Strabo, l. ix. p. 427.

[9] Herodot. l. ix. c. xxvi. Apollodor. l. ii. c. v & vi.

Inſtructed

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Their auxiliaries in that enterprise.

Inſtructed by paſt miſcarriages, Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, deſcendants in the fifth degree from Hercules, finally abandoned the hopeleſs deſign of entering the Peloponneſus by land. But determining to uſe every exertion for regaining their hereditary eſtabliſhments, they ſet themſelves, with great induſtry, to prepare tranſports in a convenient harbour, at the northern extremity of the Corinthian gulph, which, in conſequence of this tranſaction, received, and thenceforth retained, the name of Naupactus. The warlike and rapacious Ætolians, whoſe leader Oxylus was nearly related to the family of Hercules, readily aſſiſted their labours, with a view to ſhare the booty that might accrue from the expedition. The Dorians, who inhabited the neighbourhood of Mount Pindus, cheerfully deſerted the gloomy ſolitude of their woods, in order to ſeek poſſeſſions in a more agreeable and better cultivated country. Animated by theſe reinforcements, the Heracleidæ redoubled their diligence. All neceſſary preparations were made for the invaſion; yet their confidence in arms excluded not the uſe of artifice. By ſecret intrigues they gained a party in Lacedæmon; and, before ſetting ſail, they prudently detached a body of light armed troops, whoſe appearance at the Iſthmus drew the ſtrength of the enemy towards that quarter [10]. Meanwhile their armament was carried by a favourable gale towards the eaſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus. The Heracleidæ landed their followers without oppoſition, and aſſailed the defenceleſs territories, to which they had long laid claim, comprehending the whole peninſula, except the central province of Arcadia, and the maritime diſtrict of Achaia. The five other provinces were conquered at the ſame time, though by different means. Laconia was betrayed to the invaders [11]; Argos acknowledged their authority; Corinth, Elis, and Meſſenia ſubmitted to their arms. The revolution was complete, and effected with little bloodſhed, but not

They take poſſeſſion of five provinces in that peninſula.

A. C. 1104.

[10] Pauſan. l. ii. c. xviii.

[11] Strabo, l. viii. p. 365.

without

without great oppreſſion of the ancient inhabitants, many of whom emigrated, and many were reduced to ſlavery [12].

Diviſion of their conqueſts.

The Heracleidæ, agreeably to the cuſtom of that age, divided their new acquiſitions by lot. The kingdom of Argos fell to the ſhare of Temenus; Creſphontes obtained Meſſenia; and, as Ariſtodemus then happened to die, Laconia was ſet apart for his infant ſons, the twin-brothers, Euryſthenes and Procles. Corinth was beſtowed on their kinſman Aletes; and Elis given to Oxylus, their brave Ætolian ally [13]. This diſtribution, however, referred only to the royal dignity, then extremely limited, and to an appropriated domain to the ſeveral princes in their reſpective allotments. The reſt of the territory was divided among the warlike Dorians and Ætolians, who had conquered for themſelves, not for their leaders [14]; and who, having over-run, without oppoſition, the fineſt provinces of the Peloponneſus, could not willingly return to lead a life of hardſhip and miſery on their native mountains.

Fate of the expelled princes of thoſe countries.

Before this important revolution, Argos and Lacedæmon were ſubject to Tiſamenus, grandſon of Agamemnon; Meſſenia was governed by Melanthus, a deſcendant of the celebrated Neſtor. Theſe princes had not ſo far degenerated from the glory of their anceſtors, as to ſubmit to become ſubjects in the countries where they had long reigned. On the firſt falſe alarm of invaſion occaſioned by the appearance of light troops at the Iſthmus, Tiſamenus and Melanthus had taken the field with the flower of the Argive and Meſſenian nations. But while they prepared to repel the expected inroads from the north, they received the melancholy intelligence that their kingdoms had been attacked on another ſide, on which they thought them ſecure. Inſtead of returning ſouthward to diſpoſſeſs the Heracleidæ, an enterpriſe too daring to

The ſucceſſors of Tiſamenus conquer Achaia.

[12] Herodot. l. vi. c. lii. Polyb. l. ii. p. 178. Strabo, l. viii. p. 383. Pauſan. Argolic. & Iſocrat. Panathen.

[13] Pauſan. ibid.

[14] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

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afford any proſpect of ſucceſs, Tiſamenus turned his arms againſt the Ionians, who inhabited the ſouthern ſhore of the Corinthian gulph. An obſtinate battle was fought, which proved fatal to Tiſamenus; but his followers obtained a deciſive victory, and, having expelled or enſlaved the ancient inhabitants, took "poſſeſſion of that valuable province, ſo famous in later times under the name of Achaia. Melanthus enjoyed better fortune. Accompanied by his faithful Meſſenians, he reſorted to Attica, then engaged in war with the neighbouring kingdom of Bœotia. The Bœotian prince propoſed to decide the conteſt by ſingle combat. Thymætes, though deſcended from the heroic Theſeus, declined the challenge. Melanthus accepted it, prevailed in the conflict, and the ſceptre of the depoſed Thymætes was his reward [16].

Melanthus becomes king of Attica.

The fermentation occaſioned in Greece by ſo many expulſions and migrations, expanded itſelf through the iſlands and coaſts of Aſia Minor. Many Peloponneſian fugitives, who beheld with indignation the calamities inflicted on their country, flocked to the ſtandard of Penthilus [17], a younger brother of Tiſamenus, who had taken refuge in Eubœa. Others followed the banners of Cleues and Malaus [18], alſo deſcendants of Agamemnon. The partizans of all theſe princes having unſucceſsfully traverſed the northern parts of Greece in queſt of new ſettlements, finally yielded to the dictates of their enterpriſing ſpirit, croſſed the Helleſpont eighty-eight years after the taking of Troy, and eſtabliſhed themſelves along the ſhore of the ancient kingdom of Priam. They gradually diffuſed their colonies from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the mouth of the river Hermus [19]; which delightful country, together with the iſle of Leſbos, thenceforth received the name of Eolis or Eolia, to denote that its inhabitants belonged to the Eolian branch of the Hellenic race [20].

The Eolic migration. B. C. 1096.

[15] Pauſan. & Strabo, ibid.
[16] Strabo, l. ix. p 393. Herodot. l. v. c. lxv.
[17] Strabo, l. ix. p. 402.
[18] Idem. l. xiii. p. 582, & ſeq.
[19] Idem. ibid. & Herodot. l. i. c. cli.
[20] Herodot. ibid.

Conſequences

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Conſequences ſtill more important reſulted from the expulſion of the Achæans by the followers of Tiſamenus. The ancient inhabitants of Achaia, being themſelves Ionians, took refuge with their kinſmen in Attica. The Meſſenian fugitives under Melanthus had ſought protection in the ſame country. The Athenians readily accepted theſe new acceſſions of ſtrength, being inſpired with a well-founded jealouſy of the Dorian conquerors of Peloponneſus, whoſe ambition early produced that memorable rivalſhip between the Doric and Ionic race, which ſubſiſted to the lateſt times of the Grecian republics [21]. In the reign of Codrus, ſon of Melanthus, the Dorians had already encroached on the Athenian frontier, and ſeized the territory of Megara, on the northern coaſt of the Saronic gulph [22]. Iſſuing from their ſtrong holds in that rocky diſtrict, from which it was long impoſſible to diſlodge them, they haraſſed the Athenians in a cruel war, concerning which a ſuperſtitious rumour prevailed, that they ſhould finally remain conquerors, provided they abſtained from injuring the perſon of the Athenian king. Codrus, hearing the report, was inſpired with the ſpirit of heroiſm congenial to his family. Diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, he proceeded to the quarters of the enemy; inſulted a Dorian ſoldier; a combat enſued; Codrus [23] fell; his body was recogniſed; and the ſuperſtitious Peloponneſians, now deſpairing of ſucceſs, ſuſpended their hoſtilities. The inimitable merit of a prince, who had devoted himſelf to death for the ſafety of his country, furniſhed the Athenians with a pretence for aboliſhing the royal authority. None of the human race, they declared, was worthy to ſucceed Codrus; and none but Jupiter ſhould thenceforth reign in Athens [24]. Medon, the eldeſt ſon of that admired prince, was appointed firſt magiſtrate of the republic, under the humbler title of archon. His brothers Neleus and Andro-

Rivalſhip between the Ionians and Dorians.

A. C. 1089.

Codrus devotes himſelf to death for his country.

A. C. 1068. Royalty aboliſhed in Athens.

[21] Herodot. & Thucydid. paſſim.
[22] Strabo, l. ix. p. 393.
[23] Pauſan. l. vii. c. xxv. Juſtin. l. ii.
[24] Pauſan. l. vii. c. ii.

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The Ionic migration. A. C. 1055.

clus, probably diſſatisfied with theſe tranſactions, determined to leave their country. Their deſign was approved by the Achæan and Meſſenian refugees, and by many Athenian citizens, who complained that Attica was too narrow and barren to maintain the encreaſing numbers of its inhabitants. The reſtleſs ſpirits in Phocis, Bœotia, and other neighbouring provinces, eagerly joined the emigrants. They ſailed to Aſia Minor, expelled the ancient inhabitants, a mixed race of Lydians, Carians, and Pelaſgi, and ſeized the central and moſt beautiful portion of the Aſiatic coaſt [25]. Their colonies were gradually diffuſed from the banks of the Hermus to the promontory of Poſideion. They afterwards took poſſeſſion of Chios and Samos; and all theſe countries were united by the common name of Ionia, to denote that the Ionians compoſed the moſt numerous diviſion of the colony [26].

Greek colonies eſtabliſhed in Macedon, Thrace, Africa, Magna Græcia, &c.

During the ſame turbulent ages, inteſtine ſedition, foreign invaſion, or the reſtleſs ſpirit of adventure and rapine, occaſioned other important extenſions of Grecian colonization. The moſt numerous colonies occupied the iſles of the Ionian and Ægean ſeas, the ſouthern coaſt of Italy almoſt interſected by the former, and the winding ſhores of Aſia Minor [27], ſo beautifully diverſified by the latter. The larger iſlands of Sicily, Sardinia and Cyprus, were very anciently planted by Greeks. While the Hellenic ſtock puſhed forth theſe vigorous ſhoots towards the eaſt and weſt, very conſiderable branches extended towards the north and ſouth. The maritime parts of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace, themſelves abounding in Greek ſettlements, poured forth new colonies along the European ſhores of the Propontis and Euxine [28]: and emigrants from Peloponneſus having early eſtabliſhed themſelves on the oppoſite coaſt of Africa, were gradually diffuſed from the confines of Egypt to the Syrtic [29] gulph.

[25] Herodot. l. i. c. cxlii.

[26] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 632, & ſeq. Pauſan. l. vii. c. ii.

[27] Thucydid. l. i. & Strabo, paſſim.

[28] Herodot. l. ii. & l. iv.

[29] Herodot. l. iv. c. cxlvii. Strabo, l. x. & l. xvii.

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The hiſtory of all theſe colonies, ſome of which rivalled in arts, and others in arms, the glory of the mother country, will merit our attention, in proportion as they emerge from obſcurity, and take a ſtation in the general ſyſtem of Grecian politics.

The Doric migration. A. C. 944.

The Aſiatic Greeks, whoſe affairs firſt became intimately connected with thoſe of the mother country, received a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength in conſequence of the renewal of hoſtilities between the Athenians and Dorians. The latter were finally expelled from many of their ſtrong holds in Megara. Diſdaining after this misfortune to return into the Peloponneſus, many of them ſailed to the iſlands of Rhodes and Crete, already peopled by Doric tribes; while others tranſported themſelves to the peninſula of Caria, which, in honour of their mother country, received the name of Doris [30].

View of the Aſiatic colonies.

In conſequence of this eſtabliſhment, which was formed two hundred and forty years after the Trojan war, the weſtern coaſt of Aſia Minor was planted by the Eolians in the north, the Ionians in the middle, and the Dorians in the ſouth. Theſe original diviſions of the Hellenic race retained in their new ſettlements the peculiarities of accent and dialect, by which they had been reſpectively diſtinguiſhed in Europe [31]; and which, at the time of their ſeveral emigrations, prevailed in Bœotia, Attica, and Lacedæmon. The Bœotians and Lacedæmonians, who claimed the firſt honours, the one of the Eolic, and the other of the Dorian name, adhered, with little variation, to their ancient dialects: but the Athenians, more ingenious, or fonder of novelty, made ſuch conſiderable alterations in their writing and pronunciation, as remarkably diſtinguiſhed them from their Ionian brethren; and thus the ſame language came to be modified into four ſubdiviſions [32], or dialects, which may be ſtill recognized in the invaluable remains of Grecian literature.

Diſtinction of dialects.

[30] Strabo, & Pauſan. & Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxiii.

[31] Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

[32] Strabo, l. viii.

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Peculiar advantages of the Ionian colonies.

Of all theſe innumerable colonies, the Ionians will demand our earlieſt and moſt ſtudious attention. They ſettled in a country of great extent and fertility, enjoying the moſt delicious climate, and peculiarly adapted to a commercial intercourſe with the moſt improved nations of antiquity. Favoured by ſo many advantages, they ſilently flouriſhed in peace and proſperity, till their growing wealth and numbers excited the avarice or the jealouſy of the powers of Aſia. They were ſucceſſively conquered by the Lydians and Perſians, but never thoroughly ſubdued. Having imbibed the principles of European liberty, they ſpurned the yoke of Aſiatic bondage. In their glorious ſtruggles to re-aſſume the character of freemen, they ſolicited and obtained the aſſiſtance of their Athenian anceſtors, and occaſioned that memorable rivalſhip between the Greeks and Perſians, which, having laſted two centuries, ended in the deſtruction of the Perſian empire. In this illuſtrious conteſt, the firſt ſucceſſes of the Greeks againſt enemies far more powerful, and incomparably more numerous than themſelves, inſpired them with an enthuſiaſm of valour. Their exploits merited not only praiſe, but wonder [33], and ſeemed fit ſubjects for that hiſtorical romance, which, in the progreſs of literature, naturally ſucceeds to epic poetry.

Their influence on the affairs of their European anceſtors.

Connection of this hiſtory.

The writers who undertook to record and to adorn the trophies of Marathon and Platæa, had occaſion to look back to the tranſactions of more remote times. But in taking this retroſpect, *they* diſcovered, or at leaſt *we* may diſcover by their works, that their enquiries began too late to afford much authentic information on that important ſubject. Yet, imperfect as their relations neceſſarily are, they ſerve to explain by what concurrence of favourable circumſtances and cauſes the Greeks adopted thoſe ſingular inſtitutions, ac-

[33] Τα ἐργα μεγαλα και θωμαστα. Herodot p. 1. The exploits which he relates, ſtill more than his manner of relating them, render the work of Herodotus the intermediate ſhade between poetry and hiſtory, between Homer and Thucydides.

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quired that ſenſe of national honour, and attained thoſe virtues of policy and proweſs, which enabled them, by the moſt ſplendid ſeries of exploits recorded in hiſtory, firſt to reſiſt, then to invade, and finally to ſubdue the monarchy of Cyrus.

Abolition of monarchy in Greece.

During the prevalence of thoſe generous, though romantic opinions, which characteriſed the heroic ages, the authority of kings was founded on religion, ſupported by gratitude, and confirmed by utility. While they approved themſelves worthy miniſters of heaven, they were entitled to due and hereditary honours[34]; but in the exerciſe of the regal office, they were bound to reſpect the rights, the ſentiments, and even the prejudices of their ſubjects. The fatal dictates of ambition and avarice led them to tranſgreſs the preſcribed limits, and to trample on thoſe laws which their predeceſſors had held ſacred[35]. The minute diviſion of landed property, which had already taken place, not only, as above-mentioned, in the Peloponneſus, but in the northern provinces of Greece, rendered the nobles and people more ſenſible of theſe encroachments, which they muſt at once boldly reſiſt, or ſubmit for ever to the yoke of oppreſſion. Reduced to this alternative, the Greeks were inclined by diſpoſition, and enabled by ſituation, to prefer and to maintain the moſt honourable part. The prerogatives of royalty were not as yet ſupported by the excluſive right of the ſword, by which a particular claſs of men might intimidate and controul the reſolutions of their fellow-ſubjects. The more independent and illuſtrious citizens, who had been accuſtomed from the earlieſt times to come armed to the council or aſſembly, communicated their grievances, and took proper means to remove them[36]. Miltas, the fourth Argive prince in ſucceſſion to Temenus, was condemned to death for uſurping abſolute power. Monarchy expired more honourably in Attica; it periſhed ſtill more diſgracefully in Arcadia, but was gra-

[34] Ἐπι ρητοις γεραισι πατριχαι Βασιλειαι. Thucydid. l. i.

[35] Thucydid. l. i. p. 10.

[36] Ariſtot. Polit. l. iv. c. 13.

dually

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dually abolished in every province of Greece, except Sparta alone, from the southern extremity of Peloponnesus to the northern frontier of Thessaly [37].

The important, though remote consequences of this revolution, will be explained in the sequel. Its immediate tendency served only to multiply the evils which it was designed to remedy. Greece, oppressed by its kings, was still more oppressed by its archons, or magistrates [38]; and, already too much divided under the ancient government, was still more subdivided under the new form of polity. Many inferior cities disdained the jurisdiction of their respective capitals. Several of them affected separate and independent sovereignty. Each town, each district, maintained war with its neighbours; and the fanciful state of nature, according to the philosophy of Hobbes, was actually realized in that distracted country [39].

Accumulated disorders in that country.

From these accumulated disorders, which seemed scarcely capable of augmentation, it is time to turn our view to those events and causes which operated in a contrary direction, and gradually introduced union and happiness. The Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, otherwise productive of much confusion and bloodshed in that peninsula, greatly extended, however, the salutary influence of the Amphictyonic council. In the northern parts of Greece, this institution, which had been originally intended to prevent foreign invasion, had been found equally useful in promoting domestic concord. The Dorians being constituent members of the council, continued to attend its meetings after they had settled beyond the mountainous isthmus of Corinth. All the provinces which they conquered gradually assumed the same privilege. The Amphictyons thus became a representative assembly of the whole Grecian name, consisting not only of the three original tribes of Ionians, Dorians, and Eolians, but of the several subdivisions of these tribes,

Circumstances which tended to remove them.

The authority of the Amphictyonic council extended.

[37] Thucydid. ibid. [38] Aristot. ibid. Plut. in Solon. [39] Thucydid. ibid.

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and of the various communities formed from their promiſcuous combination [41]. Each independent ſtate had a right to ſend two members, the Pylagoras [41] and Hieromnemon [42], reſpectively entruſted with the civil and religious concerns of their conſtituents. The abolition of royalty rendering the independent communities more numerous, increaſed the number of Amphictyons to about an hundred perſons [43]. The central city of Delphi, ſo famous from cauſes that will be immediately explained, was choſen as a convenient place for holding their vernal aſſembly; the autumnal was ſtill held at Thermopylæ. An oath, guarded by the moſt ſolemn imprecations, was adminiſtered to each member, "that he would never ſubvert any Amphic-" tyonic city, nor ſtop the courſes of its running water, but puniſh " to the utmoſt of his power thoſe who committed ſuch outrages [44]." Their conſtituents, however, diſcovered, on innumerable occaſions, that they thought themſelves but imperfectly bound by this ſacred promiſe. Every exceſs of animoſity prevailed among the Grecian republics, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Amphictyons. Yet it cannot be doubted that their authority tended ſometimes to appeaſe, ſometimes to moderate contention; and that this reſpected tribunal, though deficient in coërcive power, had a conſiderable effect to ſuppreſs diſcord, and reſtrain the barbarities of war [45].

[40] The principal diviſions were,

1. Ionians, among whom the Athenians held the firſt rank.

2. The Dorians, among whom the Lacedemonians held the firſt rank.

3. The Eolians, among whom the Bœotians held the firſt rank.

4. Theſſalians. 5. Magnetes.
6. Achæans. 7. Phthiotes.
8. Phocians. 9. Malians.
10. Ænians or Oetians.
11. Dolopians.
12. Locrians. Confer. Pauſan. in Phocic. & Æſchin. de Falſa Legat.

[41] Demoſth. de Coron. ſect. 51.

[42] Suidas, ad voc.

[43] Thirty-one Amphictyonic cities undertook the defence of Greece in the Perſian war. (Plutarch in Themiſtocl.) The one half of Greece, on that memorable occaſion, remained neutral, or ſided with the enemy. (Herodot. & Diodor.) If each city ſent two members to the Amphictyons, the whole would amount to one hundred and twenty-four. But as ſome cities enjoyed the right of being repreſented in that council only in conjunction with others, this might diminiſh the number of members to that mentioned in the text.

[44] Æſchin. de Falſa Legat. ſect. 35.

[45] Plut. in Cimon.

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The origin of Grecian oracles.

The Amphictyons gained much conſideration, by declaring themſelves protectors of the Delphic oracle, which had been growing to importance ſince the Dorian conqueſt, and which thenceforth gradually acquired a ſingular influence on the affairs of Greece. It is ſeldom poſſible to explain the riſe of inſtitutions derived from the natural paſſions of men, or founded on prejudices as ancient as the world. The moſt probable information concerning the origin of Grecian oracles was conveyed to Herodotus [46], in a thin allegorical veil, by the prieſts of Dodona, and explained to that inquiſitive and ingenious traveller, by the prieſts of Jupiter in Egypt. In the fanciful ſtyle of antiquity, a black pigeon flew from the temple of Egyptian Thebes, to Theſprotia in Epirus, perched on a ſpreading oak, proclaimed with a human voice, that an oracle of Jupiter ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlet of Dodona obeyed the divine admonition. In plainer language, a female attendant belonging to the temple of Thebes on the Nile, was tranſported to Epirus by Phœnician pirates, and there ſold as a ſlave. Her Egyptian complexion deſerved the epithet of black among the mountaineers of Theſprotia, bordering on the Illyric hordes, who were remarked by the Greek hiſtorians for their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity [47]. She was ſaid to ſpeak the language of birds, before ſhe underſtood the Grecian tongue, often diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of human ſpeech [48]. The enterpriſing female, though reduced to captivity among thoſe whom ſhe muſt have regarded as barbarians, did not yield to deſpair, but dexterouſly availed herſelf of the advantages which ſhe derived from her education and her country. In Egypt, ſuperſtition had been already reduced into ſyſtem; and a pretenſion to prophecy was one of the moſt ſucceſsful artifices by which the prieſts of Thebes long governed the opinions and reſolutions of prince and people. Her attendance on the temple had taught her ſome of the

[46] Herodot. l. ii. c. 54. [47] Lucian in Macrob. [48] Homer, paſſim.

arts

arts by which this pretenſion was maintained. She choſe the dark ſhade of a venerable oak; delivered myſterious anſwers to the admiring multitude; her reputation increaſed; ſucceſs gained her aſſociates; a temple roſe to Jupiter, and was ſurrounded by houſes for his miniſters.

Reaſon why their authority was not conſiderable during the heroic ages.

This ſingular inſtitution was imitated, at a very early period, in many provinces of Greece. The various and inconſiſtent accounts of ſimilar eſtabliſhments abundantly confirm the antiquity of their origin, and the multiplicity of temples, groves, grottos and caverns, in which the favourites of innumerable divinities declared their will to men, proves them no leſs univerſal than ancient [49]. During the heroic ages, indeed, as illuſtrious and pious men believed themſelves, on important occaſions, honoured with the immediate preſence and advice of their heavenly protectors, the ſecondary information of prieſts and oracles was leſs generally regarded and eſteemed. But in proportion as the belief ceaſed that the gods appeared in a human form, or the ſuppoſed viſits at leaſt of theſe celeſtial beings ſeemed leſs frequent and familiar, the office of prieſt became more important and reſpectable, and the confidence in oracles continually gained ground. At length, theſe admired inſtitutions, being conſidered as the chief and almoſt only mode of communication with ſupernatural powers, acquired a degree of influence capable to controul every other principle of authority, whether civil or ſacred [50].

Circumſtances which gave peculiar celebrity to the oracle of Delphi.

But theſe various oracles, though alike founded on ignorance, and raiſed by deceit, were not equally ſupported by power and policy. The crafty Cretans (apt ſcholars of Egypt), who inſtituted the worſhip of the Delphian Apollo [51], gradually procured the credit of ſuperior veracity to the predictions of the god whom they ſerved. Favourable circumſtances concurred; the central ſituation of Delphi;

[49] Strabo, l. viii. p. 352. & p. 418. & Strabo & Pauſan. paſſim.

[50] Herodot. Thucydid. & Xenoph. paſſim.

[51] Homer, Hymn. ad Apollin.

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the vernal ſeſſion of the Amphictyons; the luſtre derived from the immediate protection of that aſſembly; above all, the uncommon and awful aſpect of the place itſelf, fitted to excite wonder in ages leſs addicted to ſuperſtition.

Deſcription of that place.

That branch of the celebrated mount Parnaſſus, which divides the diſtricts of Phocis and Locris, contained, towards its ſouthern extremity, a profound cavern, the crevices of which emitted a ſulphureous vapour, that, powerfully affecting the brain, was deemed capable of inſpiring thoſe who breathed it with religious frenzy, and prophetic enthuſiaſm [52]. Around the principal mouth of the chaſm, the city of Delphi aroſe in the form of a theatre, upon the winding declivity of Parnaſſus, whoſe fantaſtic tops overſhadowed it, like a canopy, on the north, while two immenſe rocks rendered it inacceſſible on the eaſt and weſt, and the rugged and ſhapeleſs mount Cirphis defended it on the ſouth [53]. The foot of the laſt-named mountain is waſhed by the rapid Pliſtus, which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at the diſtance of only a few leagues from the ſacred city. This inacceſſible and romantic ſituation, from which the place derived the name of Delphi [54], was rendered ſtill more ſtriking, by the innumerable ecchoes which multiplied every ſound, and increaſed the ignorant veneration of viſitants for the god of the oracle. The artful miniſters of Apollo gradually collected ſuch objects in the groves and temple, as were fitted to aſtoniſh the ſenſes of the admiring multitude. The ſplendor of marble, the magic of painting, the invaluable ſtatues of gold and ſilver, repreſented not (to uſe the language of antiquity) the reſemblance of any earthly habitation, but rather expreſſed the image of Olympus, adorned and enlightened by

[52] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 26. & Strab. l. ix. p. 419.

[53] Homer has rather painted than deſcribed the ſituation of Pytho, Apollo's temple at Delphi:

Λυταρ ἐπιοθεν
Πετρη ὑποκρεμαται, κοιλη δ' ὑποδιδρομε Βησσα, &c.
Hymn. ad Apollin.

[54] Δελφος is explained in the gloſſaries by ſynonymous words, ſignifying *ſolitary*, *alone*.

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the actual preſence of the gods. During the age of Homer, the rich magnificence of Delphi was already proverbial [55]; and when Xerxes undertook his memorable expedition againſt Greece, the dedications in this pious treaſury, accumulated from the ſuperſtition and vanity of Greeks and Barbarians, were held equivalent [56] to the revenues of the monarch of Aſia, who covered the broad Ægean with his fleet, and tranſported into Europe two millions of armed men.

The particular conſtitution of that oracle.

The protection and ſuperintendence of this precious depoſitory of riches and ſuperſtition belonged to the Amphictyons. But the inhabitants of Delphi, who, if we may uſe the expreſſion, were the original proprietors of the oracle, always continued to direct the religious ceremonies, and to conduct the important buſineſs of prophecy [57]. It was *their* province alone to determine at what time, and on what occaſion, the Pythia ſhould mount the ſacred tripod, to receive the prophetic ſteams, by which ſhe communicated with Apollo. When overflowing with the heavenly inſpiration, ſhe uttered the confuſed words, or rather frantic ſounds, irregularly ſuggeſted by the impulſe of the god; the Delphians [58] collected theſe ſounds, reduced them into order, animated them with ſenſe, and adorned them with harmony. The Pythia, appointed and diſmiſſed at pleaſure, was a mere inſtrument in the hands of thoſe artful miniſters, whoſe character became ſo venerable and ſacred, that they were finally regarded, not merely as attendants and worſhippers, but as the peculiar family of the god [59]. Their number was conſiderable, and never exactly aſcertained, ſince all the principal inhabitants of Delphi, claiming an immediate relation to Apollo, were entitled to officiate in the rites of his ſanctuary; and even the inferior

[55] Ουδ' ὁσσα λαίνος οὐδος ἀφητορος εντος ἰσχει.

[56] See Diſſert. ſur l'Oracle de Delph. par Mr. Hardion, Mem. de l'Academ. The compariſon was, doubtleſs, an exaggeration of the wealth of Delphi, which was little known till later times, when the Phocians plundered the temple of near a million ſterling, without exhauſting its treaſures. But of this more hereafter.

[57] Strabo, l. ix.

[58] Strabo, l. ix. p. 419.

[59] Lucian Phaler.

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ranks, belonging to that ſacred city, were continually employed in dances, feſtivals, proceſſions, and in diſplaying all the gay pageantry of an airy and elegant ſuperſtition.

Its influence in eſtabliſhing the Olympic games and Spartan laws.

The ſubſequent hiſtory of Greece atteſts the important and ſalutary influence of the Delphic oracle, which no ſooner attained ſplendor, than it confirmed, by its awful ſanction, two inſtitutions, the firſt religious, the ſecond civil, and both accompanied with very extraordinary conſequences. The Olympic games, and Spartan laws, were reſpectively eſtabliſhed by Iphitus and Lycurgus, contemporaries [60], friends, both animated by the true ſpirit of patriotiſm, and unqueſtionably the moſt illuſtrious characters of the age in which they lived [61]; yet the roads which they purſued for reaching the ſame goal, the ſafety of their reſpective territories, were ſo widely different, that, while the Olympic games rendered Elis the moſt pacific, the laws of Lycurgus made Sparta the moſt warlike, of all the Grecian communities.

Remote cauſes of the eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games, and other ſimilar inſtitutions.

It was held an ancient and ſacred cuſtom, in the heroic ages, to celebrate the funerals of illuſtrious men by ſuch ſhows and ceremonies as ſeemed moſt pleaſing to their ſhades. The tombs, around which the melancholy manes were ſuppoſed to hover, naturally became the ſcene of ſuch ſolemnities. There the fleeting ghoſts of departed heroes were entertained and honoured by exhibitions of bodily ſtrength and addreſs [62]; while the gods, though inhabiting the broad expanſe [63] of heaven, were yet peculiarly worſhipped, by prayers and ſacrifices, in the ſeveral places, which ſometimes the wildneſs, and

[60] Phlegon apud Euſeb. Chronic & Ariſtot. apud Plutarch. in Lycurg.

[61] Lycurgus and Iphitus are commonly ſuppoſed to have inſtituted the Olympic games 108 years before the period to which the Olympiads could be regularly traced. This was 776 years before Chriſt, when Coræbus won in the foot-race. See Pauſan. l. v. Sir Iſaac Newton conſiders the chronology preceding the victory of Coræbus as ſo extremely uncertain, that he propoſes ſtriking off the imaginary interval between him and Iphitus; which appears the more reaſonable, becauſe hiſtory is totally ſilent with regard to any occurrences, that muſt have happened in the intermediate ſpace of 108 years.

[62] Iliad, l. xxiii.

[63] Ουρανος ευρυς. Homer, paſſim.

ſometimes

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ſometimes the elegance of fancy, had aſſigned for their favourite, though temporary, reſidence on earth. The lofty chain of Olympus, ſeparating the barbarous kingdom of Macedon from the fertile plains of Theſſaly, is diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral circumſtances, which ſeemed juſtly to entitle it to that honour. This long and lofty ridge aſcends above the regions of ſtorms and tempeſts. Its winding ſides are diverſified by woods, and interſected by torrents. Its fantaſtic tops, towering above the clouds, reflect, during day, the rays of the ſun, and ſometimes brighten the gloom of night with the lambent ſplendors of the Aurora Borealis [64]. Olympus came, therefore, to be naturally regarded as the principal terreſtrial habitation of the gods; along the receſſes of this mountain [65] each divinity had his appropriate palace; on its higheſt ſummit Jupiter often aſſembled the heavenly council; and from thence, veiled in a white gleam, the protectors of mankind deſcended, and were viſibly manifeſted to mortal eyes [66].

While Olympus was conſidered as the general rendezvous of theſe fanciful beings, it was natural to imagine that the partiality of particular divinities might ſelect other favourite ſpots of the earth for their ſeparate abode. The ſingular aſpect of Delphi, or Pytho, which recommended it as the ſeat of the oracle of Apollo, and afterwards of the Pythian games, has already been deſcribed. The Corinthian territory was particularly conſecrated to Neptune [67]; for where could the god of the ſea be more properly worſhipped, than on the narrow iſthmus, whoſe ſhores were adorned by grateful monuments of delivered mariners, and which had continued, from early times, the principal centre of Grecian navigation?

Immediate cauſes of the eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games.

A tradition prevailed, that even before the Dorian conqueſt, the fruitful and pictureſque banks of the Alpheus, in the province of Elis, or Elcia, had been conſecrated to Jupiter [68]. It is certain that

[64] See the inimitable deſcription in the 6th book of the Odyſſey, ver. 42.

[65] Κατα πτυχας Ολυμπου. Along the foldings of Olympus.

[66] Homer, paſſim, & particularly Iliad, l. xix. ver. 49.

[67] Pauſan. Corinth. & Strabo, p. 378.

[68] Pauſan. l. v. paſſim, & l. vi. p. 360.

athletic

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athletic ſports, ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed by Homer at the funeral of Patroclus, had been on many occaſions exhibited in Elis, by aſſembled chiefs, with more than ordinary ſolemnity [69]. The Dorian conquerors are ſaid to have renewed the conſecration of that delightful province. But the wars which early prevailed between them and the Athenians, and the jealouſies and hoſtilities which afterwards broke out among themſelves [70], totally interrupted the religious ceremonies and exhibitions with which they had been accuſtomed to honour their common gods and heroes. Amidſt the calamities which afflicted or threatened the Peloponneſus, Iphitus, a deſcendant of Oxylus, to whom the province of Eleia had fallen in the general partition of the peninſula, applied to the Delphic oracle. The prieſts of Apollo, ever diſpoſed to favour the views of kings and legiſlators, anſwered agreeably to his wiſh, that the feſtivals anciently celebrated at Olympia, on the Alpheus, muſt be renewed, and an armiſtice proclaimed for all the ſtates willing to partake of them, and deſirous to avert the vengeance of heaven [71]. Fortified by this authority, and aſſiſted by the advice of Lycurgus, Iphitus took meaſures, not only for reſtoring the Olympic ſolemnity, but for rendering it perpetual. The injunction of the oracle was ſpeedily diffuſed through the remoteſt parts of Greece, by the numerous votaries who frequented the ſacred ſhrine. The armiſtice was proclaimed in Peloponneſus, and preparations were made in Eleia, for exhibiting ſhows and performing ſacrifices. In the heroic ages, feats of bodily ſtrength and addreſs were deſtined to the honour of deceaſed warriors; hymns and ſacrifices were reſerved for the gods. But the flexible texture of Grecian ſuperſtition, eaſily confounding the expreſſions of reſpectful gratitude and pious veneration, enabled Iphitus to unite both in his new inſtitution.

[69] Iliad, ii. ver. 697. & Iliad, ix. ver 623.

[70] Pauſan. l. v.

[71] Phlegon, apud Euſeb.

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Deſcription of the nature and deſign of this inſtitution.

The feſtival, which laſted five days, began and ended with a ſacrifice to Olympian Jove. The intermediate time was chiefly filled up by the gymnaſtic exerciſes, in which all freemen of Grecian extraction were invited to contend, provided they had been born in lawful wedlock, and had lived untainted by any infamous immoral ſtain. The preparation for this part of the entertainment was made in the gymnaſium of Elis, a ſpacious edifice, ſurrounded by a double range of pillars, with an open area in the middle. Adjoining were various apartments, containing baths, and other conveniences for the combatants. The neighbouring country was gradually adorned with porticoes, ſhady walks and groves, interſperſed with ſeats and benches, the whole originally deſtined to relieve the fatigues and anxiety of the candidates for Olympic fame; and frequented, in later times, by Sophiſts and philoſophers, who were fond to contemplate wiſdom, and communicate knowledge, in thoſe delightful retreats. The order of the athletic exerciſes, or combats, was eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus, and correſponded almoſt exactly to that deſcribed by Homer, in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, and eighth of the Odyſſey. Iphitus, we are told, appointed the other ceremonies and entertainments; ſettled the regular return of the feſtival at the end of every fourth year, in the month of July; and gave to the whole ſolemnity that form and arrangement, which it preſerved with little variation above a thouſand years; a period exceeding the duration of the moſt famous kingdoms and republics of antiquity [72].

Its important conſequences.

Such is the account of Grecian writers, who have, doubtleſs, often aſcribed to poſitive inſtitution many inventions and uſages naturally reſulting from the progreſſive manners of ſociety. When we come to examine the Elian games in their more improved ſtate, together with the innumerable imitations of them in other provinces of Greece, there will occur reaſons for believing, that many regulations

[72] See the Authors cited by Weſt, in his Diſſertation on the Olympic games.

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referred, by an eaſy ſolution, to the legiſlative wiſdom of Iphitus or Lycurgus, were introduced by time or accident, continued through cuſtom, improved by repeated trials, and confirmed by a ſenſe of their utility. Yet ſuch an inſtitution as the Olympiad, even in its leaſt perfect form, muſt have been attended with manifeſt advantages to ſociety. It is ſufficient barely to mention the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities which took place, not only during the celebration of the feſtival, but a conſiderable time both before and after it. Conſidered as a religious ceremony, at which the whole Grecian name were invited, and even enjoined, to aſſiſt, it was well adapted to facilitate intercourſe, to promote knowledge, to ſoften prejudice, and to haſten the progreſs of civilization and humanity. Greece, and particularly Peloponneſus, was the centre from which the adventurous ſpirit of its inhabitants had diffuſed innumerable colonies through the ſurrounding nations. To theſe widely ſeparated communities, which, notwithſtanding their common origin, ſeem to have loſt all connection and correſpondence, the Olympiad ſerved as a common bond of alliance, and point of reunion. The celebrity of this feſtival continually attracted to it the characters moſt diſtinguiſhed [73] for genius and enterpriſe, whoſe fame would have otherwiſe been unknown and loſt in the boundleſs extent of Grecian territory. The remote inhabitants, not only of European Greece, but of Aſia and Africa, being aſſembled to the worſhip of common gods, were formed to the ſenſe of a general intereſt, and excited to the purſuit of national honour and proſperity. Strangers of ſimilar diſpoſitions might confirm in Elis the ſacred and indiſſoluble ties of hoſpitality. If their communities were endangered by any barbarous power, they might here ſolicit aſſiſtance from their Grecian brethren. On other occaſions they might explain the benefits which, in peace or war, their reſpective countries were beſt qualified to communicate. And the Olym-

[73] Pindar, paſſim.

pic

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pic feſtival might thus ſerve the purpoſe of reſident ambaſſadors, and other inſtitutions alike unknown to antiquity.

State of Greece in the age of Lycurgus.

Iphitus did not, probably, foreſee the manifold advantages deſtined to reſult from his plan. His main aim was to protect the ſmall principality of Elis againſt the dreaded invaſion of more powerful neighbours. This he effectually accompliſhed by fencing it round with a wall of ſanctity, while his more daring aſſociate fortified Sparta with diſciplined valour. Yet Lycurgus had farther ends in view, when he propoſed thoſe celebrated laws, which were univerſally admired, but never imitated. Greece in that unfortunate age preſented a gloomy picture of domeſtic diſcord. The elevated, though romantic, ſentiments of antiquity had ceaſed to prevail; the heroic character was effaced; and the generous, but often deſtructive expeditions into foreign lands, were interrupted by leſs daring, but ſtill more fatal undertakings. The introduction of ſeparate wealth had introduced inequality and ambition. Each petty prince was deſirous to exalt his prerogative, and to extend his dominions. The paſſions of neighbouring princes balanced his deſire of conqueſt. The reſiſtance of his ſubjects counteracted his uſurpations. Every kingdom, almoſt every city, was torn by a double conflict; dangers threatened on all ſides; ſubjects expelled their kings, and kings became tyrants[74].

His juſtice expoſes him to reſentment in Sparta.

During theſe tumultuary ſcenes, Lycurgus, of the line of Procles, and commonly reckoned the tenth in deſcent from Hercules, received the Spartan ſceptre upon the death of his elder brother Polydectes: but the widow of Polydectes declaring herſelf pregnant, he reſigned the crown, and aſſumed the title of Protector. This delicate attention to juſtice, rare in that turbulent age, excited juſt admiration for Lycurgus, which was enhanced by contraſt. The ambitious princeſs, more ſolicitous to preſerve the honours of a queen than deſirous to know the tender cares of a mother, ſecretly intimated to the Protector, that, if he conſented to marry her, ſhe would engage

[74] Thucyd. l. i. Plut. in Lycurg.

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gage that no poſthumous ſon of his brother ſhould diſappoint his hopes of the ſucceſſion. Lycurgus feigned to enter into this unnatural project, but exhorted her, not to endanger her health by procuring an abortion. When her delivery drew near, he ſent truſty perſons to attend her, with orders that, if ſhe brought forth a ſon, the infant ſhould be immediately carried to him. This command was obeyed, while he ſupped with the principal magiſtrates of the republic. He received the child in his arms, ſaying, "Spartans, a "king is born to you!" Joyous congratulations followed, to commemorate which, the infant was named Chaerelaus, "the people's joy."

His travels.

Notwithſtanding the fame redounding to Lycurgus from this tranſaction, the intrigues of the ſlighted queen raiſed a powerful faction againſt him. He withdrew himſelf from the gathering ſtorm; and, being yet in early manhood, indulged his inclination for viſiting foreign countries; an inclination ſtrongeſt in liberal minds, and moſt commendable in ages of rudeneſs and ignorance, when the faint rays of knowledge muſt be collected from an extenſive ſurface.

Collects Homer's poems, and carries them to Sparta.

The renowned iſland of Crete, which had given birth to the gods and governments of Greece, firſt attracted his regard. The Cretans ſtill partially adhered to the laws of Minos; but their iſland never reſumed its priſtine luſtre after the fatal war of Troy. From Crete he ſailed to Egypt, and carefully examined the civil and religious polity of that ancient kingdom. Deſpiſing the terrors of the ſea, as well as the fatigues and dangers of unexplored journies through barbarous or deſert countries, he is ſaid to have reached the populous and flouriſhing kingdoms of the eaſt: nor, could we truſt the partial evidence of his countryman Ariſtocrates [75], did the remote provinces of India eſcape his obſervation. He returned by the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and obſerved, with equal aſtoniſhment and ſatisfaction, the numerous Greek colonies that had riſen with ſuch ſudden ſplendour on the weſtern coaſt of that valuable peninſula. The numerous ad-

[75] Apud Plutarch. in Lycurg.

vantages

vantages derived from this extenſive view of men and manners, moulded by ſuch a wide variety of religious, political, and military inſtitutions, were all eclipſed by one diſcovery—the immortal poems of Homer, unknown to the Dorian conquerors of Peloponneſus, but carefully preſerved among the Eolians and Ionians, whoſe anceſtors they celebrated. Lycurgus collected theſe invaluable compoſitions; arranged the ſeveral parts; tranſcribed and tranſported them to Sparta [76], where, after two centuries of wars and revolutions, the cuſtoms as well as the ſentiments deſcribed by the divine poet had been obliterated and forgotten.

The views which they ſuggeſted to Lycurgus.

Neither the aſtoniſhing invention of Homer, nor his inimitable fancy, nor the unrivalled copiouſneſs, energy, and harmony of his ſtyle, ſo powerfully excited the diſcerning admiration of Lycurgus, as the treaſures of his political and moral knowledge, which, being copied from the bright originals of an heroic age, might be employed to reform the abuſes of a degenerate, indeed, but not totally corrupted, nation. By reſtoring, in particular, the moderate ſpirit of policy which prevailed in happier times, the Spartan legiſlator might avert the moſt imminent dangers that threatened his family and his country. The royal families of Argos, Athens, and Thebes, had been reluctantly expelled by the reſentment or caution of their injured or jealous ſubjects, who regretted that the regal power was ſo apt to degenerate into a ſyſtem of oppreſſion. The misfortunes which had aboliſhed the honours, and almoſt extin-

[76] This fact is generally acknowledged; yet Plutarch tells us, that ſome writers were abſurd enough to relate that Lycurgus lived ſoon after Homer, and others, that he had actually ſeen the divine poet. Homer deſcribes the Peloponneſus with ſuch accuracy, that the geographer Strabo follows him, as it were, ſtep by ſtep, through that peninſula. It is incredible, therefore, that he, who was ſo perfectly acquainted with that part of Greece, ſhould have been totally forgotten there ſoon after his own times. Homer, it has been often obſerved, preſerves a remarkable ſilence about himſelf; yet his antiquity, were it not ſufficiently evident from the internal proofs above mentioned, p. 37, might be proved from Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 351, and particularly from Iliad, l. xx. ver. 308. He flouriſhed before the return of the Heraclidæ, eighty years after the taking of Troy; a revolution which, had it happened before his time, could not have eſcaped his notice.

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guiſhed the race of Atreus, Oedipus, Theſeus, and ſo many other kings and heroes of antiquity, muſt purſue, and might ſoon overtake, the deſcendants of Hercules, whom the ſeaſonable laws of Lycurgus maintained, during ſeven centuries, on the Spartan throne. The accumulation of private wealth, together with the natural progreſs of arts and luxury, would gradually render the poſſeſſions of the Greeks more tempting prizes to rapacity and ambition, in proportion to the decay of that courage and diſcipline, which were requiſite to their defence. The fertile plains of Laconia might again be ravaged by the arms of ſome uncultivated, but warlike tribe; Sparta might ſuffer ſimilar calamities to thoſe which ſhe afterwards inflicted on Meſſené, and the alternative of dominion or ſervitude depended on the early inſtitutions that ſhould be reſpectively embraced by ſo many neighbouring and independent, and therefore rival, communities.

The main aim of his legiſlation.

The ſagacity of Lycurgus thus contemplating the relations and intereſts of his country and his family, regarded martial ſpirit and political liberty as the great ends of his legiſlation. Theſe important objects had been attained by the primitive inſtitutions, ſo faithfully deſcribed by Homer. Lycurgus determined to imitate the ſimple beauty of that illuſtrious model; and, to the end that the Spartan conſtitution might enjoy a degree of permanence and ſtability which the *heroic policies* had not poſſeſſed, he reſolved to avoid the rocks on which they had ſhipwrecked, to extinguiſh the ambition of diſtant or extenſive conqueſt, to level the inequality of fortune, to cruſh the baneful effects of wealth and luxury, in one word to arreſt the progreſs of what is called the refinement, but what ſeemed to the manly diſcernment of this legiſlator, the corruption, of human ſociety.

Circumſtances which favoured his views.

To form ſuch a deſign was the work of no vulgar mind; to carry it into execution required the moſt ſtrenuous exertions of perſeverance and courage. Yet, even at this diſtance of time, we may diſcover ſeveral favourable circumſtances, which ſeaſonably conſpired with

with the views of Lycurgus; we may diſcover in the gradual diſplay of his ſyſtem, how the firſt inſtitutions naturally paved the way for thoſe which ſucceeded them; and while we admire the genius and the virtue, we muſt alſo acknowledge the dexterity and the fortune, of the Spartan legiſlator.

The experienee of hiſtory (and particularly the hiſtory which we have undertaken to record) atteſts the extraordinary revolution which one bold, wiſe, and diſintereſted man may produce in the affairs of the community of which he is a member. The domeſtic diſorders which multiplied in Sparta after the departure of Lycurgus, obliged all ranks of men to look up to his abilities for protection. The animated declamations of Thales, a poet whom he had carried with him from Crete, and who rehearſed, with rapturous exſtacy, the verſes of Homer and his own, ſingularly diſpoſed the minds of men for adopting his propoſed regulations.

His reception at Delphi.

But neither theſe propitious circumſtances, nor the merit of ten years travel in purſuit of moral knowledge and improvement, nor the ties of blood, of friendſhip, and of gratitude, which confirmed the influence of Lycurgus among the principal inhabitants of Sparta, could have enabled this great man to eſtabliſh his plan of government, without the friendly co-operation of the Delphic oracle; which, ſince the decay of the heroic opinions and belief, had become the ſovereign umpire of Greece. The Pythia addreſſed him in terms of the higheſt reſpect; heſitated whether to call him a god or a man, but rather deemed him a divinity; approved the general ſpirit of the inſtitutions which he propoſed to eſtabliſh; and promiſed to furniſh him, as occaſion might require, with ſuch additional regulations, as (when adopted by the Spartans) would render their republic happy and immortal. Fortified by this authority, Lycurgus proceeded with a daring yet ſkilful hand, firſt, to new-model the government; ſecondly, to regulate wealth and poſſeſſions; thirdly, to reform education and manners; judiciouſly purſuing this natural order,

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der, becauſe men are leſs jealous of power than tenacious of property, and leſs tenacious of property itſelf, than of their ancient uſages and cuſtoms[77].

He regulates the diſtribution of political power among the different orders of the ſtate.

The firſt rhetra[78], or laws which he eſtabliſhed, tended to reſtore the mild moderation of mixed government, which diſtinguiſhed the heroic ages. They confirmed the hereditary honours, but aboliſhed the deſpotiſm[79], of kings: they enforced the dutiful obedience, but vindicated the liberty, of ſubjects. Of the reigning princes, Chaerelaus owed to Lycurgus his throne and his life, and Archelaus deemed it dangerous to oppoſe his projects. Inſtructed by the fatal experience of neighbouring tyrants, they were both eaſily prevailed on to prefer a ſecure, though limited, to an abſolute, but precarious reign. The ſuperſtition of the people could not decline the authority of the legiſlator, when confirmed by the reſpected command of Apollo; and the intereſt of the nobles engaged them unanimouſly to promote his meaſures. With this illuſtrious body, conſiſting of twenty-eight chiefs, the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the tribes and cities of Laconia, Lycurgus conſulted by what means to prevent the political diſſentions from ſettling in the deſpotiſm of kings, or in the inſolence of democracy. By his new regulations the ancient honours of the nobility were confirmed and extended. They were formed into a permanent council, or ſenate, which examined all matters of government before they were propoſed to the deliberation of the people. The kings were entitled, as in the heroic ages, to be the hereditary preſidents of this national tribunal; which, as in all important queſ-

[77] The only dangerous oppoſition that he met with, was occaſioned by his laws reſpecting theſe objects. A tumult being excited, the inſolent Alcander wounded him in the face, by which Lycurgus loſt the ſight of an eye. But the perſuaſive eloquence of the legiſlator quelled the ſedition, and his moderation converted Alcander from a violent oppoſer to a ſtrenuous partiſan. Plut. in Lycurg.

[78] The word is ſynonymous with oracula, fata; by which names his laws were diſtinguiſhed as the immediate dictates and inſpirations of heaven.

[79] The difference between the βασιλειαι, or royalties of the heroic ages, and the τυραννιδες of ſucceeding times, is explained by Ariſtot. Politic. & Xenoph. Repub. Spart.

tions,

tions, it poſſeſſed a negative before debate; as the members were choſen for life; and as, on the deceaſe of any ſenator, his ſon or neareſt kinſman was naturally ſubſtituted in his ſtead, might have ſoon arrogated to itſelf the whole legiſlative as well as executive authority.

Inſtitutes the Ephori.

In order to counteract this dangerous tendency, Lycurgus inſtituted the Ephori [80], five annual magiſtrates, inveſted with a temporary power to inſpect and controul the adminiſtration of government, and to maintain the ſpirit and vigour of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. To the Ephori it belonged to convoke, prorogue, and diſſolve the greater and leſſer aſſemblies of the people, the former compoſed of nine thouſand Spartans, inhabitants of the capital, the latter of thirty thouſand Lacedæmonians, inhabitants of the inferior towns and villages. By frequently convening ſuch numerous bodies of men, who had arms in their hands, they rendered them ſenſible of their own ſtrength. The Lacedæmonians felt themſelves entitled not only to execute the juſt, but to thwart the unjuſt, orders of the ſenate. Nor was their liberty endangered by the limited prerogative of the kings, who monthly exchanged with the Ephori ſolemn oaths; the former ſwearing for themſelves to obſerve the laws of Sparta, the latter [81] for the people whom they repreſented, to maintain the hereditary honours of the Herculean race, to reſpect them as miniſters of religion, to obey them as judges in peace, and to follow them as leaders in war [82].

Nature of their office.

His laws concerning property.

This equitable diſtribution of power was accompanied, we are told, with an exact diviſion of property. At the diſtance of five

[80] Their name, denoting overſeers, or inſpectors, properly deſcribes their office.

[81] The authority of Herodotus, l. i. and of Xenophon de Repub. Spart. refutes Ariſtot. Polit. l. ii. c. 5, and Plutarch. in Lycurg. The laſt mentioned writers refer the inſtitution of the Ephori to Theopompus, who lived 130 years after Lycurgus. But this aſſertion only proves that neither Ariſtotle nor Plutarch had ſufficiently entered into the views of the Spartan legiſlator. The Ephori, as it appears from Xenophon and Herodotus, and from the whole tranſactions of Sparta, formed an eſſential part of his plan.

[82] Xenoph. ibid.

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centuries it was the current tradition in Greece, that Lycurgus had totally altered the ſituation and circumſtances of his countrymen, by the introduction of an Agrarian law, ſimilar to that which has been ſo often, but always ſo ineffectually, propoſed in other republics, as the ſureſt foundation of liberty and happineſs. Yet the equal diviſion of lands, or, in other words, the community of landed property, and the annual partition of the harveſt, took place among the original inhabitants of Greece, as well as among the freeborn warriors of ancient Germany. It may be ſuppoſed therefore, with a high degree of probability, that the Spartans, in the time of Lycurgus, ſtill preſerved ſome traces of their primitive inſtitutions, and that their minds were comparatively untainted with the vices of avarice and luxury. To bring them back, however, to the perfect ſimplicity of the heroic ages, and to prevent their future degeneracy, the territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine portions, each producing eighty-two medimni, or buſhels, of barley, with a proportional meaſure of fruits, wine, and oil. The rich paſture ground was probably left in common. The kings, as in the age of Homer, enjoyed their ſeparate[61] domain, conferred by the voluntary gratitude of their ſubjects. The ſenators, contented with an increaſe of power and honour, neither obtained nor deſired any pre-eminence of fortune. Their moderation in this reſpect was a ſalutary example to the people, the greater part of whom would naturally be gainers by the Agrarian law, while the few who were rich, for that relative term always implies the ſmaller number, ſubmitted without reſiſtance to the wiſdom of Lycurgus, and the authority of Apollo.

Equal diviſion of lands.

Introduction of iron money.

The equal diviſion of lands ſeemed not alone ſufficient to introduce an equality in the manner of life, and to baniſh the ſeeds of luxury. The accumulation of moveable, or what the Greeks called inviſible

[61] The τεμενος. Xenophon tells us, that it was always well watered; it probably conſiſted, as in Homer's time, φυταλιης και αρουρας, of plantations and corn land.

property,

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property [84], might enable the rich to command the labour of the poor, and, according to the natural progreſs of wants and inventions, muſt encourage the dangerous purſuit of elegance and pleaſure. The precious metals had long been the ordinary meaſures of exchange in Sparta, and, could we credit a very doubtful tradition, had greatly accumulated in private hands. Lycurgus withdrew from farther circulation all this gold and ſilver, a conſiderable part of which probably repaid his gratitude to the Delphic oracle, while the remainder increaſed the ſplendour of the Lacedæmonian temples. Inſtead of theſe precious metals, the Spartans received pieces of iron, which had been heated red in the fire, and afterwards quenched in vinegar, in order to render them brittle, and uſeleſs for every other purpoſe but that of ſerving as the current ſpecie.

Effects of theſe inſtitutions.

Aſtoniſhing, ſay Xenophon and Plutarch, were the effects of this operation. With the baniſhment of gold and ſilver were baniſhed all the pernicious appetites which they excite, and all the frivolous arts which they introduce and nouriſh. Neither fortune-teller, nor phyſician, nor ſophiſt, were longer to be ſeen in Sparta; gaudy trinkets and toys, and all uſeleſs finery in dreſs and furniture, at once diſappeared; and the innocence and dignity of Spartan manners correſponded with the primitive ſimplicity of the iron money. But to reduce to the ſtandard of truth or probability this very fanciful deſcription, it may be obſerved, that the uſefulneſs and ſcarcity of iron rendered it, in early times, a very ordinary and convenient meaſure of exchange. As ſuch it was frequently employed in the heroic ages [85]; as ſuch it long continued at Byzantium [86], and other Grecian cities [87]. The neceſſity of cooling it in an acid, in order to diminiſh its worth, indicates its high value even in the time of Lycurgus. The alteration of the ſpecie, therefore, probably appeared not ſo violent a meaſure as later writers were inclined to repreſent it;

[84] Ουσια αφαιρε. See Lyſias, paſſim.
[85] Homer, paſſim.
[86] Ariſtoph. Nubes.
[87] Plut. in Lyſand.

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nor could the abolition of gold and ſilver aboliſh ſuch elegancies and refinements as ſurely had no exiſtence in Greece during the age of the Spartan legiſlator. But it may reaſonably be believed, that the uſe of iron money, which continued permanent in Sparta alone, after the vices of wealth and luxury had polluted the reſt of Greece, neceſſarily repelled from the republic of Lycurgus the votaries of pleaſure, as well as the ſlaves of gain, and all the miſerable retinue of vanity and folly.

Principle of the Spartan manners.

That wealth is little to be coveted, even by the moſt ſelfiſh, which neither gratifies vanity, nor flatters the deſire of power, nor promiſes the means of pleaſure. Upon the ſmalleſt abſtraction, if avarice were at all capable of abſtraction, the moſt ſordid might ſympathiſe with the contempt for ſuperfluous riches, which could never be applied to any purpoſe, either uſeful or agreeable. What effort could the generoſity of that people require (if the indifference of the Spartans deſerve the name of generoſity), among whom all valuable objects were equally divided, or enjoyed in common [88]? Among whom it was enjoined by the laws, and deemed honourable by the citizens, freely to communicate their arms, horſes, inſtruments of agriculture, and hunting; to eat together at common and frugal tables, agreeably to the inſtitutions of Crete, as well as the practice of the heroic ages; to diſregard every diſtinction but that of perſonal merit; to deſpiſe every luxury but that of temperance; and to diſdain every acquiſition but that of the public eſteem?

Ordinary occupations and amuſements.

The general and firm aſſent to the divine miſſion of Lycurgus might excite the moſt generous and manly ſentiments in the minds of his countrymen. The perſuaſive force of his eloquence, aſſiſted by the lyric genius of Thales, a poet worthy of Apollo and his miſſionary [89], might enable the legiſlator to complete his beneficial and extenſive plan. But there was reaſon to apprehend leſt the ſyſtem of Lycurgus, like moſt ſchemes of reformation, ſhould evaporate

[88] Xenoph. ibid. c. vi.

[89] Plut. in Lycurg.

with the enthuſiaſm which produced it, unleſs the mortifications which it enjoined were rendered habitual to practice, and familiar to fancy. His laws were few and ſhort; for the ſake of memory they were conceived in verſe; they were not conſigned to writing, but treaſured in the *hearts* of his diſciples as the immediate dictates of heaven. The Lacedæmonians were ſeverely prohibited from the contagious intercourſe of ſtrangers, except at the ſtated returns of religious ſolemnities. Lycurgus, who had aſſiſted Iphitus in reſtoring the Olympic games, inſtituted ſimilar, though leſs ſplendid, feſtivals in his native country. When unemployed in the ſerious buſineſs of war, the Lacedæmonians were continually engaged in aſſemblies for converſation and the gymnaſtic exerciſes, or in religious and military amuſements. Agriculture and the mechanic arts were left to the ſervile hands of the Helots, under which appellation were comprehended (as will be explained hereafter) various hoſtile communities that ſucceſſively fell under the dominion of Sparta, and whoſe perſonal labour was regarded as the common property of the public[90]. The ſciences of war and government were recommended by the laws of Lycurgus, as the only purſuits deſerving the attention of freemen.

Their military inſtitutions.

In the knowledge and practice of war, the Lacedæmonians (if we believe Xenophon, who had fought with, and againſt, them) far excelled all Greeks and Barbarians. Courage, the firſt quality of a ſoldier, was enlivened by every motive that can operate moſt powerfully on the mind, while cowardice was branded as the moſt odious and deſtructive of crimes, on the principle that it tended, not like many other vices, merely to the hurt of individuals, but to the ſervitude and ruin of the community. The Spartans preſerved the uſe of the ſame weapons and defenſive armour that had been adopted in the heroic ages; ſhortening only the length, and thereby im-

[90] Και τροπον τινα δημοσιους ειχον δουλους. "And, "in ſome meaſure, they," the Lacedæmonians, "had public ſlaves." Strabo. See likewiſe Ariſtot. Repub. l. ii. c. 5.

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proving the form, of the ſword, which was two-edged, pointed, maſſy, and fitted either by cutting or thruſting to inflict a dangerous wound [91]. Their troops were divided into regiments, conſiſting of five hundred and twelve men, ſubdivided into four companies, and each of theſe into ſmaller diviſions, commanded by their reſpective officers; for it was peculiar to the Lacedæmonian armies to contain, comparatively, few men not entruſted with ſome ſhare of ſubordinate command [92]. The ſoldiers were attended by a multitude of artiſans and ſlaves, who furniſhed them with all neceſſary ſupplies, and accompanied by a long train of prieſts and poets, who flattered their hopes, and animated their valour. A body of cavalry always preceded their march; ſenſible of the weakneſs of angles, they encamped in a circular form: the order of their guards and watches was highly judicious; they employed, for their ſecurity, out-ſentries and vedettes; and regularly, every morning and evening, performed their cuſtomary exerciſes. Xenophon has deſcribed with what facility they wheeled in all directions; converted the column of march into an order of battle; and, by ſkilful and rapid evolutions, preſented the ſtrength [93] of the line to an unexpected aſſault. When *they* found it prudent to attack, the king, who uſually roſe before dawn, to anticipate, by early prayer and ſacrifice [94], the favour of the gods, communicated his orders to charge in a full line, or in co-

[91] Vid. Pollux, voc. ξυηλον.

[92] Thucydides, who remarks this peculiarity, l. v. p. 390, aſſigns the reaſon of it, that the care of the execution might pertain to many. The whole Lacedæmonian army, except a few, conſiſted, he ſays, in αρχοντες αρχοντας, και το επιμελες τε δρωμενε πολλοις περσηκει. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the account given by Thucydides, in this paſſage, of the compoſition of the Lacedæmonian armies, differs materially from that of Xenophon. I have preferred the latter, firſt, becauſe Xenophon writes expreſsly on the ſubject, of which Thucydides ſpeaks incidentally in deſcribing a particular battle: ſecondly, becauſe the obſervations of Xenophon relate to the age of Lycurgus, thoſe of Thucydides to the time of the Peloponneſian war: thirdly, becauſe, as will appear in the ſequel, Xenophon had a better opportunity than any other ſtranger, of being acquainted with the affairs of Lacedæmon.

[93] The Lacedæmonian tactics will be explained more particularly hereafter.

[94] Ου χρη παντυχιον ιυδειν βελτιφορον αιδρα
Οι λαοι επιτετραφται και τοσσα μεμηλε.

Lycurgus, never loſing ſight of Homer, converted his advices into laws.

lumns,

lumns, according to the nature of the ground, and the numbers and diſpoſition of the enemy. In the day of battle, the Spartans aſſumed an unuſual gaiety of aſpect; and diſplayed, in their dreſs and ornaments, more than their wonted ſplendour. Their long hair was arranged with ſimple elegance; their ſcarlet uniforms, and brazen armour, diffuſed a luſtre around them. As they approached the enemy, the king ſacrificed anew; the muſic ſtruck up; and the ſoldiers advanced with a ſlow and ſteady pace, and with a cheerful but deliberate countenance, to what they were taught to regard as the nobleſt employment of man. Proper officers were appointed to receive the priſoners, to divide the ſpoil, and to decide the conteſted prizes of valour. Both before and after, as well as during, the action, every meaſure was conducted with ſuch order and celerity, that a great captain declares, that when he conſidered the diſcipline of the Spartans, all other nations appeared but children in the art of war [95].

But that continual exerciſe in arms, which improved the ſkill and confirmed the valour, muſt gradually have exhauſted the ſtrength, of Sparta, unleſs the care of population had formed an object of principal concern in the ſyſtem of Lycurgus. Marriage was directly enjoined by ſome very ſingular inſtitutions [96]; but ſtill more powerfully encouraged by extirpating its greateſt enemies, luxury and vanity. But Lycurgus, not contented with maintaining the populouſneſs of Sparta, endeavoured to ſupply the paſt generation with a nobler and more warlike race, and to enlarge and elevate the bodies and minds of men to that full proportion of which their nature is ſuſceptible. The credulous love of wonder has always been eager to aſſert, what the vanity of every age has been unwilling to believe, that the ancient inhabitants of the world poſſeſſed a meaſure of ſize

Means by which Lycurgus maintained the populouſneſs, and increaſed the ſtrength, of Sparta.

[95] Xenoph. de Repub. Spart.

[96] Batchelors were debarred from aſſiſting at the female dances. They were compelled to walk naked through the ſtreets in the winter ſolſtice, ſinging a ludicrous ſong, which confeſſed the juſtice of their puniſhment.

and

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and ſtrength, as well as of courage and virtue, unattainable and unknown amidſt the corruptions and degeneracy of later times. The frequent repetition of the ſame romantic tale renders giants and heroes familiar and inſipid perſonages in the remote hiſtory of almoſt every people: but from the general maſs of fable, a juſt diſcernment will ſeparate the genuine ore of Homer and Lycurgus. The laws of the latter brought back the heroic manners which the former had deſcribed; and their effects, being not leſs permanent than ſalutary, are, at the diſtance of many centuries, atteſted by eye-witneſſes, whoſe unimpeached veracity declares the Spartans ſuperior to other men in the excellencies of mind and body[97].

His regulations concerning women, marriage, and children.

Of this extraordinary circumſtance, the evidence of contemporary writers could ſcarcely convince us, if they had barely mentioned the fact, without explaining its cauſe. But in deſcribing the ſyſtem of Lycurgus, they have not omitted his important regulations concerning the intercourſe between the ſexes, women, marriage, and children, whoſe welfare was, even before their birth, a concern to the republic. The generous and brave, it is ſaid, produce the brave and good; but the phyſical qualities of children ſtill more depend on the conſtitution of their parents. In other countries of Greece, the men were liberally formed by war, hunting, and the gymnaſtic exerciſes; but the women were univerſally condemned to drudge in ſedentary and ignoble occupations, which enfeebled the mind and body. Their chief employment was to ſuperintend, more frequently to perform, the meaneſt offices of domeſtic œconomy, and to prepare, by the labour of their hands, food and raiment for themſelves and families. Their diet was coarſe and ſparing; they abſtained from the uſe of wine, were deprived of liberal education, and debarred from faſhionable amuſements. Women, thus degraded by ſervility, ap-

[97] As to the mind, the Spartans were, ſays Xenophon, ευπειθεστεροι, και αιδημονεστεροι, και ου δει εγκρατεστεροι. Ibid. c. iii. And as to the body, Διαφεροντας και κατα μεγεθος και κατα ισχυν αιδρας εν Σπαρτη απεδειξαν. Ibid.

peared

peared incapable of giving good ſons to the republic, which Lycurgus regarded as the principal duty of the Lacedæmonian females. By the inſtitutions of Sparta, therefore, the working of wool, the labours of the loom and needle, and other mean mechanical arts, were generally committed to ſervile hands. The free-born women enjoyed and practiſed theſe liberal exerciſes and amuſements, which were elſewhere conſidered as the peculiar privilege of men; they aſſiſted at the public ſolemnities, mingled in general converſation, and diſpenſed that applauſe and reproach, which diſpenſed by them are always moſt effectual[98]. Hence they became not only the companions but the judges of the other ſex; and, except that their natural delicacy was not aſſociated to the honours of war, enjoyed all the benefit, without feeling the reſtraint, of the Spartan laws.

The reſtoration of the natural rights of women reſtored moderation and modeſty in the intercourſe between the ſexes. Marriage, though enjoined as a duty, could only be contracted in the full vigour of age; and theſe ſimple inſtitutions had a more ſalutary influence on the phyſical improvement of the Spartans, than either the doubtful expedient, which prevailed among them to the lateſt times, of adorning the women's apartments with the fineſt ſtatues of gods and heroes, that, by frequently contemplating theſe graceful images, they might produce fairer offspring; or the unnatural and deteſtable cruelty of expoſing delicate or deformed children, a practice ſtrongly recommended by Lycurgus, and ſilently approved, or faintly blamed, by the greateſt philoſophers of antiquity.

Even in a moral view, the character of Spartan mothers muſt have been highly beneficial to their ſons; ſince much of the happineſs of life depends on the firſt impreſſions of our tender years. When boys were emancipated from the juriſdiction of women, they were not

Education.

[98] This, likewiſe, was the buſineſs of women in the heroic ages.

Αλλα μαλ' αιψα
Λιδη μαι Τρωας και Τρωαδας ειλκισιπεπλους,
Αικι, κακος ω', νωφι αλυσκαζω πολεμοιο.
Il. l. vi. ver. 443.

intruſted,

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intruſted, as in other parts of Greece, to the mercenary tuition of ſlaves, who might degrade their ſentiments, and corrupt their morals. The education of youth, as an office of the higheſt confidence, was committed to thoſe who had enjoyed, or who were entitled to enjoy, the moſt ſplendid dignities of the republic; after the example of ancient times, when Phœnix educated Achilles, and when it was reaſonably required that the maſter ſhould himſelf poſſeſs the virtues with which he undertook to inſpire his diſciples. The Spartan youth were taught muſic and drawing; the former of which comprehended the ſcience not only of ſounds, but of number and quantity: they were taught to read and ſpeak their own language with graceful propriety; to compoſe in proſe and in verſe; above all, to think, and in whatever they ſaid, even during the flow of unguarded converſation, to accommodate the expreſſion to the ſentiment[99]. Their ſedentary ſtudies were relieved by the orcheſtric and gymnaſtic exerciſes, the early practice of which might qualify them for the martial labours of the field. For this moſt important buſineſs of their manhood they were ſtill further prepared, by being enured, even in their tender years, to a life of hardſhip and ſeverity. They wore the ſame garment, ſummer and winter; they walked barefooted in all ſeaſons; their diet was plain and frugal, and for the moſt part ſo ſparing, that they loſt no opportunity to ſupply the defect. What they were unable to raviſh by force, they acquired by fraud. When their theft (if theft can be practiſed where ſeparate property is almoſt unknown) was diſcovered, they were ſeverely puniſhed; but if their dexterous deceit eſcaped obſervation, they were allowed to boaſt of their ſucceſs, and met with due applauſe for their activity, vigilance, and caution; which indicated a character well fitted to excel in the uſeful ſtratagems of war[100].

[99] In the ſmart pithy ſentences, or apothegms, for which the Spartans were famous, the thought is ſometimes elegant, and ſometimes ingenious; but their merit depends for the moſt part on the obſervance of the rule in the text. See Plut. Apoth.

[100] Beſides Xenophon and Plutarch, ſee, for the Spartan education, Plato in Protagor.

After

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Peculiar diſcipline of the youth.

After attaining the ordinary branches of education, youth are frequently left the maſters of their own actions. Of all practical errors, Lycurgus deemed this the moſt dangerous. His diſcernment perceived the value of that moſt important period of life, which intervenes between childhood and virility; and the whole force of his diſcipline was applied to its direction and improvement. Inſtead of being looſened from the uſual ties of authority, the Spartans, at the age of adoleſcence, were ſubjected to a more rigorous reſtraint; and the moſt extraordinary expedients were employed to moderate the love of pleaſure, to correct the inſolence of inexperience, and to controul the headſtrong impetuoſity of other youthful paſſions. Their bodies were early familiariſed to fatigue, hunger, and watching; their minds were early accuſtomed to difficulty and danger. The laborious exerciſe of the chace formed their principal amuſement; at ſtated times, the magiſtrates took an account of their actions, and carefully examined their appearance. If the ſeeds of their vicious appetites had not been thoroughly eradicated by a life of habitual toil and temperance, they were ſubjected to corporal puniſhment, which it was their cuſtom to endure with patient fortitude. The maxims of honour were inſtilled by precept, and enforced by example. The public tables, which were frequented by all ages, ſerved as ſo many ſchools of wiſdom and virtue, where, on ordinary occaſions, but more particularly on days of feſtivity, the old related their ancient exploits, and boaſted their paſt proweſs; thoſe in the vigour of life diſplayed the ſentiments which their manly courage inſpired; and the young expreſſed a modeſt confidence that, by ſtedfaſtly adhering to the precepts of Lycurgus, they might be enabled in due time to equal, perhaps to ſurpaſs, the glory of both.

Their emulation.

But the deſire of emulating the fame of their illuſtrious anceſtors was not the moſt ardent principle that animated the minds of the riſing generation. They were taught to vie with each other

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in every agreeable and uſeful accompliſhment. As they were publicly educated in ſeparate claſſes, according to their reſpective ages of childhood, adoleſcence, and puberty [101], their characters were exactly aſcertained, and fully known; and the rewards and honours gradually beſtowed on them, were apportioned to the various degrees of excellence which they had previouſly diſcovered. When they attained the verge of manhood, three youths of ſuperior merit were named by the Ephori, that they might reſpectively chooſe, each an hundred of their companions, who ſhould be entitled to the honourable diſtinction of ſerving in the cavalry. The reaſons of preference and rejection were openly explained; and the youths who had been ſet aſide, became, from that moment, the rivals and opponents both of the electors and of the elected. At home and abroad, in the aſſemblies for converſation and exerciſe, in the gymnaſtic and muſical conteſts, in their military expeditions, as well as their martial amuſements, the two parties diſplayed the utmoſt emulation and ardour, the one to regain the equality which they had loſt, the other to maintain their aſcendant. They ſeldom rencountred in the ſtreets or walks, without diſcovering their animoſity in mutual reproaches, and ſometimes in blows. But theſe quarrels were not dangerous, either to the ſafety of the public, or to the perſons of individuals, becauſe the combatants were obliged to ſeparate (under the pain of puniſhment and diſgrace) at the peaceful ſummons of every by-ſtander; and the reſpected admonitions of age controlled, on ſuch occaſions, the youthful fermentation of turbulent paſſions.

The paternal authority in Sparta.

The reverence of aged wiſdom, which formed the prevailing ſentiment of the heroic times, was reſtored by the legiſlation of Lycurgus, and employed as a main pillar of his political edifice. The

[101] I have choſen theſe words to expreſs the ſucceſſive ages of the παις, μειρακιον, ἀφηβος. They continued νεανιαι till 46, which was reckoned by the Greeks and Romans the beginning of old age. Vid. Cic. de Senectute.

renovation of limited government, the equal partition of lands, and the abolition of wealth and luxury, had removed the artificial ſources of half the miſeries and diſgrace of human kind. But Lycurgus conſidered his ſyſtem as incomplete, until he had levelled not only the artificial, but many of the natural inequalities, in the condition of his fellow-citizens. The fears and infirmities of the old were compenſated by honour and reſpect; the hopes and vigour of the young were balanced by obedience and reſtraint. The difference of years thus occaſioned little diſproportion of enjoyment; the happineſs of every age depended on the practice of virtue; and as all adventitious and accidental diſtinctions were removed, men perceived the importance of perſonal merit, and of its reward, the public eſteem, and eagerly graſped the advantages which glory confers; the only excluſive advantages which the laws of Lycurgus permitted them to enjoy. The paternal authority [102], which maintained the diſcipline, and promoted the grandeur of Rome, was firmly eſtabliſhed at Sparta, where every father might exerciſe an unlimited power, over not only his own, but the children of others, who were all alike regarded as the common ſons of the republic. This domeſtic ſuperiority naturally prepared the way for civil pre-eminence; the elective dignities of the ſtate were obtained only by men of experienced wiſdom; and it required ſixty years of laborious virtue to be entitled to a ſeat in the ſenate-houſe, the higheſt ambition of the Spartan chiefs. Such regulations, of which it is impoſſible to miſtake the ſpirit, had a direct tendency to produce moderation and firmneſs in the public councils, to controul the too impetuous ardour of a warlike people, to allay the ferment of domeſtic faction, and to check the dangerous ambition of foreign conqueſt. The power of the magiſtrate was confounded with the authority of the parent;

[102] The "patria poteſtas."

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they mutually aſſiſted and ſtrengthened each other, and their united influence long upheld the unſhaken fabric of the Spartan laws, which the old felt it their intereſt to maintain, and the young deemed it their glory to obey.

Coincidence of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus with thoſe of the heroic ages.

Such were the celebrated inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which are eminently diſtinguiſhed by the ſimplicity of their deſign, the exact adaptation of their parts, and the uniform conſiſtence of the whole, from the political eſtabliſhments of other countries, which are commonly the irregular and motley production of time and accident. Without a careful examination of the whole ſyſtem, it is impoſſible to ſeize the ſpirit of particular laws. But if the whole be attentively conſidered, we ſhall perceive that they contain nothing ſo original or ſo ſingular as is generally believed. From the innumerable coincidencies that have been remarked between the heroic and the Spartan diſcipline, there ſeems ſufficient ground to conclude that the one was borrowed from the other; and if we accurately contemplate the

Spirit of both.

genius of both, we may diſcern that they tended not (as has been often ſaid) to ſtop and interrupt, but only to divert, the natural current of human propenſities and paſſions. The deſire of wealth and of power, of effeminate eaſe, of frivolous amuſements, and of all the artificial advantages and enjoyments of ſociety, are only ſo many ramifications of the love of action and of pleaſure; paſſions which it would be impoſſible to eradicate without deſtroying the whole vigour of the mind. Yet theſe propenſities, which it is often the vain boaſt of philoſophy to ſubdue, policy may direct to new and more exalted objects. For the ſordid occupations of intereſt, may be ſubſtituted the manly purſuits of honour; the love of virtuous praiſe, may controul the deſire of vicious indulgence; and the impreſſions of early inſtitution, confirmed by example and habit, may render the great duties of life its principal employment and pleaſure.

Such

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Fate of the Spartan inſtitutions.

Such a condition of ſociety ſeems the higheſt elevation and grandeur to which human nature can aſpire. The Spartans attained, and long preſerved, this ſtate of exaltation; but ſeveral circumſtances and events, which the wiſdom of Lycurgus [103] had foreſeen, but which no human power could prevent, undermined the foundation of their greatneſs and felicity. Their military proweſs gave them victory, ſlaves, and wealth; and though individuals could feel only the pride of virtue, and enjoy only the luxury of glory, the public embibed the ſpirit of rapacity, and the ambition of conqueſt. As in other countries the vices of individuals corrupt the community, in Laconia the vices of the public corrupted individuals. This unfortunate tendency was increaſed by the inequality of the cities originally ſubject to the Lacedæmonian laws. Sparta, the capital, contained nearly a fourth part of the inhabitants of the whole territory; the reſt were divided among thirty, and afterwards eighteen, ſubordinate towns [104]. The ſuperior numbers of the Spartans enlarged their ſphere of competition, and increaſed their ardour of emulation. They ſoon ſurpaſſed their neighbours, not only in valour and addreſs, but in dignity and in power. All matters of importance were decided in the leſſer aſſembly; the greater was ſeldom ſummoned; and the members of the former, inſtead of continuing the equals, became the maſters, and at length the tyrants, of their Lacedæmonian brethren. The uſurpation of power fomented their deſire of wealth; ſeveral lots were accumulated by the ſame perſons as early as the Perſian war [105]; and the neceſſity of defending their poſſeſſions, and their authority, againſt men who had arms in their hands and reſent-

[103] Lycurgus had formed Sparta for defence not for conqueſt. He expreſsly forbade them to purſue a flying enemy; he forbade them to engage frequently in war with the ſame people. Both injunctions were violated in the Meſſenian wars.

[104] Strabo, l. viii.

[105] Demaratus told Xerxes that there were but eight thouſand Spartan lots (Herodot.), and about a century afterwards their number was reduced to one thouſand. Ariſt. Polit.

ment

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ment in their hearts, rendered their government uncommonly rigid and ſevere. The ſlaves, the freed-men [106], the tenants of the Laconic territory, and even ſuch of the inhabitants of the capital as, on account of their poverty, cowardice, or any other diſgraceful circumſtance, were debarred from the dignities of the republic [107], teſtified the keeneſt animoſity againſt the ſtern pride of the Spartan magiſtrates, and, to uſe the lively but indelicate expreſſion of Xenophon, would have devoured them raw [108]. The Spartans, however, ſtill maintained their ſuperiority by force or by fraud, by ſeaſonable compliance, or by prompt and judicious ſeverity. By dividing the ſtrength they diſarmed the fury of their enemies, and the flames of domeſtic diſcord were eclipſed by the ſplendour of foreign conqueſt, by which both the magiſtrates and the ſubjects were enriched and corrupted: yet, amidſt their political degeneracy, they ſtill preſerved their religious and military inſtitutions, as well as their invaluable plan of education; and their tranſactions, even in the lateſt ages of Greece, will furniſh an ample and honourable commentary on the laws of Lycurgus.

Laſt tranſaction of Lycurgus.

Concerning this extraordinary man, only one farther [109] circumſtance is recorded with any appearance of authenticity; a circumſtance highly deſcriptive both of his own character, and of that of the age in which he lived. Having beheld the harmony of the political machine, which he had ſo ſkilfully contrived, he ſummoned an aſſembly, and declared, that now he had but one new regulation to propoſe, upon which, however, it was firſt neceſſary to

[106] So I have tranſlated the word ποδαμωδης, on the authority of Thucydides, l. v. δυνατα δι το ποδαμωδις ολιγωρειν ηδη ειναι. The reſentment even of the freedmen proves the intolerable ſeverity of the government.

[107] They were called υποδεεις, inferiors, in oppoſition to the ομοιοι, or peers.

[108] Xenophon Hellen. l. iii.

[109] Some contradictory traditions concerning his death are preſerved in Plut. in Lycurg. & Juſtin. l. iii.

conſult

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conſult the oracle of Delphi; that, meanwhile, his countrymen, who had ſeen the ſucceſs of his labours, would engage that no alteration ſhould take place before his return. The kings, the ſenate, and the people, ratified the engagement by a ſolemn oath. Lycurgus undertook his journey; the oracle predicted the happineſs which the Spartans ſhould enjoy under his admirable laws; the reſponſe was tranſmitted to his country, where Lycurgus himſelf determined never more to return, convinced that the duration of the government which he had eſtabliſhed would be better ſecured by the eternal ſanctity of an oath, than by the temporary influence of his own perſonal preſence.

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State of Greece after the Abolition of Royalty.—Deſcription of Laconia and Meſſenia.—Cauſes of the War between thoſe States.—Invaſion of Meſſenia.—Diſtreſs of the Meſſenians.—The horrid Means by which they endeavour to remedy it.—They obtain Aſſiſtance from Argos and Arcadia.—Their Capital taken by the Spartans.—Iſſue of the firſt Meſſenian War.—State of Greece.—The Colony of Tarentum founded.—The ſecond Meſſenian War.—Character and Exploits of Ariſtomenes.—The Diſtreſs of the Spartans.—They obtain Aſſiſtance from Athens.—The Poet Tyrtæus.—Subjugation of Meſſenia.—Future Fortunes of its Citizens.—Their Eſtabliſhment in Sicily.

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State of Greece after the abolition of monarchy.

IF the Greeks had remained ſubject to kings, it is probable that they would have continued longer to exert their united valour againſt the ſurrounding Barbarians. The ſucceſsful adventures of the Argonauts, the glorious, though fatal, expedition againſt Troy, would have animated the emulation and the hopes of ſucceeding candidates for fame; and the whole nation, being frequently employed in diſtant and general enterpriſes, would, through the habits of mutual intercourſe, and the natural tendency of military ſubordination, have been gradually moulded into one powerful monarchy. This revolution would have given immediate tranquillity to Greece, but deſtroyed the proſpect of its future grandeur. The honourable competitions

competitions of rival provinces muſt have ceaſed with their political independence; nor would the Greeks have enjoyed an opportunity of acquiring, by a long and ſevere apprenticeſhip in arms, that diſciplined valour which eminently diſtinguiſhed them above other nations of antiquity. In moſt countries it has been obſerved, that, before the introduction of regular troops, the militia of the borders far excel thoſe of the central provinces. Greece, even under its kings, was divided into ſo many independent ſtates, that it might be regarded as conſiſting entirely of frontier. Under the republican form of government, it was ſtill more ſubdivided; and motives of private ambition now co-operating with reaſons of national animoſity, wars became more frequent, and battles more bloody and more obſtinate. It is little to be regretted that ſcarcely any materials remain for deſcribing the perpetual hoſtilities between the Thebans and the Athenians; between the latter and the Peloponneſians; between the Phocians and Theſſalians; and, in general, between each community and its neighbours. The long and ſpirited conteſt between the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians, is the only war of that age which produced any permanent effect. The account of this obſtinate ſtruggle has happily come down to us, accompanied with ſuch circumſtances as paint the condition of the times, and anſwer the main ends of hiſtory.

Deſcription of Laconia.

The territories of Laconia and Meſſenia occupied the ſouthern regions of the Peloponneſus. The ſhores of Laconia were waſhed by the eaſtern, or the Ægean; thoſe of Meſſenia[1], by the weſtern, or the Ionian, Sea. The former country extended forty miles from eaſt to weſt, and ſixty from north to ſouth. The ground, though roughened by mountains, like the reſt of the Peloponneſus, abounded in rich and fertile vallies, equally adapted to the purpoſes of cultivation and paſture. The whole country was anciently called Hecatompolis[2], from its hundred cities. They were reduced to the

[1] Iſocrat. in Archidam calls the country Meſſene; Pauſanias, Meſſenia.

[2] Strabo, l. viii. p. 362, mentions this only as a hearſay; but it has been always repeated.

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number of thirty[3] as early as the time of Lycurgus. The decay or deſtruction of Helos, Amyclæ, Pharis, and Geronthæ, and other leſs conſiderable towns, gradually increaſed the populouſneſs of Sparta, the capital, ſituated near the centre of Laconia, and almoſt ſurrounded by the Eurotas. The other inland places of moſt note were Gerenea, Thurium, and Sellaſia. The ſea-ports were Praſiae, Cyphanta, Zarax; Limera, famous for its vines; and Gythium, whoſe capacious harbour was, in all ages, more than ſufficient to contain the naval ſtrength of Sparta[4]. In the time of Lycurgus, the freemen, of full age, amounted to thirty-nine thouſand[5]. Thoſe of full age are generally reckoned the fourth part of the whole; ſo that the free inhabitants of Laconia may be computed at one hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand; and the ſlaves, as will appear hereafter, probably exceeded four times that number.

and of Meſſenia.

Meſſenia was leſs extenſive, but more fertile, than Laconia; and its inhabitants, in ancient times, were proportionably more numerous. Both kingdoms were principally ſupported by agriculture and paſturage, their ſubjects never having attained any high degree of improvement in arts, manufactures, or commerce. Meſſenia was, however, adorned by the ſeaports of Coroné, Pylus, Methoné, and Cyparyſſus. The moſt conſiderable inland towns were Andania, the ancient capital; the ſtrong fortreſs of Eira; the frontier town of Ampheia; and the celebrated Ithome, near to the ruins of which was erected, by Epaminondas, the comparatively modern city of Meſſene[6].

Spirit of government in both communities.

As the countries of Laconia and Meſſenia were both governed by kings of the family of Hercules, and both inhabited by ſubjects of the ſame Doric race, it might have been imagined that ſuch powerful connections would have diſpoſed them to continue in a ſtate of

[3] Strabo ſays, "about thirty," and calls them πολιχναι, oppidula, little towns.

[4] Strabo, l. viii. p. 363, &c. & Pauſan. in Lacon.

[5] Plut. in Lycur.

[6] Pauſan. in Meſſen. & Strabo, l viii. p. 360, &c.

mutual

mutual friendſhip; or, if the ties of blood could not excite neighbouring ſtates to a reciprocation of good offices, that they would at leaſt have engaged them to maintain an inoffenſive tranquillity. The different branches of the family of Hercules were induced by intereſt, as well as perſuaded by affection, mutually to ſupport each other. When the prerogative was invaded in any particular kingdom, it was natural for the neighbouring princes to defend the cauſe of royalty[7]; and we find that, on ſeveral occaſions, they had engaged to aſſiſt each other in repreſſing the factious turbulence of the nobles, and the ſeditious ſpirit of the people. But when the influence of the family of Hercules declined with the abolition of monarchy in moſt countries of Greece, the capital of each little principality, which always enjoyed a pre-eminence in the national aſſemblies, began to uſurp an unlimited authority over the neighbouring cities, and to controul, by its municipal juriſdiction, the general reſolves of the community. Sparta had, in this manner, extended her power over the ſmaller towns of Laconia. The walls of Helos, whoſe inhabitants had pertinacioufly reſiſted this uſurpation, were levelled with the ground, the citizens reduced to the moſt miſerable ſlavery, and a law enacted by the Spartan council, which forbid, under ſevere penalties, the emancipation of the Helots, or the ſelling of them into foreign countries, where they might entertain the flattering hopes of regaining their loſt liberty. The ſame tyrannical ſpirit, which governed the meaſures of the Spartans, had taken poſſeſſion of their neighbours the Meſſenians, and had urged the inhabitants of the capital to invade, conquer, and enſlave ſeveral of the ſmaller cities.

General cauſes of the war between them.

While ſuch ambitious principles prevailed with both nations, it was ſcarcely to be imagined that the more powerful ſhould not exert its

[7] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

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its utmoſt ſtrength to obtain dominion, and the weaker its utmoſt courage and activity to preſerve independence. Beſides this general cauſe of animoſity, the rich fields of Meſſenia offered a tempting prize to the avarice of the Spartans; a circumſtance continually alleged by the Meſſenians, as the principal motive which had induced their enemies to commence an unjuſt and unprovoked war. The Spartans, however, by no means admitted this reproach. It was natural, indeed, that ſuch differences ſhould ariſe between the ſubjects of rival ſtates, as might furniſh either party with a plauſible pretence for taking arms. Theſe differences it will be proper briefly to relate, after premiſing, that, although the Greek hiſtorians mention three Meſſenian wars, the third had little reſemblance, either in its object, or in its effects, to the firſt and ſecond. Theſe were the generous ſtruggles of a warlike people for preſerving their hereditary freedom and renown, while the third, though dignified with the ſame appellation, was only an unſucceſsful revolt of ſlaves from their maſters.

Their mutual injuries.

On the confines of Meſſenia and Lacedæmon ſtood an ancient temple of Diana, which, being erected at the common expence, was open to the prayers and ſacrifices of the two nations. Hither, according to annual cuſtom, repaired a ſelect band of Spartan virgins to ſolemnize the chaſte rites of their favourite divinity. A company of Meſſenian youths arrived at the ſame time to perform their cuſtomary devotion, and to implore the protection of the warlike goddeſs. Inflamed by the beauty of the Spartan ladies, the Meſſenians equally diſregarded the ſanctity of the place, and the modeſt character of Diana, whoſe worſhip they came to celebrate. The licentious youths, after vainly attempting by the moſt ardent prayers and vows, to move the ſtern inflexibility of Spartan virtue, had recourſe to brutal violence in order to conſummate their fatal deſigns; fatal to themſelves, to their country, and to the unhappy victims of their fury, who,

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who, unwilling to ſurvive ſo intolerable a diſgrace, periſhed miſerably by their own hands[8].

Euephnus, the Lacedæmonian, defrauds the Meſſenian Polychares, Olymp. ix. 1. A. C. 744.

To this atrocious injury, on the part of the Meſſenians, ſucceeded another, of a more private nature, on that of the Lacedæmonians. Polychares was a Meſſenian of noble birth, of great wealth, conſpicuous for the virtues of public and private life, and renowned for his victories in the Olympic games. The property of Polychares, like that of the moſt opulent of his countrymen, chiefly conſiſted in numerous herds of cattle; part of which he intruſted to a Lacedæmonian, of the name of Euephnus, who undertook, for a ſtipulated reward, to feed them on the rich meadows which he poſſeſſed on the Lacedæmonian coaſt. The avarice of Euephnus was not reſtrained by the ſenſe of duty, the principles of honour, or the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. Having ſold the cattle to foreigners, who often came to purchaſe that article in Laconia, he travelled to the Meſſenian capital, and viſiting his friend Polychares, lamented the loſs of his property by an incurſion of pirates.

Aſſaſſinates his ſon.

The frequency of ſuch events would, probably, have concealed the fraud; but a ſlave, whom Euephnus ſold along with the cattle, having eſcaped the vigilance of his new maſters, arrived in time to undeceive the generous credulity of Polychares. The perfidious Lacedæmonian, ſeeing his contrivance thus unexpectedly diſconcerted, endeavoured to deprecate the juſt reſentment of his friend, by the moſt humiliating confeſſion of his guilt, and by inſiſting on the temptation of gain, the frailty of nature[9], the ſincerity of his repentance, and his earneſt deſire of making immediate reſtitution. Unfortunately, indeed, he had not any conſiderable ſum of money in his poſſeſſion; but if Polychares would allow his ſon to accompany

[8] Pauſan. in Meſſen. p. 222. The Meſſenians denied this whole tranſaction, and ſubſtituted a more improbable ſtory in its ſtead. Pauſan. ibid.

[9] Εν γαρ τη ανθρωπινη φυσει, και α μη [illegible] ατε, [illegible] ... Pausan.

Et l'interet enfin pere de tous les crimes.

Henriade.

him

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him to Lacedæmon, he would put into the hands of the youth the full price which he had received for his father's property. On this occaſion it is eaſier to pity the misfortune, than excuſe the weakneſs, of the Meſſenian. The youth had no ſooner ſet foot on the Lacedæmonian territory, than the traitor Euephnus ſtabbed him to the heart.

Polychares takes vengeance on the Spartans.

The afflicted father, aſſembling his friends and followers, travelled to Sparta, and implored the juſt vengeance of the laws againſt the accumulated guilt of perfidy and murder. In vain he repeatedly addreſſed himſelf to the kings, to the ephori, to the ſenate, and to the aſſembly. The money, the eloquence, the intrigues of Euephnus, and, above all, his character of Spartan, prevailed over the impotent ſolicitations of a Meſſenian ſtranger. Polychares, provoked by the cruel diſregard of the Lacedæmonians to his juſt demands, determined to return home; but having loſt his underſtanding through rage and deſpair, he aſſaulted and ſlew ſeveral Spartan citizens whom he met on the road; and after thus quenching his reſentment againſt the guilty in the blood of the innocent, he was conducted by the aſſiſtance of his friends to his native country.

The Spartan ſenate demands his perſon.

He had not long returned to Andania, when ambaſſadors arrived from the Spartan ſenate, demanding the perſon of ſuch an atrocious and open offender. The Meſſenians aſſembled to deliberate on this requeſt; and Androcles and Antiochus, who were jointly inveſted with the regal power, having differed, as uſually happened, in their opinions, each prince was ſupported by the ſtrength of a numerous faction. The debate was decided by an expedient often adopted in ſuch tumultuary aſſemblies. Both parties had recourſe to arms, and the ſedition being fatal to Androcles, the opinion of Antiochus prevailed, who declared againſt delivering Polychares into the power of his enraged enemies. But Antiochus, though he denied the unreaſonable demand of the Spartan ambaſſadors, diſmiſſed them with a propoſal, which left them no room to complain of injuſtice.

The Meſſenians refuſe to comply, but offer to refer the diſpute to the Amphictyons.

juſtice. He offered, in the name of the Meſſenian aſſembly, to refer all the differences between the two nations to the reſpected council of the Amphictyons. This equitable propoſal, which ill ſuited the ambitious deſigns of Sparta, was not honoured with an anſwer from that republic, who, deſirous to acquire the rich fields of Meſſenia, prepared for taking arms; and, having completed her preparations, bound her citizens, by oath, never to deſiſt from hoſtility till they had effected their purpoſe[10].

The Spartans ſurpriſe Ampheia. Olymp. ix. 2, A. C. 743.

Without an open declaration of war (for ambition had extinguiſhed every ſentiment of piety) they invaded the Meſſenian frontier, and attacked the ſmall town of Ampheia, which, from its advantageous ſituation on a rock, ſeemed equally proper for infeſting the enemy, and ſecuring their own retreat[11]. The time choſen for the aſſault was the dead of night, when the unſuſpecting inhabitants repoſed in full confidence of their accuſtomed ſecurity. There was neither centinel at the gates, nor garriſon within the place. The alarm was immediately followed by execution. Many Ampheians were aſſaſſinated in their beds; ſeveral fled to the altars of the gods, the ſanctity of which proved a feeble protection againſt the Spartan cruelty; and a miſerable remnant eſcaped, to diffuſe the melancholy tidings of their unexpected calamity.

Spirited reſolutions of the Meſſenians;

Euphaes, who had ſucceeded to the throne of his father Antiochus, ſummoned, on the preſent emergency, a general aſſembly of his countrymen to the plain of Stenyclara; where, after hearing the opinion of others concerning the critical ſituation of their affairs, he declared his own ſentiments, which were full of honour and magnanimity: "That the final event of the war was not to be conjectured "by its unfortunate beginning; the Meſſenians, though leſs enured "to arms than their warlike opponents, would acquire both ſkill

[10] Strabo expreſſes this oath ſtrongly, but oddly, Ὀμοσαντες μη πρότερον επανηξειν οικαδε, πριν η Μεσσηνην αλῶναι, και παντας αποθανειν. "Having "ſworn not to return home before that they "either took Meſſené, or that they all died."

[11] Ὀχυρωτατον τοπον. PAUSAN.

"and

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Olymp. ix. 2. A. C. 743.

" and courage in purſuing the meaſures of a juſt defence; and the " gods, protectors of innocence, would make the ſtruggles of vir- " tuous liberty prevail over the rude aſſaults of violence and ambi- " tion." The diſcourſe of Euphaes was received with ſhouts of applauſe; and the Meſſenians, by advice of their king, abandoned the open country, and ſettled in ſuch of their towns as were beſt fortified by art or nature, leaving the remainder to the invaſion of an enemy, with whoſe bravery and numbers their own weakneſs was yet unable to contend. But while they kept within their walls, they continued to exerciſe themſelves in arms, and to acquire ſuch vigour and diſcipline, as might enable them to oppoſe the Spartans in the field. Four years elapſed from the taking of Ampheia before they ventured to embrace this dangerous meaſure. During all that time, the Spartans made annual incurſions into their country, deſtroying their harveſts, and carrying into captivity ſuch ſtraggling parties as they happened to ſurpriſe. They took care, however, not to demoliſh the houſes, to cut down the wood, or otherwiſe to diſfigure or deſolate a country, which they already regarded as their own.

who determine to riſk a battle. Olymp. x. 2. A. C. 739.

The Meſſenians, on the other hand, as their courage continued to increaſe, were not contented with defending their own walls, but detached, in ſmall parties, the boldeſt of their warriors to ravage the ſea-coaſt of Laconia. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of theſe predatory expeditions, Euphaes determined to take the field with the flower of the Meſſenian nation. The army of freemen was attended by an innumerable crowd of ſlaves, carrying wood and other materials neceſſary for encampment. Thus prepared, they put themſelves in motion, and, before they reached the frontier, were ſeen by the Spartan garriſon of Ampheia, who immediately ſounded the alarm of an approaching enemy. The Spartans flew to arms with more than their wonted alacrity, delighted with the opportunity for which they had ſo long wiſhed in vain, of deciding, at one blow, the event of a tedious war. The hoſtile armies approached

Olymp. x. 1. A. C. 740.

proached with a celerity proportioned to the fury of their reſentment, and arrived, with high expectations, at the intermediate plain which overſpread the confines of the two kingdoms. But there the martial ardour of the troops received a check, which had not been foreſeen by their commanders. The rivulet, interſecting the plain, was ſwelled by the rains into a torrent. This circumſtance prevented a general engagement. The cavalry alone (amounting on either ſide to about five hundred horſe) paſſed near the head of the ravine, and contended in an indeciſive ſkirmiſh; while the fury of the infantry evaporated in empty boaſts, and unavailing inſults. Night inſenſibly came on, during which the Meſſenians fortified their camp with ſo much ſkill, that the enemy, rather than venture to ſtorm it, preferred to return home, after an expedition, which, conſidering their ſuperiority in numbers, appeared no leſs inglorious than ineffectual.

which proves indeciſive.

The puſillanimous behaviour of the Spartan army deſerved not the approbation of the ſenate. The ſevere fathers of the republic upbraided the degeneracy of the youth, who no longer paid regard to the ſanctity of the oath which they had taken, never to lay down their arms until they had completely ſubdued the Meſſenians. The ſpirit of the ſenate was ſoon diffuſed through the community; and it was determined, in the general aſſembly of the nation, to prepare for carrying on a more fierce war than the enemy had yet experienced. At the approach of autumn, the ſeaſon always preferred for the predatory expeditions of thoſe early times, all the Spartans of military age, as well as the inhabitants of the ſubordinate towns of Laconia, known by the general name of Lacedæmonians, were ready to take the field. After leaving a ſufficient body of troops for the internal ſafety of the country, the number that might be ſpared abroad, probably amounted to about twenty thouſand men. This powerful army was ſtill farther increaſed by the confluence of ſtrangers, particularly the Aſſinians and Dryopians,

Spartans prepare for carrying on the war with vigour.

Number of their forces.

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who fled from the cruel tyranny of Argos, a republic no leſs blameable than Sparta, for oppreſſive ſeverity towards her weaker neighbours. Beſides this reinforcement, the Spartans hired a conſiderable body of archers from Crete, to oppoſe the horſe and light infantry of the Meſſenians. The management of the expedition was entruſted to the Spartan kings Theopompus and Polydorus; the former of whom commanded the right, and the latter the left wing, while the central diviſion was committed to the diſcretion and valour of Euryleon, who, though born in Sparta, was deſcended of the royal race of Theban Cadmus.

Second engagement.

Ancient writers have neglected to mention the ſcene of this ſecond engagement, which Pauſanias has, with more diffuſiveneſs than accuracy, deſcribed in his hiſtorical journey through Meſſenia; but it is reaſonable to conjecture, from this omiſſion, that both the firſt and ſecond battles happened near the ſame place, on the extenſive plain which connects the frontiers of the two kingdoms.

The Meſſenians were inferior, both in numbers and in diſcipline, but ardent in the cauſe of every thing moſt dear to them. Euphaes headed their left wing, which oppoſed the diviſion of Theopompus; Pytharatus led the right; and Cleonnis commanded the centre. Before the ſignal was given for charge, the commanders addreſſed their reſpective troops. Theopompus, with Laconic brevity, "reminded the Spartans of their oath, and of the glory which their "anceſtors had acquired by ſubduing the territories of their neighbours." Euphaes, at greater length, animated his ſoldiers to victory, by deſcribing the fatal conſequences of a defeat. "Their "lands and fortunes were not the only objects of contention: "they had already experienced the Spartan cruelty in the unhappy "fate of Ampheia, where all the men of a military age had been "put to the ſword; the women, as well as the children, with their "aged parents, ſubjected to an ignominious ſervitude; their temples burnt or plundered; the city levelled with the ground; and "the

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Olymp. x. 2. A. C. 739.

" the country deſolated. The calamities, hitherto confined to that " little diſtrict, would be diffuſed over the whole of their beautiful " territory, unleſs the active bravery of Meſſenia ſhould now, by a " noble effort of patriotiſm, overcome the numbers and diſcipline of " Sparta." Encouraged by the ardour of their prince, the Meſſenians rather ran than marched to the battle. As they approached the enemy, they threatened them with their eyes and geſtures, reproaching them with an inſatiable avidity for wealth and power, an unnatural diſregard to the ties of blood, an impious contempt for their common gods, and particularly for the revered name of Hercules, the acknowledged founder and patron of both kingdoms. From words of reproach they made an eaſy tranſition to deeds of violence. Many quitted their ranks, and aſſailed the embattled phalanx of the Spartans. The wounded ſpent the laſt exertions[12] of their ſtrength in ſignal acts of vengeance, or employed their laſt breath in conjuring their companions to imitate the example of their bravery; and to maintain, by an honourable death, the ſafety and renown of their country. To the generous ardour of the Meſſenians, Sparta oppoſed the aſſured intrepidity of diſciplined valour. Her citizens, enured to the uſe of arms, cloſed their ranks, and remained firm in their reſpective poſts. Where the enemy in any part gave way, they followed them with an undiſturbed progreſs; and endeavoured, by the continuance of regular exertion, to overcome the deſultory efforts of rage, fury, and deſpair[13].

Fierceneſs and obſtinacy of the combatants.

Such were the principal differences in the ſentiments and conduct of two armies, both of which were alike animated by the love of glory, and the deſire of vengeance; paſſions which they carried to ſuch a length, that there was no example, on either ſide, of a ſoldier who deigned to ſeek for quarter, or who attempted to

[12] Agreeably to the melancholy firmneſs of the advice afterwards given by Tyrtæus to the Spartans,

Και τις αποθνησκων υστατ' αιγοτισσετο.

TYRTÆUS, edit. Glaſ. p. 4. ver. 5.

[13] The mode of fighting in that age is forcibly deſcribed by Tyrtæus, p. 7, edit. Glaſ. Αλλα τις ιν διαβας μιστα ποσι αμφοτερησι, to the end of the poem.

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ſooth, by the promiſe of a large ranſom, the unrelenting cruelty of the victors. Emulation and avarice conſpired in deſpoiling the bodies of the ſlain. Amidſt this barbarous employment, which cuſtom only rendered honourable, many met with an untimely fate; for while they ſtripped the dead with the raſhneſs of blind avidity, they often expoſed their own perſons to the darts and ſwords of their enemies; and ſometimes the dying, by a fortunate wound, ſoothed the agonies of the preſent moment, and retaliated their paſt ſufferings on their unguarded deſpoilers.

The Spartan and Meſſenian kings prepare to engage in ſingle combat,

The kings, who had hitherto been ſatisfied with leading their troops to action, and ſharing the common danger, longed, as the battle began to warm, to ſignalize their valour in ſingle combat. With this deſign Theopompus, liſtening only to his courage, firſt marched towards Euphaes, who, ſeeing him approach, cried out to his companions, "Does not Theopompus well imitate the bloody-minded "Polynices[14], who, at the head of an army of ſtrangers, levied "war againſt his native country, and, with his own hand, ſlew a "brother, by whom, at the ſame inſtant, he himſelf was ſlain? In "like manner does Theopompus, with unnatural hatred, perſecute "his kinſmen of the race of Hercules; but I truſt he ſhall meet the "puniſhment due to his impiety." At ſight of this intereſting ſpectacle, the troops were inſpired with new ardour, and the battle raged with redoubled fury. The choſen bands, who reſpectively watched the ſafety of the contending princes, became inſenſible to perſonal danger, and only ſolicitous to preſerve the ſacred perſons of their kings. The ſtrength of Sparta, at length, began to yield to the activity of her rivals. The troops of Theopompus were broken and thrown into diſorder; and the reluctant prince was himſelf compelled to retire. At the ſame time the right wing of the Meſſenians, having loſt their leader Pytharatus, yielded to the exertions of Polydorus and his Spartans: but neither this general, nor king Eu-

prevented by the ardour of their troops.

[14] See above, p. 19.

phaes,

phaes, thought proper to purſue the flying enemy. It ſeemed more expedient to ſtrengthen, with their victorious troops, the central diviſions of their reſpective armies, which ſtill continued to fight with obſtinate valour, and doubtful ſucceſs. Night at length put an end to the engagement, which had proved extremely humiliating to both parties; for next morning neither offered to renew the battle, neither ventured to erect a trophy of victory; while both craved a ſuſpenſion of arms, for the purpoſe of interring the dead; a demand generally conſtrued as an acknowledgment of defeat.

Extraordinary iſſue of the battle.

Although the immediate effects of the battle were alike deſtructive to the Spartans and to the Meſſenians, its remote conſequences were peculiarly ruinous to the latter. They were leſs rich and leſs numerous than their opponents; their army could not be recruited with the ſame facility; many of their ſlaves were bribed into the enemy's ſervice; and a peſtilential diſtemper, concurring with other misfortunes, reduced them to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs. The Spartans, mean while, carried on their annual incurſions with more than uſual cruelty, involving the huſbandman, with his labours, in undiſtinguiſhed ruin, and deſtroying by fire and ſword the wretched inhabitants of the unfortified cities. The miſerable ravages to which theſe cities were continually expoſed, obliged the Meſſenians to abandon them, and to ſeek refuge among the almoſt inacceſſible mountains of Ithomè; a place which, though ſituate near the frontiers of Laconia, afforded them the ſecureſt retreat amidſt their preſent calamities, being ſtrongly fortified by nature, and ſurrounded by a wall, which bid defiance to the battering engines known in that early age.

Its remote conſequences.

The Meſſenians ſhut themſelves up in the fortreſs Ithomè.

The Meſſenians, thus defended againſt external aſſaults, were ſtill expoſed to the danger of periſhing by famine. The apprehenſion of this new calamity gave additional poignancy to the feelings of their unhappy ſituation, and encreaſed the horrors of the peſtilence

Their ſufferings there.

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which raged more fiercely than ever among men cooped up within a narrow fortreſs. Under the preſſure of preſent, and the dread of future evil, their minds were favourably diſpoſed for admitting the terrors of ſuperſtition. A meſſenger was ſent to Delphi to enquire by what ſacrifice they might appeaſe the reſentment of the angry gods. On his return to Ithomè, he declared the ſtern anſwer of the god, which demanded the innocent blood of a virgin of the royal race. The Meſſenians prepared, in full aſſembly, to obey the horrid mandate. The lots were caſt, and the daughter of Lyciſcus was declared worthy of atoning, by her blood, for the ſins of the prince and people: but the father, who was only a diſtant branch of the royal family, allowed his paternal affection to prevail over the dictates of both his patriotiſm and his piety. By his advice, Ephebolus, a diviner, oppoſed the ſacrifice, aſſerting that the pretended princeſs was not what ſhe appeared, but a ſuppoſititious child, whom the artifice of the wife of Lyciſcus had adopted to conceal her barrenneſs. While the remonſtrances of the diviner engaged the attention of the aſſembly, Lyciſcus privately withdrew his daughter; and, eſcaping unobſerved through the gates of Ithomè, ſought protection, againſt the cruelty of fortune and of his friends, among the unrelenting enemies of his country.

Prepare to ſacrifice a virgin of the royal blood,

who is withdrawn by her father.

Ariſtodemus devotes his own daughter.

He had already made conſiderable progreſs in his journey towards Sparta, when the diſcovery of his departure threw the Meſſenians into great conſternation; nor is it eaſy to determine what might have been the effect of their ſuperſtitious terrors, had not Ariſtodemus, another branch of the Herculean ſtock, and ſtill leſs diſtinguiſhed by birth than merit, voluntarily offered to devote his own child for the public ſafety. But this ſacrifice was likewiſe oppoſed by a youth, who, paſſionately in love with the intended victim, cried out, that the young lady had been betrothed to him, and that it belonged to her deſtined huſband, not to her inhuman father, to diſpoſe of her life and fortune. When his noiſy clamours were little

Her lover oppoſes this deſign.

little regarded by the aſſembly, he had the effrontery to aſſert, that the daughter of Ariſtodemus could not anſwer the condition required by the oracle; that, even before the nuptial rites had been conſummated, ſhe had pitied the violence of his paſſion, and that now ſhe carried in her womb the fruit of their unhappy loves. Ariſtodemus, hearing this diſcourſe, was ſeized with rage and indignation at the unmerited diſgrace thrown on his family. "It then appeared," ſays an ancient author [15], "with what eaſe deſtiny tarniſhes the feeble "virtues of men, as the ſlime of a river does the ſhining ornaments "which cover its humid bed." The angry father plunged his dagger into the breaſt of his unfortunate daughter, and, with horrid barbarity, opening her womb in the preſence of the amazed aſſembly, demanded juſtice on the infamous impoſtor who had traduced her virtue. The Meſſenians were ſtill farther irritated againſt the youth, in conſequence of the opinion of Ephebolus, who declared that another victim muſt be ſought to appeaſe the anger of the gods, becauſe Ariſtodemus had ſacrificed his daughter, not in obedience to the oracle, but to gratify the impetuous paſſion of his own ungovernable ſoul. The rage of the aſſembly would have ſpeedily ſent the lover to attend the ſhade of his miſtreſs; but fortunately he was beloved and pitied by king Euphaes, whoſe authority controuled, on this occaſion, the audacious inſolence of a prieſt, and checked the wild fury of the populace. The king aſſerted that Apollo had no reaſon to complain of their diſobedience: the god demanded the blood of a virgin, a virgin had been ſlain; but neither did the Pythia determine, nor belonged it to them to enquire, by whoſe hands, or from what motive, the victim ſhould be put to death.

She is ſlain by her father.

The oracle, thus favourably interpreted by the wiſdom of the prince, not only allayed the frantic rage, but reſtored the fainting hopes, of the people. They determined to defend their capital to

Obſtinate defence of the Meſſenians.

[15] Pauſanias, p. 232. This might ſatisfy the ſuperſtition of antiquity, but will appear, in modern times, a poor excuſe for ſuch a ſhocking barbarity.

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the laſt extremity; and this generous reſolution, which they maintained inviolate during the courſe of ſeveral years, was juſtified by obſtinate exertions of valour.

who procure aſſiſtance from Argos and Arcadia.

The ſpirited and perſevering efforts of the Meſſenians, as well as the proud tyranny of Sparta, tended to procure, to the weaker ſtate, ſeveral uſeful alliances among the neighbouring republics. Of all the communities inhabiting the Peloponneſus, the Corinthians alone, as a maritime and commercial people, entertained little jealouſy of the Spartans; while the Argives and Arcadians, from proximity of ſituation, as well as interference of intereſt and ambition, held the diſciples of Lycurgus in peculiar deteſtation. By the aſſiſtance of theſe powerful allies, the Meſſenians gained conſiderable advantages in two general engagements; in the former of which their king Euphaes, betrayed by the ardour of ſucceſs into an unequal combat, was overpowered by numbers, and ſlain in the action. The valour of Ariſtodemus was called by the voice of the people to fill the vacant throne; and his conduct in war juſtified the high opinion entertained of him by his countrymen. For five years he baffled the aſpiring hopes of the Spartans; defeated them in ſeveral deſultory rencounters; and, in a pitched battle, fought near the walls of Ithomè, overcame the principal ſtrength of their republic, aſſiſted by that of the Corinthians.

Their tranſient ſucceſs.

This victory, though obtained by ſtratagem rather than by ſuperiority of courage or diſcipline, threw the Spartan ſenate into the greateſt perplexity, and deprived them of the expectation of putting a ſpeedy, or even a fortunate, end to the war. In their diſtreſs they had recourſe to the ſame oracle, which had relieved the afflictions of the Meſſenians. As the policy of the god ſeldom ſent away, in ill humour, the votaries of his ſhrine, the deſtruction of Ithomè was announced with prophetic obſcurity. The Spartans, with revived hopes, again took the field; and their new ardour was ſucceſsful in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Meſſenians, who, haraſſed by

Ithomè at length ſurrenders.

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an open, were ſtill more fatally oppreſſed by a ſecret, foe. The people were again ſeized with ſuperſtitious terrors. Dreams, viſions, and other prodigies confirmed the melancholy prediction of Apollo. The impatient temper of Ariſtodemus made him withdraw, by a voluntary death, from the evils which threatened his country. The other leaders of greateſt renown had periſhed in the field. Ithomè, deprived of its principal ſupport, and inveſted more cloſely than before, was compelled, after a ſiege of five months, to ſubmit to the ſlow but irreſiſtible impreſſions of famine. Such of its inhabitants as were entitled to the benefit of hoſpitality in Sicyon, Argos, or Arcadia, travelled with all poſſible expedition into thoſe countries. The ſacred families, who were attached to the miniſtry of Ceres, ſought a ſecure refuge among the venerable prieſts of Eleuſis, in Attica. The greater part of the people diſperſed themſelves through the interior towns and villages, endeavouring, in the obſcurity of their ancient habitations, to elude the induſtrious ſearch of an unrelenting enemy [16].

Olymp. XIV. 1. A. C. 724.

Conſequences of the firſt Meſſenian war.

The Lacedæmonians, having thus obtained poſſeſſion of the Meſſenian capital, diſcovered ſignal gratitude to their gods, fidelity to their allies, and cruelty to their enemies. Ithomè was demoliſhed to the foundation. Of its ſpoil, three tripods were conſecrated to Amyclean Apollo. The firſt was adorned with the image of Venus, the ſecond with that of Diana, and the third with the figures of Ceres and Proſerpine. To the Aſſinians, who had aſſiſted them with peculiar alacrity in the war, the Spartans gave that beautiful portion of the Meſſenian coaſt, which aſſumed, and long retained, the name of its new inhabitants. They rewarded the good intentions of the Meſſenian Androcles, who, at the commencement of the war, had diſcovered his partiality for Sparta, by beſtowing on his deſcendants the fertile diſtrict Hyamia. The reſt of the Meſſenian nation were treated with all the rigour of Spartan policy. They were

[16] Pauſan. Meſſen. & Strabo, l. viii.

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obliged to take an oath of allegiance to their proud victors, to preſent them every year with half the produce of their ſoil, and, under pain of the ſevereſt puniſhment, to appear in mourning habits, at the funerals of the Spartan kings and magiſtrates [17].

State of Greece at that time.

After the cloſe of the firſt Meſſenian war, Greece appears, for ſeveral years, to have enjoyed an unuſual degree of tranquillity. Peace promoted population; and the inhabitants of Peloponneſus continued to diffuſe their numerous colonies over the iſlands of Sicily and Corcyra, as well as over the ſouthern diviſion of Italy, afterwards known by the name of Magna Græcia [18]. In this delicious country two conſiderable eſtabliſhments were formed, about the ſame time, the one at Rhegium, and the other at Tarentum. Rhegium, ſituate on the ſouthern extremity of the continent, ſoon acquired the aſcendant over the neighbouring cities; and Tarentum, having become the moſt powerful community on the eaſtern coaſt, had the honour of giving name to the ſpacious bay, which almoſt unites the Tuſcan, and the Ionian, ſeas.

The particular cauſes which occaſioned, or the various circumſtances which accompanied, theſe ſeveral migrations, are not related in ancient hiſtory; the Lacedæmonian eſtabliſhment at Tarentum was alone marked by ſuch particulars as have merited, on account of their ſingularity, to be handed down to ſucceeding ages.

The Lacedæmonians found Tarentum in Italy.

During the ſecond expedition [19] of the Spartans againſt Meſſenia, the army, conſiſting of the greater part of the citizens who had attained the military age, bound themſelves, by oath, not to return home until they had ſubdued their enemies. This engagement de-

[17] Pauſan. ibid.

[18] This name, as will be proved hereafter, denoted the Greek ſettlements both in Italy and Sicily. The colonies there, became, in progreſs of time, perhaps more conſiderable than the mother country. Their proceedings will be fully related in the following work; but not until their tranſactions enter into the general ſyſtem of Grecian politics.

[19] They had taken the ſame oath in the firſt expedition: but it appears from Pauſanias, that they did not obſerve it. The ſenators upbraided the youth with cowardice and contempt of their oath, διλιαν και τω ορκω υπεροψιαν. PAUSAN. p. 228.

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tained them ſeveral years in the field, during which Sparta, inhabited only by women, children, and helpleſs old men, produced no ſucceeding generation to ſupport the future glories of the republic. Senſible of this inconvenience, which, in a warlike and ambitious ſtate, ſurrounded by warlike and ambitious rivals, might have been productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences, the ſenate recalled ſuch young men as, having left their country before they had attained the military age, were not under any obligation to keep the field; and enjoined them to aſſociate promiſcuouſly with the married women, that the city might thus be preſerved from decay and deſolation. The children born of theſe uſeful, though irregular connections, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Partheniæ; probably denoting the condition of their mothers [20]. They had no certain father; nor were they entitled, though citizens of Sparta, to any private inheritance. Theſe circumſtances kept them a diſtinct body, the members of which were attached by the ſtricteſt friendſhip to each other, and hoſtile to the reſt of the community.

This dangerous diſpoſition was ſtill farther encreaſed by the imprudent behaviour of the Spartans, who, on their return from the conqueſt of Meſſenia, treated the Partheniæ with the moſt ſupercilious contempt. The young men could endure poverty and misfortune, but could not brook diſgrace. Their unhappy ſituation, and the impatience with which they ſubmitted to it, naturally connected them with the Helots, thoſe miſerable ſlaves whoſe juſt indignation ever prompted them to revolt from the cruel tyranny of their maſters. A conſpiracy was formed; the day, place, and ſignal were determined, upon which the Partheniæ and Helots, armed with concealed daggers, and with the moſt hoſtile fury, ſhould retaliate, in the public aſſembly, their paſt ſufferings and inſults on the unſuſpecting ſuperiority of the proud lords of Sparta. The time ap-

[20] Παρθενιαι. Filius natus ex ea, quæ quum duceretur, virgo non erat. ARISTOT. Polit. l. v. c. 7.

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proached, and the design was ripe for execution, when the president of the assembly ordered the cryer to proclaim, That none present should throw up his cap (for that had been the signal appointed by the conspirators); and thus clearly intimated that the plot had been discovered, and that the Spartans were prepared to meet and to overcome the dangerous treachery of their dependants. We are not informed of the punishment inflicted on the Helots, or whether, as the conspiracy had been laid open by one of their number, the merit of an individual was allowed to atone for the guilt of the society. The Partheniæ, however, were treated with a remarkable degree of lenity, suggested, probably, by the fears, rather than by the humanity of Sparta [21]. They were not only allowed to escape unpunished from their native country, but furnished with every thing necessary for undertaking a successful expedition against the neighbouring coasts; and thus enabled to establish themselves under their leader Phalantus, in the delightful recesses of the Tarentine gulph [22].

The Messenians prepare to revolt.

The Spartans, when delivered from the danger of this formidable conspiracy, enjoyed, above thirty years, domestic as well as public peace, until again disturbed by the revolt of the Messenians. The dishonourable conditions imposed on that people, the toilsome labours to which most of them were necessarily condemned, in order to produce the expected tribute; the natural fertility of the soil, augmented by industry, and augmenting in its turn the populousness of the country, all these causes conspired to sharpen their resentment, to embitter their hostility, and to determine them, at every hazard, to submit their fortune to the decision of the sword. The negligence of Sparta was favourable to the progress of rebellion. While she degraded the Messenians by the most humiliating marks of servitude, she allowed them, however, to rebuild their cities, to assemble in the public places, and to communicate to each other their mutual

[21] Ephor. apud Strab. l. vi.

[22] Pausan. Phoc.

grievances

grievances and complaints. To reward the ſervices of Andro-cles, the Meſſenian king, ſhe had beſtowed on his family the rich province of Hyamia; but the deſcendants of that prince preferring the duties of patriotiſm to the dictates of gratitude, countenanced and encouraged the warlike diſpoſitions of his countrymen. The young men of Andania longed to take up arms. They were headed by Ariſtomenes, a youth deſcended from the ancient line of Meſſe-nian kings, adorned with the moſt extraordinary qualities of mind and body, and whoſe exploits, if inſtead of being ſung by Rhianus, and related by Pauſanias, they had been deſcribed by Xenophon, or celebrated by Homer, would place him in the firſt rank of Grecian heroes.

Olymp. xxiii. 4. A. C. 685.

Obtain aſſiſtance from the Argives and Arcadians.

In entering upon this memorable war the Meſſenians conſulted the dictates of prudence, at the ſame time that they indulged the motives of animoſity and ambition. Before diſcovering their intention to take arms, they diſpatched meſſengers to the Arcadians and Argives, intimating their inclination to throw off the yoke of Sparta, provided they could depend on the hearty aſſiſtance of their ancient allies. The Argives and Arcadians were naturally enemies to their warlike and ambitious neighbours; and, at this particular juncture, the enmity of the former towards Sparta was, by recent injuries, kindled into reſentment. Both nations confirmed, by the moſt flattering promiſes, the reſolution of the Meſſenians, who, with uncommon unanimity and concert, ſought deliverance from the oppreſſive ſeverity of their tyrants.

The battle of Derae.

Bravery and moderation of Ariſtomenes.

The firſt engagement was fought at Derae, a village of Meſſenia. The ſoldiers, on both ſides, behaved with equal bravery; the victory was doubtful; but Ariſtomenes, the Meſſenian, acquired unrivalled glory and renown. On the field of battle he was ſaluted king by the admiring gratitude of his countrymen. He declined, however, the dangerous honours of royalty, declaring himſelf ſatisfied with the appellation of General, which, in that age, implied a ſuperiority in martial exerciſes, as well as in the knowledge of war, and in the

experience

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experience of command. The Meſſenian excelled in all theſe, and poſſeſſed, beſides, a degree of military enthuſiaſm, which, as it was employed to retrieve the deſperate affairs of his country, deſerves to be for ever remembered and admired. Senſible how much depended on the auſpicious beginning of the war, he immediately marched to Sparta; entered the city, which was neither walled, nor lighted, during night; and ſuſpended in the temple of Minerva a buckler, inſcribed with his name, as a monument of his ſucceſs againſt the enemy, and an offering to procure the good-will of that warlike goddeſs.

The ſingular exploit of Panormus and Gonippus.

The hardineſs of this exploit was rivalled by the ſingular intrepidity of his companions Panormus and Gonippus. While the Lacedæmonians celebrated, in their camp, the feſtival of their heroes Caſtor and Pollux, the two youths of Andania, mounted on fiery ſteeds, with lances in their hands, and a purple mantle flowing over their white veſtments, preſented themſelves in the midſt of the joyous aſſembly. The ſuperſtitious crowd, diſſolved in mirth and wine, imagined that their heavenly protectors had appeared in a human form, in order to grace the feſtival eſtabliſhed in their [21] honour. As they approached, unarmed, to pay their obeiſance to the divine brothers of Helen, the young Meſſenians couched their ſpears, attacked the multitude with irreſiſtible fury, ſlew them with their weapons, or trod them down with their horſes, and, before the aſſembly recovered from its ſurpriſe and conſternation, ſet out, in triumph, on their return to Andania.

The Spartans alarmed have recourſe to the oracle.

Theſe exploits, and others of a ſimilar kind, which are not particularly recorded, were ſufficient to alarm the fears of the Spartans, and to make them ſeek the advice of Apollo. The oracle, when conſulted by what means they might change the ſucceſs of the war,

[21] Pauſanias, p. 266. However ſurpriſing this credulity may appear in the preſent age, it is atteſted by the moſt unqueſtionable evidence. Striking inſtances of it will occur in later periods of the Greek hiſtory.

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Olymp. xxiv. 2. A. C. 623.

ordered them to demand a general from Athens; a reſponſe highly mortifying to the high Spartan ſpirit, as their own kings, deſcended from Hercules, were the conſtitutional commanders of their armies In compliance, however, with the mandate of the god, the haughtineſs of Sparta was obliged to make a requeſt which the jealouſy of Athens durſt not venture to refuſe. The Athenians, when informed of the oracle, immediately diſpatched to Sparta, Tyrtæus, a man who, like every Athenian citizen, had, indeed, borne arms, but who had never been diſtinguiſhed by any rank in the army. He was chiefly known to his fellow-citizens as a poet; a character in which he has been juſtly admired by ſucceeding [24] ages. Among the Spartans, however, he was regarded as the ſacred meſſenger of the divinity; and his verſes were ſuppoſed to convey the inſtructions and ſentiments inſpired by his heavenly protector.

The Athenians ſend them Tyrtæus, the poet.

The heroic valour of Ariſtomenes long continued to prevail againſt the force of the oracle, as well as againſt all the other enemies of Meſſenia. He defeated the Spartans in three ſucceſſive engagements, the circumſtances of which are ſo ſimilar, that they have frequently been confounded with each other. They were all fought in the plain of Stenyclara, and the moſt remarkable at a place called the Boar's Monument, from a tradition that Hercules had anciently ſacrificed there an animal of that ſpecies. The Meſſenians were reinforced by the aſſiſtance of their allies of Elis and Sicyon, as well as of Argos and Arcadia. The Spartans were followed by the Corinthians, their ancient confederates, and by the citizens of Leprea, who choſe to ſeek the protection of Sparta, rather than ſubmit to the government of Elis. The combined army was commanded by Anaxander the

Succeſs of the Meſſenians under their heroic Ariſtomenes.

[24] Inſignis Homerus,
Tyrtacuſque mares animos in martia bella,
Verſibus e acuit. Hor.

Three poems of Tyrtæus, containing the praiſe of valour, are preſerved in Stobæus; a fourth on the ſame ſubject, is the only oration now remaining of Lycurgus the Athenian orator, the friend and rival of Demoſthenes. A few detached couplets may alſo be read in Strabo and Pauſanias.

Spartan

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Spartan king, whoſe influence, however, was rivalled by the authority of Hecatæus the diviner, and of Tyrtæus the poet. The Meſſenians had not a poet worthy of being oppoſed to Tyrtæus; but the predictions of their diviner Theocles were able, on ſome occaſions, to promote or to reſtrain the ardour of Ariſtomenes himſelf.

The ſucceſs of the engagement was chiefly owing to the ſpirited exertion of the Meſſenian general. At the head of a ſmall band of choſen companions, he charged the principal diviſion of the Spartan army, commanded by the king in perſon. The reſiſtance was obſtinate, and laſted for ſeveral hours. When the Spartans began to give way, Ariſtomenes ordered a new body of troops to complete his ſucceſs, to rout and purſue the enemy. He, with his little but determined band, attacked a ſecond diviſion of the Lacedæmonians, which ſtill continued firm in its poſt. Having compelled theſe alſo to retreat, he, with amazing rapidity, turned the valour of his troops againſt a third, and then againſt a fourth brigade [24], both of which giving ground, the whole army was put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter. The merit of theſe atchievements was, on the return of Ariſtomenes, celebrated with great pomp at Andania. The men received their favourite hero with joyous acclamations; and the women, ſtrowing his way with flowers, ſung in his praiſe a ſtanza that has reached modern times, expreſſing, with elegant ſimplicity, the glorious victory obtained over the Lacedæmonians.

The tribute of juſt applauſe paid to the virtues of Ariſtomenes inſpired him with a generous ambition to deſerve the ſincereſt gratitude of his countrymen. With unremitting activity he continued, with his little band of faithful adherents, to over-run the hoſtile territory, to deſtroy the defenceleſs villages, and to carry the inhabit-

[24] Pauſanias acknowledges that the exploits of Ariſtomenes, in this engagement, almoſt exceed belief. Pauſan. Meſſen. There is a remarkable coincidence in the character and exploits, as well as in the ſituation, of Ariſtomenes, and thoſe of the celebrated Scottiſh patriot Wallace. Vid. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii. paſſim.

ants

ants into ſervitude. The towns of Pharæ, Carya, and Egila ſucceſſively experienced the fatal effects of his ravages. In the firſt, he found a conſiderable booty, in money and commodities; in the ſecond, he found a booty ſtill more precious, the daughters of the principal inhabitants dancing in the chorus of Diana, whom he honourably protected againſt the licentious violence of his followers, and reſtored, uninjured, for the ranſom offered by their parents. After attacking Egila, Ariſtomenes met with an unexpected check from the enthuſiaſm of the Spartan matrons, who were offering ſacrifice to Ceres in a neighbouring temple, long held in peculiar veneration. As ſoon as they perceived the approach of the enemy, the women, who, according to the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, had been trained to all the manly exerciſes of the other ſex, iſſued forth from the temple, and aſſailing the Meſſenians with knives, hatchets, burning torches, and the other inſtruments of ſacrifice, threw them into diſorder, wounded ſeveral of the ſoldiers, and ſeized the perſon of their commander. Next day, however, Ariſtomenes was delivered from captivity, through the good offices of Archidamea, prieſteſs of Ceres, whoſe ſuſceptible heart had long admired and loved the merit and renown of the brave Meſſenian.

The Spartans animated by Tyrtæus.

The amazing ſucceſs of the Meſſenians, which, in the courſe of three years, had been interrupted only by this inconſiderable accident, diſpoſed the Spartan kings to abandon the war, and to allow their enemies to enjoy the honour and advantages which they had ſo bravely gained. This reſolution was approved by the ſenate and aſſembly. The allies of Sparta readily adopted the ſame opinion. Tyrtæus alone oppoſed the diſhonourable meaſure, with all the force of his authority. The ſacred character of the bard, with the divine influence of his poetry, prevailed; and the Spartans again entered Meſſenia with an army, as numerous and powerful as any they had before collected. But at ſight of the Meſſenian troops, headed by Ariſtomenes, they were thrown into new conſternation.

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The dreaded proweſs of their heroic antagoniſt, which they had ſo often and ſo fatally experienced, continually preſented itſelf to their minds; and the inſpired arts of Tyrtæus were again neceſſary to reſiſt the increaſing panic. A ſecond time he revived their drooping courage, while he expatiated on the glory of ancient warriors; the magnanimity of deſpiſing fortune; the praiſe and honours of valour; the joys and rewards of victory [25]. Theſe ſentiments, dictated by the true ſpirit of heroiſm, fired their minds with martial ardour. Diſregarding the ſweets of life, they longed for an honourable death. One conſideration only (ſuch was the ſuperſtition of ancient times) damped the generous warmth that animated their ſouls. In an engagement, which there was every reaſon to believe would be fought with the moſt obſtinate valour on both ſides, what crowds of warriors muſt fall, whoſe bodies, heaped together in horrid confuſion, would not be recogniſed by their friends, or obtain, with due ſolemnity, the ſacred rites of funeral! This melancholy thought, which chilled the boldeſt heart with religious horror, might have formed an inſurmountable obſtacle to their ſucceſs, had not their terrors been removed by the prudent miſſionary of Apollo. By the advice of Tyrtæus, each ſoldier tied a token, inſcribed with his name and deſignation, round his right arm, by means of which his body, however diſfigured [26], might be known to his friends and kindred. Thus fortified againſt the only illuſion that could alarm the minds of men who preferred death to a defeat, they ruſhed forward to attack their dreaded, and hitherto victorious, foes.

The Battle of the Trenches.

The Meſſenian general had drawn up his forces at a place called the Great Ditch, from which this engagement has been called the Battle of the Trenches [27]. The national ſtrength was reinforced by a conſiderable body of Arcadian troops, commanded by their king

[25] Tyrtæus, p. 2 and 3. Edit. Glaſg.
[26] Confuſa corporum lineamenta. JUSTIN.
[27] Polybius, l. iv. Strabo, l. viii.

Ariſtocrates,

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Ariſtocrates, to whoſe treachery, as much as to their own valour, the Spartans were indebted for the victory.

Treachery of Ariſtocrates, leader of the Arcadians.

The Spartans, though poſſeſſed of little private wealth, had a conſiderable public treaſury, with which they early began to bribe thoſe whom they deſpaired to conquer. With this, perhaps, on many former occaſions, they had tempted the avarice of Ariſtocrates, who, from want of opportunity rather than of inclination to betray, had hitherto maintained his fidelity inviolate. But when he perceived the unuſual ardour which animated the enemy; and reflected, that if, without his concurrence, victory ſhould declare itſelf on *their* ſide, he might for ever be deprived of an occaſion to earn the wages of his intended iniquity, he determined to abandon his ancient allies, and to enſure ſucceſs to the Lacedæmonians. In ſight of the two armies he explained and exaggerated to his troops the advantageous poſition of the Spartans; the difficulty of a retreat, in caſe they themſelves were obliged to give ground; and the inauſpicious omens which threatened deſtruction to Meſſené. In order to avoid the ruin ready to overtake their allies, he commanded his men to be prepared to follow him on the firſt ſignal for the engagement. When the charge was ſounded, and the Meſſenians were preparing to reſiſt the firſt onſet of the enemy, Ariſtocrates led off his Arcadians; and, to make his defection more apparent, croſſed the whole Meſſenian army. The Meſſenians, confounded with a treachery ſo bold and manifeſt, almoſt forgot that they were contending againſt the Spartans. Many forſook their ranks, and ran after the Arcadians, ſometimes conjuring them to return to their duty, and ſometimes reproaching them with their perfidious ingratitude. Their intreaties and inſults were alike vain; their army was ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide; the little band of Ariſtomenes alone, with pertinacious valour, reſiſting the efforts, and breaking through the embattled ſquadrons, of the enemy. Their example encouraged others of their countrymen to effect an eſcape by equal bravery; but, in attempting this dangerous

The Meſſenians defeated.

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measure, the greater part of the soldiers perished, as well as the generals Androcles, Phintas, and Phanas, persons descended from the ancient stock of Messenian nobility, and who, next to Aristomenes, formed the principal ornament and support of their declining country.

Magnanimity of Aristomenes:

Among the republics of ancient Greece, the fate of a nation often depended on the event of a battle. The contention was not between mercenary troops, who regarded war as a trade, which they carried on merely from interest, without emulation or resentment. The citizens of free communities fought for their liberties and fortunes, their wives and children, and for every object held dear or valuable among men. In such a struggle they exerted the utmost efforts of their animosity as well as of their strength; nor did the conflict cease, till the one party had reduced the other to extremity. It was not extraordinary, therefore, that, after the bloody battle of the Trenches, the Messenians should be unable to keep the field. Aristomenes, however, determined, while he preserved his life, to maintain his independence. With this view he collected the miserable remains of his unfortunate troops; assembled the scattered inhabitants of the open country; abandoned the cities and villages on the plain to the mercy of the victors; and seized, with his little army, the strong fortress of Eira, situate among the mountains which rise along the southern shore of Messenia, defended on the north by the river Neda, and open only on the south towards the harbours of Pylus and Methonè, which offered it a plentiful supply of corn, fish, and other necessary provisions.

he throws himself into the fortress of Eira;

A. C. 682—671.

In this situation the gallant Messenian resisted, for eleven years, the efforts of the Spartans, who endeavoured, with unremitting industry, to become masters of the fortress. Nor was he satisfied with defending the place; on various occasions he made vigorous and successful sallies against the besiegers. With a body of three hundred Messenians, of tried valour and fidelity, he, at different times, over-ran the Spartan territories, and plundered such cities as

ravages the Spartan territories;

were

were either weakly garriſoned, or negligently defended. In order to put a ſtop to incurſions equally diſhonourable and deſtructive, the Spartans ordered their frontier to be laid waſte, and thus rendered incapable of affording ſubſiſtence to the enemy. But they themſelves were the firſt to feel the inconveniency of this meaſure. As the lands towards that frontier were the moſt fertile in the province, and the crops in other parts had failed through the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the Spartans were threatened with all the calamities of famine; to which the proprietors of the waſted grounds, deprived of their harveſts by a rigorous injunction of the ſtate, were prepared to add the horrors of a ſedition. Tyrtæus diſplayed, on this occaſion, the wonderful power of his art, by appeaſing the angry tumult, and teaching the Spartans patiently to bear, in the ſervice of their country, the loſs of fortune, as well as of life.

and plunders Amyclæ.

While the enemy were diſturbed by theſe commotions, Ariſtomenes ſet out from Eira, with his favourite band, and, marching all night, arrived by day-break at Amyclæ, a Lacedæmonian city, ſituated on the banks of the Eurotas, at the diſtance of a few miles from the capital. Having entered the place without reſiſtance, he carried off a conſiderable booty in ſlaves and merchandiſe, and returned to his mountains before the Spartans, though appriſed of his incurſion, could come to the aſſiſtance of their neighbours.

Ariſtomenes taken priſoner.

A continued ſeries of ſuch exploits, carried on with equal ſucceſs, inſpired into the Meſſenians a degree of confidence, which had almoſt proved fatal to their cauſe. Neglecting that celerity, and thoſe precautions, to which they owed their paſt advantages, they began to continue ſo long in the field, that the Spartans found an opportunity to intercept their return. The little band of Ariſtomenes behaved with its uſual gallantry, and long defended itſelf againſt far ſuperior numbers, headed by the two kings of Sparta. The commander, after receiving many wounds, was taken priſoner; and, with fifty of his braveſt companions, carried in chains to the Lacedæmonian.

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dæmonian capital. The reſentment of that republic againſt thoſe who had inflicted on her ſuch dreadful calamities, was not to be gratified by an ordinary puniſhment. After much deliberation, the priſoners were thrown, alive, into the Ceada; a profound cavern, which was commonly employed as a receptacle for the moſt atrocious criminals. All the companions of Ariſtomenes were killed by the fall; he alone was preſerved by an accident, which, though natural enough in itſelf, has been disfigured by many fabulous circumſtances[28]. The Spartans, who loved valour even in an enemy, permitted him, at his earneſt deſire, to be buried with his ſhield; a weapon of defence held in peculiar veneration by the Grecian ſoldiers. As he deſcended into the deep cavity, the edge or boſs of his ample buckler, ſtriking againſt the ſides of the pit, broke the force of the fall, and ſaved his life. Two days he continued in this miſerable dungeon, amidſt the ſtench and horror of dead bodies, his face covered with his cloak, waiting the ſlow approaches of certain death. The third day (at day-break) he heard a noiſe, and looking up, perceived a fox devouring the mangled remains of his companions. He allowed the animal to approach him, and catching hold of it with one hand, while he defended himſelf againſt its bite with the other, he determined to follow wherever it ſhould conduct him. The fox drew towards a chink in the rock, by which he had entered the cavity, and through which he intended to get out. Ariſtomenes, then, gave liberty to his guide, whom he followed with much difficulty, ſcrambling through the paſſage, which had been opened for his deliverance. He immediately took the road of Eira, and was received with pleaſing aſtoniſhment among his tranſported companions.

Thrown into the Ceada.

His wonderful preſervation and eſcape.

He ſurpriſes the Corinthian camp.

The news of his wonderful eſcape were ſoon conveyed to Sparta by ſome Meſſenian deſerters, whoſe information on ſuch a ſubject was

[28] An eagle, it is ſaid, flew to his relief, which aroſe from his having a ſpread-eagle on his ſhield. Pauſanias ſays, he ſaw the ſhield, which was preſerved in the ſubterraneous chapel of Trophonius, at Labedea.

not

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not more credited, than if they had brought intelligence of one riſen from the dead. But, in the ſpace of a few days, the exploits of Ariſtomenes convinced the incredulity of the Spartans. He was informed by his ſcouts, that the Corinthians had ſent a powerful reinforcement to the beſiegers; that theſe troops were ſtill on their march, obſerving no order or diſcipline in the day, and encamping, during night, without guards or ſentinels. A general leſs active and leſs enterpriſing, would not have neglected ſo favourable an occaſion of annoying the enemy. But Ariſtomenes alone was capable of effecting this purpoſe by the means which were now employed. That no appearance of danger might alarm the negligence of the Corinthians, he ſet out unattended and alone [29], waited their approach in concealment, attacked their camp in the dead of night, marked his route with blood, and returning loaded with ſpoils to Eira, offered to Meſſenian Jove the *Hecatomphonia*; a ſacrifice of an hundred victims, which *he* alone was entitled to perform, who, with his own hand, had killed an hundred of his enemies. This was the third time the Meſſenian hero had celebrated the ſame tremendous rite.

The Lacedæmonians treacherouſly admitted into Eira.

Eleven years had the vigorous and perſevering efforts of a ſingle man prolonged the deſtiny of Eira. Ariſtomenes might have ſtill withſtood the impetuous ardour of the Spartans, but he could not withſtand the unerring oracles of Apollo, which predicted the fall of the devoted city. The purpoſe of the gods, however, was accompliſhed, not by open force, but by the ſecret treachery of a Lacedæmonian adulterer. This Lacedæmonian was the ſlave of Emperamus, a Spartan, who, in the field, yielded the poſt of honour only to the kings. The perfidious ſlave had eſcaped to the enemy with his maſter's property, and had formed an intrigue with a Meſſenian

[29] The exploits of Ariſtomenes often oblige us to remember the expreſſion in Pauſanias, p. 244: Αριστομενη δε εργα φασι αποδιξασθαι πλειω τι η ανδρα ενα εικος ην. "That "he did more than ſeemed poſſible for any "one man."

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woman, whom he viſited as often as her huſband was called in his turn to guard the citadel. Amidſt the miſerable joys of their infamous commerce the lovers were one night diſturbed by the huſband, who loudly claimed admittance, which, however, he did not obtain till his wife had concealed the adulterer. When the wife, with the moſt inſidious flattery, enquiring by what exceſs of good fortune ſhe was bleſſed with her huſband's unexpected return, the ſimple Meſſenian related, that the inclemency of the weather had driven the ſoldiers from their poſts, the wind, and thunder, and rain being ſo violent that it was ſcarcely poſſible for them to continue any longer uncovered on the high grounds; nor could their deſertion be attended with any bad conſequences either to themſelves or to their country, as Ariſtomenes was prevented, by a recent wound, from walking the rounds as uſual, and as it could not be expected that the Spartans ſhould venture an attack againſt the citadel, during the obſcurity and horror of a tempeſt. The Lacedæmonian ſlave overheard this recital, and thus obtained a piece of intelligence, which he well knew might not only atone for his paſt crimes, but acquire him great merit with his ancient maſter. He cautiouſly eſcaped from his concealment, and ſought, with the utmoſt celerity, the Spartan camp. Neither of the kings being then preſent, the command belonged to Emperamus, who readily pardoned the fortunate treachery of a ſervant that had afforded him the means of obtaining the higheſt object of his ambition. Notwithſtanding the ſlipperineſs of the ſteep aſcent, the Spartans, by the direction of the ſlave, mounted the unguarded citadel, and obtained poſſeſſion of all the principal poſts, before the Meſſenians became ſenſible of their danger.

Obſtinate defence of that place.

As ſoon as it was known that the enemy had entered into the city, Ariſtomenes, accompanied by the warlike prophet Theocles, together with their reſpective ſons Gorgus and Manticles, endeavoured to animate the deſpair of their fellow-citizens, and to make them defend,

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Olymp. xxvii. 2. A. C. 671.

fend, to the laſt extremity, the little ſpot of ground to which they could yet apply the endearing name of country. Such, however, were the terrors and confuſion of the night (the darkneſs, thunder, and tempeſt, being rendered ſtill more dreadful by the preſence of an armed enemy), that it was impoſſible to form the Meſſenians into ſuch an order of battle as might enable them to act with concert or effect. When morning appeared they ſaw the danger more diſtinctly than before, and the impoſſibility of any other aſſiſtance than what may be derived from deſpair. They determined, at every hazard, to attack and penetrate the Spartan battalions. Even the women armed themſelves with tiles, with ſtones, with every weapon that preſented itſelf to their fury. They lamented that the violence of the wind prevented them from mounting to the roofs of the houſes, which they had purpoſed to throw down on the enemy; and declared that they would rather be buried under the ruins of their country, than dragged in captivity to Sparta. Such generous reſolutions ought to have retarded the fate of Meſſené; but it was impoſſible to fight againſt ſuperior numbers, aided by the elements, and by the manifeſt partiality of the gods; for the thunder, happening on the right of the Spartans, afforded them an auſpicious omen of future victory, and preſented to the Meſſenians the ſad proſpect of impending calamities.

Theſe circumſtances, ſo favourable to the Spartans, were improved by the prudence of Hecatus the diviner, who adviſed that the ſoldiers who compoſed the laſt ranks, as they could not be brought up to the attack, ſhould be remanded to the camp; and, after refreſhing themſelves with ſleep and nouriſhment, recalled to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen. Thus, without depriving themſelves of preſent ſtrength, the Spartans provided for a future ſupply of freſh troops; while the Meſſenians, engaged in continual action with the aſſailants, were obliged at the ſame time to combat cold, ſleep, fatigue, and hunger. For three days and nights they withſtood the combined

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force of theſe, finally, irreſiſtible enemies; and when at length they began to give way, the diviner Theocles threw himſelf into the midſt of the Spartans, crying out, "That they would not always be victorious, nor the Meſſenians always be their ſlaves. Such was the will of the gods! who commanded him to periſh in the wreck of a country, which, in a future age, was deſtined to riſe from its ruins."

Ariſtomenes conducts a remnant of the Meſſenians towards Arcadia.

It might have been expected that the patriotiſm of Ariſtomenes would have choſen the ſame honourable occaſion of expiring with the freedom of his republic. But the general preferred life for the ſake of defending the ſmall remnant of a community, which, he flattered himſelf, would be immortal, not only from the prediction of Theocles, but from another circumſtance equally important. When the downfal of Eira was foretold by the oracle of Apollo, the prudent chief had removed to a place of ſecurity ſome ſacred pledges believed to contain the fate of Meſſené. Theſe myſterious ſecurities conſiſted of thin plates of lead, rolled up in the form of a volume, on which was engraved an account of the hiſtory and worſhip of the goddeſſes Ceres and Proſerpine. Having concealed in Mount Ithomè this invaluable monument, which had been delivered down in veneration from the remoteſt antiquity, Ariſtomenes determined never to deſpair of the fortune, or to forſake the intereſts of his country. Although he perceived, therefore, that it was now become neceſſary to relinquiſh Eira, he did not, on this account, abandon the ſafety of its remaining citizens. In order to preſerve them, the only expedient that could be employed, with any hopes of ſucceſs, was the founding a retreat, and the collecting into one body ſuch of his ſoldiers as were not already too far engaged with the Spartans. Having accompliſhed this meaſure, he placed the women and children in the centre of the battalion, and committed the command of the rear to Gorgus and Manticles. He himſelf conducted the van, and marching towards the enemy with his ſpear equally poized, and with well-regulated

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gulated valour, ſhowed, by his mien and countenance, that he was reſolved to defend, to the laſt extremity, the little remnant of the Meſſenian ſtate. The Spartans, as directed by Hecatus the diviner, opened their ranks, and allowed them to paſs unhurt, judiciouſly avoiding to irritate their deſpair. The Meſſenians abandoned their city, and in mournful ſilence marched towards Arcadia.

Their kind reception in that country.

As the wars of the Grecian republics were more bloody and deſtructive than thoſe of modern times, ſo were their alliances more generous and ſincere. When the Arcadians were informed of the taking of Eira, they travelled in great numbers towards the frontiers of their kingdom, carrying with them victuals, clothing, and all things neceſſary to the relief of the unfortunate fugitives; whom having met at mount Lycæa, they invited into their cities, offered to divide with them their lands, and to give them their daughters in marriage [30].

Ariſtomenes purpoſes to ſurpriſe Sparta.

The generous ſympathy of the Arcadians animated Ariſtomenes to an exploit, the boldneſs of which little correſponded with the depreſſion incident to his preſent fortune. He had only five hundred ſoldiers, whoſe activity and ſtrength were ſtill equal to their valour; and theſe he commanded, in the preſence of his allies, to march ſtraightway to Sparta. Three hundred Arcadians deſired to ſhare the glory of this ſpirited enterprize; and it was hoped, that as the greater part of the Lacedæmonians were employed in plundering Eira, this ſmall but valiant body of men might make a deep impreſſion on a city deprived of its uſual defence. The arrangements for this purpoſe were taken with the Arcadian king Ariſtocrates, whoſe behaviour at the battle of the Trenches had occaſioned the defeat of the Meſſenians, and whoſe artifice had ſince perſuaded them, that his ſhameful behaviour on that day was the effect of panic terror, not of perfidious intention. A ſecond time the treacherous Arcadian betrayed the cauſe of his country and its allies.

Treachery and puniſhment of Ariſtocrates.

[30] Polyb. l. iv.

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Olymp. xxvii. 2. A. C. 671.

Having retarded the execution of Ariſtomenes's project, on pretence that the appearance of the entrails was unfavourable, he diſpatched a confidential ſlave to Sparta, who diſcovered the imminent danger threatening that republic to Anaxander the Lacedæmonian king. The ſlave was intercepted on his return, carrying a letter from that prince, in which he acknowledged the faithful ſervices of his ancient benefactor. Upon the diſcovery of this letter, which totally diſconcerted the intended enterprize againſt Sparta, the Arcadians, frantic with diſappointment and rage, ſtoned to death the perfidious traitor who diſgraced the name of king. The Meſſenians joined not in the execution of this ſubſtantial act of juſtice. Watching the countenance of Ariſtomenes, whoſe authority was equally powerful in the council and in the field, they obſerved, that inſtead of being agitated by reſentment, it was ſoftened by grief. The hero was affected with the deepeſt melancholy, on reflecting, that the only deſign was now rendered abortive, by which he could ſoon hope to avenge the wrongs of his country. Both nations teſtified the moſt ſignal deteſtation of the character of Ariſtocrates. The Arcadians extinguiſhed his name, and extirpated his whole race. The Meſſenians erected a column near the temple of Lycæan Apollo (ſo named from mount Lycæa, on the confines of Arcadia), with an inſcription, ſetting forth his crime and puniſhment; aſſerting the impoſſibility of concealing treacherous baſeneſs from the inveſtigation of Time, and the penetrating mind of Jove; and praying the god to defend and bleſs the land of Arcadia [31].

Future fortune of the Meſſenians.

Thus ended the ſecond Meſſenian war, in the autumn of the year ſix hundred and ſeventy-one before Chriſt. The fugitive Meſſenians experienced various fortunes. The aged and infirm were treated by the Arcadians, among whom they continued to reſide, with all the cordial attention of ancient hoſpitality. The young and enterpriſing took leave of their benefactors, and, under the conduct of Ariſto-

[31] The inſcription is preſerved by both Polybius, l. iv. and by Pauſanias, Meſſen.

menes,

menes, repaired to Cyllené, an harbour belonging to the Eleans. Agreeably to the information which they had received, they found in that place their countrymen of Pylus and Mothoné, with whom they conſulted about the means of acquiring new eſtabliſhments. It was determined, by the advice of their Elean friends, not to undertake any expedition for this purpoſe until the return of ſpring, when they ſhould again convene in full aſſembly, finally to conclude this important deliberation. Having met at the time appointed, they agreed unanimouſly to commit their future fortunes to the wiſdom and paternal care of Ariſtomenes, who declared his opinion for eſtabliſhing a diſtant colony, but declined the honours of conducting it in perſon, and named for this office the brave Meſſenian youths, Gorgus and Manticles. The former of theſe, inheriting his father's hatred againſt Sparta, adviſed his countrymen to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Zacynthus, which, from its ſituation in the Ionian Sea, lay conveniently for haraſſing the maritime parts of Laconia. Manticles propoſed a different opinion, obſerving that the iſland of Sardinia, though leſs advantageouſly ſituated for the purpoſes of revenge, was far better adapted to ſupply the neceſſary comforts of life; and that the Meſſenians, if once ſettled in that large and beautiful iſland, would ſoon forget the calamities which Sparta had inflicted on them. It is uncertain whether motives of vengeance or utility would have prevailed with the Meſſenians; for before any reſolution was taken on this important ſubject, a meſſenger arrived from Rhegium, then governed by Anaxilas, a prince deſcended of the royal houſe of Meſſenia, who invited his wandering countrymen to a ſafe and honourable retreat in his dominions. When, agreeably to this invitation, they arrived at Rhegium, Anaxilas informed them, that his ſubjects were continually haraſſed by the piratical depredations of the Zanclians, an Eolian colony[32], who poſ-

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Olymp. xxvii. 3. A. C. 670.

[32] Thucydid. l. vi.

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ſeſſed a delightful territory on the oppoſite coaſt. With the aſſiſtance of the Meſſenians, it would be eaſy (he obſerved) to deſtroy that neſt of pirates; a meaſure by which the city of Rhegium would be delivered from very troubleſome neighbours, and the Meſſenians enabled to eſtabliſh themſelves in the moſt delicious ſituation of the whole Sicilian coaſt. The propoſal was received with alacrity; the armament ſailed for Sicily; the Zancleans were beſieged by ſea and land. When they perceived that part of their wall was deſtroyed, and that they could derive no advantage from continuing in arms, they took refuge in the temples of their gods. Even from theſe reſpected aſylums the reſentment of Anaxilas was ready to tear them; but he was reſtrained by the humanity of the Meſſenians, who had learned from their own calamities to pity the unfortunate. The Zancleans, thus delivered from the ſword and from ſervitude, the ordinary conſequences of unſucceſsful war, ſwore eternal gratitude to their generous protectors. The Meſſenians returned this friendly ſentiment with an encreaſe of bounty; they allowed the Zancleans either to leave the place, or to remain in the honourable condition of citizens; the two nations gradually coaleſced into one community; and Zanclé, in memory of the conqueſt, changed its name to Meſſene [33], a name which may ſtill be recognized after the revolution of twenty-five centuries.

and of Ariſtomenes.

It has been already obſerved, that Ariſtomenes declined the honour of conducting the colony. His ſubſequent fortune is differently related by ancient writers [34]. Pauſanias, to whom we are in-

[33] Such is the account of Pauſanias, or rather of the ancient authors whom he follows. But it muſt not be diſſembled, that Herodotus, lib. vi. c. 23. Thucydides, p. 114. and Diodorus, lib. xi. place Anaxilas, king of Rhegium, much later than the ſecond Meſſenian war. It deſerves to be conſidered, that Pauſanias, writing expreſsly on the ſubject, is entitled to more credit than authors who only ſpeak of it incidentally. But when we reflect, that theſe authors are Herodotus and Thucydides, there ſeems no way of ſolving the difficulty, but by ſuppoſing two princes of the name of Anaxilas, to the latter of whom his countrymen, by a ſpecies of flattery not uncommon in Greece, aſcribed the tranſactions of the firſt.

[34] Conſer. Pauſan. Meſſen. & Plin. l. xi. cap. 70. Val. Maxim. lib. i. cap. 8.

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debted for the fulleſt account of the Meſſenian hero, informs us, that he ſailed to the iſle of Rhodes with Demagetes, the king of the city and territory of Ialyſus in that iſland, who being adviſed by the oracle of Apollo to marry the daughter of the moſt illuſtrious character in Greece, had without heſitation preferred the daughter of Ariſtomenes. From Rhodes he ſailed to Ionia, and thence travelled to Sardis, with an intention of being preſented to Ardys king of the Lydians, probably to propoſe ſome enterprize to the ambition of that prince, which might finally be productive of benefit to Meſſené. But upon his arrival at Sardis, he was ſeized with a diſtemper which put an end to his life. Other generals have defended their country with better ſucceſs, but none with greater glory; other characters are more fully delineated in ancient hiſtory, but none more deſerving of immortal fame; ſince whatever is known of Ariſtomenes tends to prove, that according to the ideas of his age and country, he united, in ſingular perfection, the merits of the citizen and of the ſoldier, the powers of the underſtanding and the virtues of the heart.

His death and character.

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CHAP. V.

State of the Peloponneſus after the Conqueſt of Meſſenia.—Of the Northern Republics of Greece.—Of the Grecian Colonies.—Revolutions in Government.—Military Tranſactions.—The firſt ſacred War.—Deſtruction of the Criſſean Republic.—Reſtoration of the Pythian Games.—Deſcription of the Gymnaſtic and Equeſtrian Exerciſes.—Hiſtory of Grecian Muſic.

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State of Greece after the conqueſt of Meſſenia, and firſt of the Peloponneſus. Olymp. xxviii. 1. A. C. 668.

THE conqueſt of Meſſenia rendered Sparta the moſt conſiderable power in Greece. The Peloponneſus, formerly comprehending ſeven, now contained only ſix independent ſtates. The ſubjects of Sparta alone occupied two-fifths of the whole peninſula. The remainder was unequally divided among the Corinthians, Achæans, Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives. In a narrow extent of territory, theſe ſmall communities exhibited a wonderful variety of character and manners. The central diſtrict of Arcadia, conſiſting of one continued cluſter of mountains, was inhabited by a hardy race of herdſmen, proud of their anceſtry, and confident in their own courage and the ſtrength of their country. Their Eolian extraction, their jealouſy, and their pride, made them diſdain connection with the Dorians, by whoſe poſſeſſions they were on all ſides ſurrounded. Careleſs of the arts of peace, they were engaged in unceaſing hoſtilities with their neighbours, by whom they were deſpiſed as barbarians, and whom they contemned as upſtarts; ſince, amidſt all the revolutions

revolutions of Peloponneſus, the Arcadians alone had ever maintained their original eſtabliſhments [1].

Contraſt between the Arcadians and Corinthians.

The induſtrious and wealthy Corinthians preſented a very different ſpectacle. Inhabiting the mountainous iſthmus, which, towering between two ſeas, connects the Peloponneſus with the north of Greece, the Corinthians long formed the principal centre of inland communication and foreign commerce [2]. Towards the ſouthern extremity of the iſthmus, and at the foot of their impregnable fortreſs Acro-Corinthus, they had built a fair and ſpacious city, extending its branches, on either ſide, to the Saronic and Corinthian gulphs, whoſe oppoſite waves vainly aſſailed their narrow but lofty territory [3]. Their harbours and their commerce gave them colonies and a naval power. They are ſaid to have improved the very inconvenient ſhips, or rather long-boats, uſed in early times, into the more capacious form of Trireme [4] gallies.

[1] Pauſan. Arcad. Strabo. l. viii. p. 388.

[2] Pauſan. Corinth. c. iv.

[3] Strabo, l. viii. p 379.

[4] The Triremes, Quadriremes, Quinqueremes of the ancients, were ſo denominated from the number of the ranks, or tires, of oars on each ſide the veſſel; which number conſtituted what we may call the rate of the ancient ſhips of war. It was long a deſideratum in the ſcience of antiquities to determine the manner of arranging theſe ranks of oars, as well as to aſcertain the poſition of the rowers. The bulk of commentators and antiquaries placed the ſedilia, or ſeats, in rows, immediately above each other, upon the ſides of the veſſel, which they ſuppoſed perpendicular to the ſurface of the water. But the leaſt knowledge of naval architecture deſtroys that ſuppoſition. The rowers, thus placed, muſt have obſtructed each other; they muſt have occupied too large a ſpace, and rowed with too unfavourable an angle on the ſhip's ſide; above all, the length and weight of the oars, required for the upper tires, muſt have rendered the working of them totally impracticable, eſpecially as we know, from ancient writers, that there was but one man to each oar. Theſe inconveniencies were pointed out by many; but the ingenuity of lieutenant-general Melvill explained how to remedy them. He conjectured that the waſte part of the ancient gallies roſe obliquely above the water's edge, with an angle of 45°, or near it; that upon the inner ſides of this waſte part, the ſeats of the rowers, each about two feet in length, were fixed, horizontally, in rows, with no more ſpace between each ſeat, and thoſe on all ſides of it, than ſhould be found neceſſary for the free movements of men when rowing together. The quincunx, or chequer order, would afford this advantage in the higheſt degree poſſible; and, in conſequence of the combination of two obliquities, the inconveniencies above-mentioned totally diſappear. In 1773 the general cauſed the fifth part of the

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Political revolutions in Corinth. A. C. 779—till 585.

lies[5]. Their ſea fight againſt their rebellious colony, Corcyra, is the firſt naval engagement recorded in hiſtory[6]. It was fought ſix hundred and fifty years before Chriſt, at which time the Corinthians (as the ideas of wealth and luxury are relative) were already regarded by their neighbours as a wealthy and luxurious people. The influence of wealth to produce ſervitude prevailed over that of commerce, which is favourable to liberty. Their government, after the abolition of monarchy, was uſurped by a numerous branch of the royal family, ſtyled Bacchiadæ[7]. This oligarchy was deſtroyed by Cypſelus, a mild and gentle ruler[8], whoſe family governed Corinth till the year five hundred and eighty-five before Chriſt.

Contraſt between the Argives and Achæans.

The contraſt between Arcadia and Corinth was not more ſtriking than that between Argolis and Achaia. The citizens of Argos, having expelled their kings, were ſeized with an ambition to reduce and domineer over the inferior towns in the province. The inſolence of the capital provoked the indignation of the country. My-

the waiſt of a Quinqueremis to be erected in the back yard of his houſe in Great Pulteney ſtreet. This model contained, with ſufficient eaſe, in a very ſmall ſpace, thirty rowers, in five tires of ſix men in each, lengthways, making one-fifth part of the rowers on each ſide of a Quinqueremis, according to Polybius, who aſſigns three hundred for the whole complement, beſides one hundred and twenty fighting men. This conſtruction, the advantages of which appeared evident to thoſe who examined it, ſerves to explain many difficult paſſages of the Greek and Roman writers concerning naval matters. The general's diſcovery is confirmed by ancient monuments. On ſeveral pieces of ſculpture, particularly at Rome, he found the figures of war gallies, or parts of them, with the oars repreſented as coming down from oar holes diſpoſed chequerwiſe. In the Capo di Monte Palace at Naples, the reverſe of a large Medaglione of Gordianus has the figure of a Triremis, with three tires, each of fourteen or fifteen oars, iſſuing chequerwiſe from an oblique ſide. The collection at Portici contains ancient paintings of ſeveral gallies, one or two of which, by preſenting the ſtern part, ſhew both the obliquity of the ſides, and the rows of oars reaching to the water.——The ſubſtance of this note is already publiſhed in governor Pownall's Antiquities. The governor, however, ſpeaks of a gallery for the rowers, which I did not obſerve in the general's model; nor do I apprehend that ſuch a gallery could be neceſſary, as the purpoſe for which it is ſuppoſed to have been intended, is completely anſwered by the waſte part of the veſſel.

[5] Thucydid. l. i. c. xiii.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Pauſan. Corinth.
[8] Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. xii.

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genæ, Træzene, Epidaurus, and other places of leſs note, were often conquered, but never thoroughly ſubdued. Intereſt taught them to unite; and union enabled them to ſet at defiance the power of Argos, by which they were branded as rebellious, and which they reproached as tyrannical[9]. The fortunate diſtrict of Achaia, having ſucceſsfully reſiſted the oppreſſion of Ogygus, an unworthy deſcendant of Agamemnon, eſtabliſhed, at a very early period, a democratical form of policy[10]. Twelve cities, each of which retained its municipal juriſdiction, united on a foot of perfect equality and freedom. This equitable confederacy prepared the way for the Achæan laws, ſo celebrated in later times, when the cauſe of Greece, ſhamefully abandoned by more powerful guardians, was defended by the feeble communities of Achaia[11].

Between the Lacedæmonians and Elians.

We have already had occaſion to explain the important inſtitutions of Iphitus and Lycurgus. The very oppoſite ſyſtems, adopted by theſe great legiſlators, reſpectively ſuited the weakneſs of Elis, and the ſtrength of Sparta, and occaſioned a remarkable contraſt between the peaceful tranquillity of the former republic[12], and the warlike ambition of the latter, the lines of whoſe national character grew more bold and deciſive after the Meſſenian conqueſt. The piteous remnant of the Meſſenians, who had defended their freedom with the moſt perſevering bravery, were reduced to a cruel and ignominious ſervitude. Confounded with the miſerable maſs of Helots, thoſe wretched victims of Spartan cruelty, they were condemned to laborious drudgery, expoſed to daily inſult, and compelled, ſtill more intolerable! to tend their own flocks, and cultivate their own fields, for the benefit of unrelenting tyrants[13]. The haughty temper of the Spartans became continually more preſumptuous. They totally diſdained ſuch arts and employments as they uſually ſaw practiſed by

[9] Pauſan. l. vi. c. xxi. Diordor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 275.

[10] Pauſan. Achaic. Strabo, l. viii. p. 383, & ſeq.

[11] Polyb. l. ii.

[12] Pauſan. Eliac, & Strabo, l. viii.

[13] Pauſanias Meſſeniac.

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the induſtry of ſlaves. War, and hunting as the image of war, were the only occupations which it ſuited their dignity to purſue; and this conſtant exerciſe in arms, directed by the military code of Lycurgus, rendered them ſuperior in the field of battle, not only to the neighbouring ſtates of Peloponneſus, but to the braveſt and moſt renowned republics beyond the Corinthian iſthmus.

State of the northern republics of Greece. Of the Grecian colonies.

While the Grecian peninſula was agitated by the ſtubborn conflict between the Spartans and Meſſenians, the northern ſtates had been diſturbed by petty wars, and torn by domeſtic diſcord[14]. The Greek ſettlements in Thrace, in Africa, and Magna Græcia, were yet too feeble to attract the regard of hiſtory. But, during the period now under review, the Aſiatic colonies, as ſhall be explained in a ſubſequent chapter, far ſurpaſſed their European brethren in ſplendor and proſperity.

Political revolutions in Athens.

Having aboliſhed the regal office, the Athenians, whoſe political revolutions were followed with remarkable uniformity by neighbouring ſtates, ſubmitted the chief adminiſtration of their affairs to a magiſtrate, entitled Archon, or ruler. The authority of the Archon
A. C. 754. long continued hereditary: it became afterwards decennial: at length
A. C. 684. nine annual Archons were appointed by the powerful claſs of nobility, conſiſting not only of the deſcendants of ſuch foreign princes as had taken refuge in Athens, but of thoſe Athenian families which time and accident had raiſed to opulence and diſtinction. The great body of the people gained nothing by theſe revolutions. The equeſtrian order, ſo called from their fighting on horſeback, which, before the improvement of tactics, rendered them ſuperior in every rencounter with the diſorderly rabble, enjoyed all authority, religious, civil, and military[15]. The Athenian populace were reduced
A. C. 594. to a condition of miſerable ſervitude; nor did they recover their ancient and hereditary freedom, until the admired inſtitutions of

[14] Thucydid. l. i.

[15] Ariſtot. Politic. l. iv. c. xiii.

Theſeus were reſtored and improved by Solon towards the beginning of the ſixth century before Chriſt.

Unimportance of the military tranſactions preceding the firſt Sacred War. Olymp. xlvi. A. C. 600.

The domeſtic diſſentions which prevailed in every ſtate beyond the iſthmus, were only interrupted by foreign hoſtilities. Interference of intereſt occaſioned innumerable conteſts between the Phocians and Thebans, the Dorians and Theſſalians, the Locrians and Ætolians. Their various inroads, battles, and ſieges, which were begun with paſſion, carried on without prudence, and concluded without producing any permanent effect, have been conſigned by ancient hiſtorians to a juſt oblivion. But the firſt Sacred War is recommended to our attention, both on account of the cauſe from which it aroſe, and the conſequences with which it was attended. This memorable enterprize was occaſioned by an injury committed againſt the oracle of Delphi; it was undertaken by order of the Amphictyons; it ended in the total deſtruction of the cities accuſed of ſacrilegious outrage; and its ſucceſsful concluſion was celebrated by the Pythian games and feſtival, which, of all Grecian inſtitutions, had the moſt direct, as well as moſt powerful tendency, to refine rudeneſs, and ſoften barbarity.

Deſcription of the republic of Criſſa.

The territory of the Criſſeans, lying to the ſouth of Delphi, comprehended, in an extent of about twenty-four miles in length, and fifteen in breadth, three large and flouriſhing cities; Criſſa, the capital, which gave name to the province; Cirrha, advantageouſly ſituated for commerce on the weſtern ſide of a creek of the Corinthian Gulph; and Anticirrha, on the eaſtern ſide of the ſame creek, celebrated for the production of hellebore, as well as for the ſkill with which the natives prepared that medicinal plant, the virtues of which were ſo much extolled and exaggerated by credulous antiquity [16].

Its proſperity and inſolence.

The Criſſeans poſſeſſed all the means of happineſs, but knew not how to enjoy them. Their territory, though ſmall, was fertile;

[16] Strabo and Pliny.

and

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and as its value was enhanced by the comparative ſterility of the greateſt part of Phocis [17], it acquired and deſerved the epithet of *Happy*. Their harbour was frequented by the veſſels, not only of Greece, but of Italy and Sicily; they carried on an extenſive foreign commerce, conſidering the limited communication between diſtant countries in that early age; and the neighbourhood of Delphi, at which it was impoſſible to arrive without paſſing through their dominions, brought them conſiderable acceſſions of wealth [18], as well as of dignity and reſpect. But theſe advantages, inſtead of ſatisfying, increaſed the natural avidity of the Criſſeans. They began to exact vexatious and exorbitant duties from the merchants who came to expoſe their wares in the ſacred city, which, on account of the great concourſe of profligate pilgrims from every quarter, ſoon became the ſeat, not of devotion only, but of diſſipation, vanity, and licentious pleaſure. It was in vain for the merchants to exclaim againſt theſe unexampled impoſitions; the taxes were continually encreaſed; the evil admitted not the expectation of either remedy or relief; and the ſtrangers, accuſtomed to it by long habit, began to ſubmit without murmur; and perhaps endured the hardſhip with the greater patience, when they perceived that they drew back the tax in the increaſed price of their commodities. Encouraged by this acquieſcence in their tyranny, the Criſſeans levied a ſevere impoſt on the pilgrims, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who viſited the temple of Apollo; a meaſure directly inconſiſtent with a decree of the Amphictyons, which declared that all men ſhould have free acceſs to the oracle [19], as well as extremely hurtful to the intereſt of the Delphians, who ſoon felt a gradual diminution of their profits ariſing from the holy ſhrine. It was natural for thoſe who ſuſtained a loſs, either of gain or of authority, to remonſtrate againſt the extortions of the Criſſeans; but their remonſtrances, inſtead of producing any happy alteration of behaviour, only exaſperated men

Exacts contributions from the merchants and ſtrangers who reſorted to the oracle of Delphi.

[17] Strabo, p. 323. & ſeq. [18] Pauſan. in Phocic. [19] Strabo, l. ix. p. 418.

grown

grown insolent through prosperity. In the time of profound peace, the Crissеans, provoked by useful admonitions, which they proudly called threats, entered with an armed force the territories of their neighbours; destroyed every thing that opposed them, with fire and sword; laid the defenceless cities under heavy contributions, and carried many of the inhabitants into servitude [20]. Delphi itself, how much soever it was revered in Greece, and respected even by the most distant nations, appeared to the sacrilegious invaders, an object better fitted to gratify the desire of plunder, than to excite the emotions of piety. Neighbourhood had rendered them familiar with the woods, the temples, and the grottoes of the presiding divinity; with the manners and character of many of his ministers they were probably too well acquainted to hold them in much reverence; and having deserved their resentment by what they had already done, they resolved to render it impotent by what they should next accomplish.

The Crissеans plunder the shrine of Delphi.

The design of plundering Delphi was no sooner formed than executed. The imaginations of men were not prepared for such an event; nor had any measures been taken to prevent such an unexpected and abominable profanation. The enemy, meeting with no resistance, became masters of the temple, and seized the rich votive offerings accumulated by the pious generosity of ages. Thence they passed into the sacred wood, and, rendered furious through pride or guilt, attacked, plundered, and murdered the promiscuous crowd, who were employed in the usual exercise of their devotions. The young were violated, with a licentious rage which bid defiance to decency and nature. Even a deputation of the Amphictyons, clothed in the venerable garb, and bearing the respected ensigns of their office, were repelled with blows and insults, while they vainly attempted to stop the fatal progress of these frantic and

[20] Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

impious

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impious outrages, committed againſt every thing held ſacred among men[21].

Meaſures of the Amphictyonic council.

The Amphictyonic council, to whom it belonged to judge and to puniſh the atrocious enormities of the Criſſeans, experienced, in an uncommon degree, thoſe inconveniences to which all numerous aſſemblies are in ſome meaſure liable. Their proceedings were retarded by formality, warped by prejudice, and diſturbed by diſſention. Notwithſtanding the aggravated crimes of the Criſſeans, it was not without encountering many difficulties, and much oppoſition, that Solon, one of the Athenian repreſentatives, rouſed his aſſociates to the reſolution of avenging the offended majeſty of religion, the violated laws of nature, and their own perſonal injuries. When at length they agreed to this uſeful and pious deſign, the meaſures purſued on the preſent occaſion, as well as in all the future wars undertaken by their authority, were equally ſlow and indeciſive. The forces which they at firſt brought into the field, were by no means equal to the enterprize for which they were deſigned. After various reinforcements, they attempted ineffectually, during nine ſummers and winters, to reduce the towns of Criſſa and Cirrha, which finally ſubmitted, in the tenth year of the war, rather to the art than to the power of the beſiegers.

The principal events in the Sacred War.

The events of the preceding years ſtrongly paint the ignorance, the ſuperſtition, and the rude manners of the times. The Criſſeans had no ſooner plundered, than they abandoned, the temple of Apollo. Thither, by the advice of Solon, the Amphictyons ſent meſſengers, to conſult the oracle concerning the proper means, as well as the juſt meaſure, of their vengeance. They were commanded inſtantly to levy war on the Criſſeans; to perſecute them to the laſt extremity; to demoliſh their towns, to deſolate their country, and after conſecrating it to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva, to prevent it

[21] Pauſan. in Phocic.

from

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from ever thenceforth being cultivated for the ſervice of man [22]. In obedience to this peremptory injunction of the god, the Amphictyons returned to their ſeveral republics, in order to collect troops, and to animate the exertions of their countrymen in the common cauſe. The Greeks, however, were too deeply engaged in domeſtic diſſentions, to make effectual efforts for the glory of Apollo. Few adventurers repaired to the holy ſtandard; and the war, neither ſupported by vigour of execution, nor directed by wiſdom of deliberation, languiſhed for ſeveral years under different generals. At length Eurylochus, a Theſſalian prince of great valour and activity, was entruſted with the command of the Amphictyonic army [23]. The new general waited till the time of harveſt, to ravage the open country, to deſtroy the villages by fire and ſword, and to deſolate the *happy* Criſſean plain.

Siege of Criſſa.

On ſeveral occaſions he defeated the army of the Criſſeans, who made frequent and vigorous ſallies in order to defend their poſſeſſions. But when he attempted to make an impreſſion on the fortified ſtrength of Criſſa, its thick walls, its lofty towers, and above all, the activity and courage of its citizens, preſented obſtacles which it was impoſſible to ſurmount. The art of beſieging towns ſtill continued in a ſtate of great imperfection. The battering-rams, and other engines employed in this operation of war, were of too rude a conſtruction to make ſuch a breach in the walls as might not eaſily be repaired. It was in vain that Eurylochus attempted by blockade to reduce the place. The enemy were furniſhed with all neceſſaries in great abundance, from the well-frequented port of Cirrha. Years thus paſſed away, and nothing deciſive was effected. The beſiegers, fatigued with labour, and uneaſy at diſappointment, had often abandoned their camp, and cantoned themſelves on the borders of the Criſſean territory, where they expected more ſalutary ſupplies of proviſions.

[22] Æſchin. ibid. [23] Plut. in Solon. Strabo, l. ix. Polyænus, l. vi. c. xv.

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Peſtilence in the army of the beſiegers,

When they again returned to their duty, they were afflicted, in the ninth year of the war, with a peſtilential or epidemic diſorder, occaſioned either by the want of wholeſome food, the great numbers of men cooped up, during the warm ſeaſon, within a narrow ſpace, or by ſome unknown malignity of the atmoſphere. A great part of the army fell a prey to the increaſing contagion. Anxious for the public ſafety, the Amphictyons had recourſe to the wiſdom of Apollo, who, inſtead of recommending to them the aid of an able phyſician, exhorted them to bring from the iſle of Cos the *fawn with gold*. Ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to that iſland, in order to unravel the meaning of the god, thus wrapped up in its cuſtomary veil of myſtic obſcurity. They had no ſooner explained their commiſſion in the Coan aſſembly, than an eminent citizen, named Nebros, riſing up, declared the ſenſe of the oracle. "I am the fawn," ſaid he, "pointed out by Apollo," (for Nebros in Greek ſignifies a fawn), "and my ſon Chryſos" (which is the Greek word for gold) "has "carried off the prize of ſtrength, courage, and beauty, from all his "competitors." The perſon who thus ſpoke is juſtly celebrated, on account of his anceſtor Eſculapius, of his deſcendant Hippocrates [24], and of his own unrivalled proficiency in the healing art. The knowledge of phyſic was become the hereditary honour, and almoſt the appropriated poſſeſſion, of his family, by which it had been cultivated for many ages, and to which it is ſuppoſed in a great meaſure to owe its preſent improvement and perfection. Nebros obeyed with alacrity the injunction of Apollo, the peculiar patron of the ſcience in which he excelled. At his own expence he equipped a veſſel of fifty oars, loaded with valuable medicines, as well as with warlike ſtores, and accompanied by his ſon Chryſos, ſet ſail with the

remedied by Nebros of Cos.

[24] We owe, almoſt entirely, the hiſtory recorded in the text, to an oration of Theſſalus, ſon of Hippocrates, addreſſed to the Athenians. It is publiſhed among the letters of his father. Vid. Hippocrat. Opera, ex edit. Fæſii, v. ii. p. 1291. There are ſome learned diſſertations on the ſubject in the 5th and 7th volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

Amphictyonic ambaſſadors, in order to cure the confederates, and to conquer the Criſſeans.

Sack of Criſſa.

His advice, his prudence, and his aſſiduity, reſtored the decaying health of the army. Their numbers, however, were already ſo much diminiſhed, that it ſeemed impoſſible by open force to put a ſucceſsful end to the war. On this occaſion the artful Coan employed a ſtratagem, which would have appeared entirely inconſiſtent with the laws of arms which had long been eſtabliſhed in Greece, if it had not ſeemed to be the dictate of a divine admonition. The horſe of Eurylochus was obſerved for ſeveral days to roll on the ſand, and to ſtrike his foot with great violence againſt a particular ſpot of ground. In digging under this ground, a wooden pipe was diſcovered, which ſupplied Criſſa with water. The extraordinary means by which this diſcovery was made, convinced the ignorant credulity of the Greeks, that ſome important advantage might be derived from it; and upon mature deliberation it was concluded, that Apollo had thus ſuggeſted a contrivance for deſtroying his own and their enemies. Complying, therefore, with the heavenly intimation, Nebros poiſoned the conduit of water; and the effect of this deteſtable artifice was ſoon diſcernible in the languid efforts, and diminiſhed reſiſtance of the beſieged. The beſiegers, on the other hand, encouraged by the evident partiality of the gods, carried on their operations with redoubled vigour. A reward was propoſed for the man who ſhould firſt mount the walls, an honour obtained by the youthful ardour of Chryſos. The city was thus taken by aſſault; the fortifications were demoliſhed, the houſes burnt, and the inhabitants treated with a ſeverity proportioned to the atrocious enormity of their own crimes, and the exaſperated reſentment of the victors.

Conſecration of the Cirrhean plain

The command of Apollo, however, was not completely executed by the deſtruction of the Criſſean capital. Part of that impious community ſtill ſubſiſted in the maritime town of Cirrha, the re-

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duction of which muſt have preſented great difficulties to the Amphictyons, ſince it was neceſſary for them a third time to have recourſe to the oracle. The anſwer delivered on this occaſion was involved in twofold obſcurity. The words of the god, at all times dark and doubtful, now ſeemed abſolutely unintelligible, ſince he made the taking of Cirrha, an event which there was every reaſon to expect, depend on a circumſtance which appeared at firſt ſight impoſſible. "You ſhall not overturn," ſaid he, "the lofty "towers of Cirrha, until the foaming billows of blue-eyed Am-"phitrité beat againſt the reſounding ſhores of the Holy Land." How could the ſea be conveyed, for ſeveral leagues, over rocks and mountains, ſo that its waves might daſh againſt the craggy precipices which ſurround the ſacred groves of Delphi? This was an ænigma, which the oldeſt and moſt experienced members of the Amphictyonic council acknowledged themſelves unable to explain. The condition on which ſucceſs was promiſed them, ſeemed incapable of being fulfilled; the inhabitants of Cirrha flattered themſelves with hopes of unalterable ſecurity; and the wiſeſt of the Amphictyons gave their opinion, that there was good reaſon to abandon an enterpriſe which ſeemed diſagreeable to Apollo, by whoſe advice the war had been originally undertaken.

adviſed by Solon,

While theſe ſentiments univerſally prevailed in both armies, Solon, the Athenian, alone ventured to propoſe an advice more advantageous for the confederates, as well as more honourable for the holy ſhrine. His ſuperior wiſdom taught him the impiety of ſuppoſing that the god ſhould require an impoſſibility, as the condition of happily terminating a war, the firſt meaſures of which he had himſelf ſuggeſted and approved. It exceeded, indeed, human power to extend the ſea to the boundary of the Holy Land; but by removing this boundary, it was poſſible to make the Holy Land communicate with the ſea. This might eaſily be accompliſhed, ſince it ſufficed, for that purpoſe, to conſecrate the intermediate ſpace with the ſame

ceremonies

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ceremonies which had been formerly employed in dedicating the Delphian territory [25].

and put in execution.

The opinion of Solon, propoſed with much ſolemn gravity, was honoured with the unanimous approbation of his aſſociates. Every one now wondered that he himſelf ſhould not have thought of an expedient which ſeemed ſo natural and ſo obvious. The preparations were immediately made for carrying it into execution; and the property of the Cirrhean plain was ſurrendered to the god with the moſt pompous formality; the Amphictyons, either not conſidering that they beſtowed on Apollo, what, as it was not their own, they had not a right to give away; or, if this idea occurred, eaſily perſuading themſelves that the piety of the application would atone for the defect of the title.

Cirrha taken, and conſequences of the war.

When the ſenators had performed the conſecration, the ſoldiers aſſailed the walls of Cirrha with the increaſing activity of re-animated hope. That place, as well as the dependent town of Anticirrha, ſituate on the oppoſite ſide of the creek, ſoon ſubmitted to their arms. The impious and devoted citizens were either put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity. The Criſſean community, formerly ſo rich and flouriſhing, was for ever extirpated [26]. Their lands were laid waſte, their cities demoliſhed, the proud monuments of their victories levelled with the ground; and the port of Cirrha, which was allowed to remain as a convenient harbour for Delphi, ſubſiſted as the only veſtige of their ancient grandeur. The territory, as it had been condemned by the divine will to perpetual ſterility, long continued uncultivated; for the Delphians were not obliged to labour the ground in order to acquire the neceſſaries, the accommodations, and even the higheſt luxuries of life. The ſuperſtition of the age furniſhed an abundant reſource to ſupply their wants; the granaries of Apollo filled ſpontaneouſly; and, to uſe the

[25] Plutarch. in Solon. Pauſan. in Phoc.

[26] Æſchin. in Cteſephont.

figurative

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figurative ſtyle of an ancient author, the land, unploughed and unſown by the induſtry of man, flouriſhed in the richeſt luxuriance under the culture of the god [27].

The happy iſſue of the ſacred war celebrated by the Pythian games, Olymp. xlvii. 2. A. C. 590.

The ſucceſsful event of a war begun, carried on, and concluded under the reſpectable ſanction of the Amphictyonic council, was celebrated with all the pomp and feſtivity congenial to the Grecian character. According to an ancient and ſacred inſtitution, the ſeveral republics were accuſtomed, by public ſhews, to commemorate their reſpective victories. When different communities had employed their joint efforts in the ſame glorious enterpriſe, the grateful triumph was exhibited with a proportional increaſe of magnificence; but the fortunate exploits of gods and heroes, which had extenſively benefited the whole Grecian name, were diſtinguiſhed by ſuch peculiar and tranſcendent honours as eclipſed the ſplendor of all other ſolemnities. While each republic paid the tribute of provincial feſtivals to the memory of its particular benefactors, the whole nation were concerned in acknowledging the bountiful goodneſs of Jupiter, the protecting aid of Neptune, the unerring wiſdom of Apollo, and the unrivalled labours of Hercules. Hence the Olympian, Iſthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games, which, though alike founded on the ſame principle of pious gratitude, were, from their firſt eſtabliſhment, diſtinguiſhed by various ceremonies, and reſpectively conſecrated to different divinities.

The Amphictyons were principally indebted to the prudent admonitions of Apollo for the fortunate iſſue of a war undertaken by his authority; it therefore became them, while they rejoiced in the happy ſucceſs of their arms, to offer reſpectful thanks to the god. Theſe objects might eaſily be conjoined in the pleaſing texture of ancient ſuperſtition, ſince the celebration of the Pythian games, which had been interrupted by a long train of wars and calamities, would

[27] Εφυιτο τα παντα υπο γιωργω τω θιω. LUCIAN. Phalar. ii.

form

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form an entertainment not leſs agreeable to the ſuppoſed dictates of piety, than adapted to the natural demands of pleaſure.

This feſtival diſtinguiſhed from the preceding by two circumſtances.

The feſtival re-eſtabliſhed on this memorable occaſion in honour of Apollo, is mentioned by ancient hiſtorians, on account of two remarkable circumſtances, by which it was diſtinguiſhed. Inſtead of the ſcanty rewards uſually diſtributed among the gymnaſtic combatants at other public ſolemnities, the Amphictyons beſtowed on the victors the moſt precious ſpoils of the cities Criſſa and Cirrha. The exhibitions of poetry and muſic had hitherto been united in all the Grecian feſtivals, and the laurel crown had been adjudged to the poet-muſician, who enlivened the compoſition of his genius by the ſound of his lyre. The Amphictyons for the firſt time ſeparated the kindred arts; propoſed prizes of inſtrumental muſic unaccompanied with poetry, and thus afforded an opportunity to the candidates for fame to diſplay their ſuperior merit in their reſpective profeſſions.

Hiſtory of the ſacred games.

Theſe are the only particulars concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of the Pythian games, which ſeemed worthy the obſervation of Grecian authors, whoſe works were addreſſed to men who knew by experience and obſervation the nature and tendency of their domeſtic inſtitutions. But a more copious explanation is required, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the modern reader. The ſacred games of Greece cannot be illuſtrated by a compariſon with any thing ſimilar in the preſent age; they were intimately connected with the whole ſyſtem of ancient polity, whether civil or religious; they were attended with very extraordinary effects, both of a natural and moral kind; and, on all theſe accounts, they merit particular attention in a work which profeſſes to unite the hiſtory of arts to that of arms, and to contemplate the varying picture of human manners, as well as the tranſient revolutions of war and empire.

The Stadium, and gymnaſtic exerciſes.

In their moſt perfect form the ſacred games conſiſted in the exhibitions of the Stadium and Hippodrome, accompanied by the more refined entertainments of muſic and poetry. The Olympic Stadium

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took its name from the meaſure of length moſt commonly employed by the Greeks, conſiſting of the eighth part of a Grecian mile, or ſix hundred and thirty Engliſh feet. The Stadium, ſtill remaining at Athens, has been accurately meaſured by our travellers, and is an hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces in length, and twenty-ſeven in breadth: it forms a long and lofty terrace on the banks of the Ilyſſus, and its ſides were anciently built of white marble. That of Olympia was, probably, of the ſame dimenſions, but far leſs magnificent, being entirely compoſed of earth. The one extremity contained an elevated throne, appropriated for the judges of the games, and a marble altar, on which the prieſteſs of Ceres, and other privileged virgins, ſat to behold a ſolemnity from which the reſt of their ſex were rigorouſly excluded. At the other extremity was the tomb of Endymion, the favourite of chaſte Diana. The Stadium was divided by pillars into two courſes. The five gymnaſtic exerciſes, ſo much celebrated by all the writers of antiquity, and ſo accurately deſcribed by Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, and Pauſanias, began with the foot race, which is ſuppoſed to have been the moſt ancient, and which always retained the prerogative of diſtinguiſhing the Olympiads by the name of the victorious racer. The exerciſe at firſt conſiſted in running naked from the one end of the Stadium to the other. The courſe was afterwards doubled, and at length the competitors were required to paſs the goal three, ſix, and even twelve times, before they could be entitled to the prize. Motives of utility introduced the race of men loaded with heavy armour, which rendered this exerciſe a conteſt of ſtrength as well as of ſwiftneſs. 2. The ſecond trial of agility conſiſted in leaping, the competitors endeavouring to ſurpaſs each other in the length, without regard to the height of their leap. They carried in their hands weights of lead, through the perforations of which their fingers paſſed as through the handle of a ſhield, and by theſe they poized, and impelled forwards, their bodies. The perfection attained in this

exerciſe

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exercise must have far exceeded the experience of modern times, if we can believe that Phaulus of Crotona [28] leaped fifty-two feet. 3. The Wrestling of the ancients required equal strength and agility. It was chiefly remarkable on account of the oil and sand with which they rubbed their bodies, in order to supple their joints, to prevent excessive perspiration, and to elude the grasp of their antagonists. The wrestlers were matched by lot, and the prize was adjudged to him who had thrice thrown his adversary on the ground. 4. The two following exercises tried chiefly the strength of the arms. The first consisted in throwing a huge mass of polished iron, brass, or stone, of a globular form, resembling a shield, but without handle or thong. It was called the disk, and thrown under the hand as the quoit is in England. The object of the competitors was to surpass each other in the length of the cast. Akin to this was the art of darting the javelin, which, as that weapon was directed at a mark, required steadiness of eye as well as dexterity of hand. 5. The last of the gymnastic exercises, both in order and in esteem, was that of boxing. It was sometimes performed by the naked fist, and sometimes with the formidable cœstus, composed of raw hides lined with metal. Before the victory could be decided, it was necessary, from the nature of that exercise, that one of the combatants should acknowledge his defeat; a condition which seemed so inconsistent with the obstinacy of Grecian valour, that few ventured to contend in this dangerous amusement. The laws of Sparta absolutely prohibited her citizens from ever engaging in it, because a Spartan was taught to disdain saving his life by yielding to an opponent. Another reason, no less remarkable, tended still more to degrade the exercise of boxing. Besides strength and agility, the success of the boxer depended on a certain ponderous fleshiness of arm, which unfitted him to engage in any other contest. The regimen required

[28] Pausanias, p. 624.

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for keeping up his corpulency, ſo neceſſary for the defence of his bones againſt the weight of blows, was altogether incompatible with the life of a ſoldier; a life of hardſhip and inequality, and continually expoſed to the want of reſt, of proviſions, and of ſleep.

Theſe were the five gymnaſtic exerciſes in which the Grecian youth were trained with ſo much care, and to which they applied with ſo much emulation. But beſides theſe ſimple ſports, there were two others formed of their various combination; the Pancratium, which conſiſted of wreſtling and boxing; and the Pentathton, in which all the five were united; and to excel in ſuch complicated exerciſes required an education and way of living not neceſſary to be obſerved by thoſe who contended in the ſimple feats of ſtrength and agility, and which was ſcarcely compatible with the ſtudy of any other than the athletic profeſſion.

The Hippodrome and Equeſtrian exerciſes.

The Hippodrome, or ground allotted for the horſe races, was twice as long as the Stadium [29], and ſufficiently ſpacious to allow forty chariots to drive abreaſt [30]. The chariot race was inſtituted at Olympia about an hundred years after the regular celebration of the games, and that of riding horſes twenty years later. Theſe warlike ſports followed the ſame progreſs with the military art, of which they were the image, and in which the uſe of chariots long preceded that of cavalry. The cars of the Greeks, as evidently appears from their medals, were low, open behind, furniſhed with only two wheels, and unprovided with any ſeat for the driver, who ſtood with much difficulty in the body of his vehicle, while he commanded four horſes, which were not paired but formed on one line. Notwithſtanding this inconvenient poſture they performed ſix and ſometimes twelve rounds of the Hippodrome, amounting to ſix Grecian miles of eight hundred paces each, of which an Engliſh mile contains one thouſand five hundred and fifty. The Grecian heroes excelled, du-

[29] Heſychius.

[30] Pauſan. l. vi. p. 382, & 390.

ring

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ring the heroic ages, in this dangerous exercise; but in later times the owners of the horses were allowed to employ a charioteer, which enlarged the sphere of candidates for the Olympic prize, by admitting many foreign princes, as well as the wealthy ladies of Macedon and Laconia, who could not appear in person at this important solemnity. Though riding horses were not so early employed as chariots, either at the games, or in war, yet we cannot believe, with a fanciful writer [31], that this circumstance should have been occasioned by the timidity of the Greeks to mount on horseback; for we learn from Homer, that, even in the most ancient times, they were acquainted with all the feats of dexterity performed by our most accomplished jockies [32]. But before the Persian war, the poverty of the Greeks prevented them from importing foreign horses, and their domestic breed was naturally of an inferior kind to those of Asia and Africa. The Spartans first employed them in battle during their wars with the Messenians. In the Persian expedition, Xerxes tried the mettle of the Persian, against the Thessalian, horses, and the former carried off the palm in every contest. For a considerable time after the shameful retreat of that haughty monarch, the Athenians, who then formed the most powerful community of Greece, had a squadron of only three hundred horsemen: and it was not till that ambitious republic had begun to extend her dominion over the inferior states, that she seriously applied to the improvement of her cavalry.

The musical entertainments.

While the Greeks thus acquired the accomplishments of the body, and displayed, at Olympia, their skill in horsemanship, and their vigour in the gymnastic exercises, the more refined entertainments of the fancy were not neglected; and the agreeable productions of music and poetry added lustre and elegance to every Grecian solemnity. It is well observed by the only ancient writer to whom we are indebted

[31] The Chevalier Folard.

[32] Iliad, xv. ver. 679.

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for an hiſtorical account of Grecian muſic, that the arts of peace, as they are more agreeable and more uſeful than thoſe of war, demand, in a ſuperior degree, the regard of the hiſtorian. If this had been the general opinion of authors, the ſtudy of their works would be equally entertaining and inſtructive. The writer of hiſtory would explain the various diſcoveries which happily tend to improve and to embelliſh ſocial life; by introducing ſcenes of gaiety and pleaſure, he would diverſify the eternal theme of human miſery; and while he expatiated on the crimes and calamities of men, he would not neglect to point out the means beſt adapted to prevent the perpetration of the one, and to ſooth the ſuffering of the other. But the Greek hiſtorians have not attempted to afford us this important information; they enlarge copiouſly on ſuch topics as are adapted to the uſe of their countrymen; and they preſerve the moſt mortifying ſilence concerning thoſe ſubjects which deſervedly excite the curioſity of later ages. Of all the arts cultivated by the ingenuity of their contemporaries, muſic was the moſt connected with religion, government, and manners; and the effects aſcribed to Grecian muſic are numbered among the moſt ſingular as well as the moſt authentic of all recorded events [33]; yet as to the nature, the origin, the progreſs, the perfection, in one word, the hiſtory of this art, we can know little more than what we learn from the muſical treatiſe of Plutarch, to which we have above alluded, which is extremely ſhort and imperfect, obſcure throughout, and in many parts unintelligible [34].

Why introduced at the public games.

Without much hiſtorical information, however, we may venture to explain the introduction of muſical entertainments at the

[33] The continual complaints of Plato and Ariſtotle prove that the muſic of their age had greatly degenerated from its ancient dignity. It afterwards continued, like all the other arts, gradually to decline; yet, in the ſecond century before Chriſt, the grave, judicious, and well-informed Polybius aſcribes the moſt extraordinary effects to the Grecian muſic. Polybius, l. iv. c. xx. & ſeq.

[34] Mr. Burette, a French phyſician, has tranſlated this treatiſe in the tenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy, &c. He finds fewer difficulties in it, than preſent themſelves to men far better acquainted with the theory and practice of this elegant art. See Burney on Muſic, vol. i. p. 36.

four

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four public ſolemnities. Theſe grand ſpectacles were deſtined to exhibit an embelliſhed repreſentation of the ordinary tranſactions of real life, and while the gymnaſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes repreſented the image of war, the moſt ſerious occupation of the Greeks, muſic recalled the memory of religion and love, their moſt agreeable amuſement. Beſides this, as muſic in thoſe early times was cloſely connected with poetry [35], and as the uſe of proſe compoſition was not known in Greece till the time of Pherecydes of Syros, and Cadmus of Miletus, who flouriſhed only five hundred and forty-four years before Chriſt [36], the name of muſic naturally comprehended all the learning of the age; and to obtain the prize in the muſical conteſts, was equivalent to the glory of being declared ſuperior to the reſt of mankind in mental abilities and endowments.

Extent of Grecian muſic.

Theſe abilities and endowments were anciently regarded in proportion to their utility. Before the practice of writing was introduced, the hiſtory of paſt events could be preſerved only by tradition; and tradition was rendered more ſure and permanent, by being committed to the ſafe protection of harmonious numbers [37]. The cuſtomary offices of religion were celebrated in poetical compoſition, and the various hymns appropriated to the worſhip of particular divinities, were retained by the faithful memory of their reſpective votaries. The tuneful tribe, who were thus employed to extol the bounty of the gods, to exalt the glory of heroes, and to record and perpetuate the accumulated wiſdom of antiquity, condeſcended alſo to regulate the duties, and to improve the pleaſures, of private life. The ſame bards who taught the men to be brave, exhorted the women to be chaſte [38]. Poetry, accompanied by the ſiſter arts of muſic and dancing, are elegantly called by Homer the chief orna-

Purpoſes to which it was applied.

[35] The ſame words ſignified a ſong and a poem, a muſician and a poet; ασματα, ασματα; ωδοι, αδοντες αοιδοι. Heſych.

[36] Strabo, l. i.

[37] Ως δε απλουν ο πιζος λογος, κατασκευασμενος μιμημα τυ ποιητικυ ιστι· πρωτιστα γαρ η ποιητικη κατασκευη παρηλθεν εις το μεσον. Strabo, l. i.

[38] Of this we have an example in Homer's Demodicus.

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ments of the feaſt. The poet muſician quelled ſeditions in ſtates [39], and maintained the domeſtic quiet of famiiies; while he publiſhed laws of the moſt extenſive influence over the whole community, he diſdained not to animate the humble but neceſſary labours of the mechanic; every profeſſion in ſociety, even the meaneſt and moſt vulgar, was encouraged and adorned by its particular ſong [40]; and the moſt ordinary tranſactions of common life, however trivial and low, and unintereſting, in themſelves, were heightened and ennobled by the combined charms of muſic and poetry.

The degree of perfection in which theſe arts are found in any country, depends on the language and character of the people by whom they are cultivated. Of this there is abundant proof in the hiſtory of ancient, as well as in that of modern nations. The melancholy, ſtern[41], atrocious and unrelenting temper of the Egyptians (the ſuppoſed inſtructors of Greece), diſqualified that nation either for improving or for reliſhing the beauties of harmony. The harſh diſſonance of the eaſtern languages, their deficiency in vowels, and the inflexible thickneſs of their ſounds, rendered them but little ſuſceptible of muſical compoſition. The muſic of the Egyptians and Orientals, therefore, depended rather on the quantity than the quality of ſound; and the principal object of their art was rather to rouſe the attention by noiſe, than to charm the ſoul by melody.

[39] See what is ſaid above of Tyrtæus, p. 137.

[40] See Athanæus paſſim, and the diſcourſes on the Greek ſongs, in the 3d volume of the excellent ſelection of the Memoirs of the Academy.

[41] The nature of the government furniſhes another reaſon for the imperfection of Egyptian muſic. Homer characteriſes Egypt by the epithet πικρο, bitter, to denote the rigid ſeverity of the laws. Among that grave and formal people, the hours of amuſement, as well as of buſineſs, were preſcribed by law. There was a particular time of the day, not only for attending the courts of juſtice, but for walking, bathing, and even for performing the duties of matrimony. Diodor. Siculus. Poetry, muſic, ſculpture, and all other arts, were regulated by expreſs ſtatute; and if we may believe Plato, continued invariable for many thouſand years. Plato de Legibus. The auſterity and reſtraints of deſpotiſm are inconſiſtent with that flowing freedom of genius neceſſary to the perfection of poetry.

The

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Its origin.

The language and manners of the Greeks were of a different, and a far ſuperior kind, to thoſe of the neighbouring nations. Hence may be deduced the origin and peculiar excellence of their muſic, which, though injudiciouſly [42] aſcribed to the invention of Thracians, Myſians, and other barbarous ſtrangers, muſt have been the natural production of Grecian genius, ſince the three moſt ancient modes of muſic were the Dorian, Ionian, and Eolian, correſponding with the three great diviſions of the Hellenic race, and the three principal diſtinctions of the Hellenic tongue [43].

Cauſes of the perfection of the Grecian language and muſic.

The perfection of language, as well as of muſic, depends on the melody of its ſounds; their meaſure or rhythm; their variety; and their ſuitableneſs to the ſubject which they are meant to deſcribe or to expreſs. The circumſtances of the Greeks, in the earlieſt periods of their ſociety [44], rendered them peculiarly attentive to all theſe objects. They lived continually in crowds; all matters of conſequence were decided by the voice of the aſſembly; and, next to the force of his arm, every warrior felt himſelf indebted to the perſuaſive accents of his tongue. The perpetual neceſſity of employing the power of eloquence, during the infancy of their political ſtate, made them retain the original tones and cadences, by which men, as yet unpractiſed in the uſe of arbitrary ſigns, had made known their affections and their wants. Theſe tones and cadences, imitating the language of action (the firſt and moſt natural language of ſolitary ſavages), poſſeſſed a degree of energy and of warmth which can never be attained by the mere artifice of articulate ſounds [45]. By uniting them to theſe ſounds, the Greeks gave all the force of a natural, to an arbitrary ſign. Muſic and action were incorporated

[42] While detraction referred the diſcovery of muſic to ſtrangers, vanity referred it to the gods; and both accounts ſerve to prove the great antiquity of the art. Plut. de Muſic.

[43] We owe the knowledge of this important circumſtance to Heraclides of Pontus, the contemporary and ſcholar of Plato. His words are cited by Athenæus, l. xiv.

[44] See above, chap. ii

[45] See an excellent diſcourſe of the Abbé Arnaut, on the Greek accents, in the 3d volume of the Choix de Memoirs.

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in the ſubſtance of their ſpeech; and the deſcriptive power of words was extended to all thoſe objects which can be characteriſed by ſound and motion, or which the various modifications of theſe qualities can ſuggeſt to the mind of man.

A language thus founded on the broad baſis of nature, contained within itſelf the fruitful ſeeds of the imitative arts, and the rich materials of all that is *beautiful* and *grand* in literary compoſition[46]. It is a ſubject of equal curioſity and importance, to examine how theſe materials were wrought up, and how theſe ſeeds were unfolded. In attempting, with much diffidence, to give ſome account of this delicate and refined operation, we ſhall obſerve the diviſion above mentioned, and conſider the melody, meaſure, variety, and expreſſion of the Grecian poetry and muſic; arts once deemed ſo intimately connected, that their disjunction at the Pythian games, of which we have already taken notice, was emphatically compared, by ancient writers, to the ſeparation of the ſoul and body.

Melody of language.

The pleaſure ariſing from the agreeable ſucceſſion of ſounds, depends either on the combination of letters, or on that of muſical tones[47]. The attention which the Greeks paid to the former, is evident from the whole ſtructure of their language. Wherever propriety permits[48], they always employ full, open, and [49] *magnificent* ſounds; innumerable rules of flexion and derivation are founded merely on the pleaſure of the ear; and the great principle of the fine arts, to move and affect, without fatiguing the ſenſes, cannot be

[46] Theſe words very inadequately expreſs the ηδυ and the καλος of Dionyſius, de Struct. Orat. The ingenious and philoſophical critic ranges, under two heads, the qualities of ſtyle fitted to pleaſe the ear and the imagination. Theſe are the *ſweet* and the *fair*. Under the firſt are contained ſmoothneſs, beauty, grace, perſuaſion, &c. Under the ſecond, dignity, weight, magnificence, and force. The two kinds of ſtyle have a ſimilar relation to each other, which the pleaſures of the taſte, expreſſed by the word ηδυς, have to thoſe of the eye, expreſſed by καλος.

[47] Dionyſius comprehends both under the word μελος, melody.

[48] The το πρεπον, Dionyſius obſerves, may ſometimes require harſh, cloſe, and diſagreeable ſounds.

[49] The μεγαλοπρεπις of Dionyſius.

better

better illuſtrated than by the inimitable compoſition [50] of elements which characteriſes the general texture of the Grecian tongue. Whether the ancient poets and orators diſcovered this compoſition by inveſtigation, or only preferred it from taſte, is a queſtion that may be eaſily anſwered, if we reflect, that ſuch a diſcovery by inveſtigation ſuppoſes an acquaintance with the moſt abſtruſe principles of philoſophy, principles altogether unknown in that early age, during which the compoſition of elemental ſounds attained its higheſt beauty and perfection. We may therefore, without temerity, conclude, that ſentiment firſt directed to the practice of thoſe rules which reaſon afterwards approved; and that this progreſs equally obtained in the articulation of voice, and the intonation of ſound.

Melody of Muſic.

The *latter*, the agreeable compoſition of which is properly ſtyled melody, was improved to ſuch an extraordinary degree about the time of Homer, as rendered the productions of Olympus, and other ancient poet-muſicians, the admiration of all ſucceeding ages. Unfortunately for the hiſtory of the arts, we have not any ſuch analyſis of the muſic of Olympus, as Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus has left us of the poetry of Homer. We are informed, however, that the ancient melody was not only divided, like the modern, by tones and ſemitones, but alſo diſtinguiſhed by the dieſis, or quarter-tone; an interval of which modern muſicians rarely make uſe.

The different genera.

The genus of muſic, regulated by this interval, a genus to which the moſt powerful effects are aſcribed by ancient writers, was known by the name of the enharmonic; the genus, proceeding by ſemitones, was called the chromatic; and the diatonic, which denotes a progreſſion by tones and ſemitones, expreſſed a mu-

[50] As all languages are relative to the organs of ſpeech, they may all be analized into about twenty-four letters, or elemental ſounds, the combination of which forms the wonderful variety of language; a variety reſulting from the various character and circumſtances of different nations.

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fical ſcale nearly reſembling that of the modern nations of Europe [51].

Theſe obſervations will give the reader an idea of the intervals in the different *genera*, which is all that we can learn on this ſubject from the learned collection of Meibomius. In none of the muſical treatiſes in that collection do we find any ſpecimen of ancient melody; nor are we enabled, by any circumſtance mentioned in them, to aſcertain the qualities which formed its principal merit. The invention of the enharmonic genus is aſcribed by Plutarch to Olympus, who happening to ſkip certain intervals in the diatonic ſcale, obſerved the beauty of the effect, and the peculiar force and character which the regular omiſſion of the ſame intervals beſtowed on the melody. Upon this obſervation, he is ſaid to have founded a new genus of muſic remarkable for ſimplicity, gravity, and grandeur. Theſe qualities might, doubtleſs, be produced by the happy diſcovery, ſeconded by the lofty genius of Olympus; and to them, perhaps, we may refer the enthuſiaſm and ſublimity by which his compoſitions were diſtinguiſhed. The employing of the greater intervals ſupported the dignity and character, while the uſe of the dieſis chiefly contributed to the refinement and delicacy, of Grecian muſic. The bold ſeparation of notes expreſſed the firmer feelings, and deſcribed the ſtronger emotions of the ſoul; while the more inſenſible diſtinctions of ſound painted the innumerable ſhades, and faint fluctuations, of paſſion; as when the voice gradually aſcended through the ſmalleſt perceptible diviſions, it would admirably expreſs the progreſs of a reſpectful but ardent affection, unable to hide, yet afraid to reveal its force, and ſtriving by repeated efforts to overcome its natural timidity.

Peculiar effect of the enharmonic genus explained.

[51] It is ſufficient to explain the things ſignified by the enharmonic and diatonic. When, or why, theſe names were beſtowed on the two kinds of muſic which they reſpectively denote, is diſputed by philologiſts; and I have not met with any thing on the ſubject that ſeemed worthy of being tranſcribed.

But

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Connection between the melody of language and music.

But by whatever conjectures we may explain the powers of ancient enharmonic, it appears from the univerſal conſent of Greek writers, that the melody of muſic and of language differed only in degree, not in kind. The variations of *accent*, for *that* is the proper word to expreſs the melody of language, ſeldom exceeded, in common diſcourſe, the difference of three notes and a half; which makes Dionyſius obſerve, that it never exceeds the compaſs of one interval, the diapenté, or fifth. He pretends not, however, that in rhetorical declamation, the flexions of the voice were ſo narrowly circumſcribed; and it is probable that in poetry, their range was always more extenſive than in the moſt animated proſe. When the poet, therefore, compoſed his verſe, he was obliged to pay an equal attention to accent and to quantity: the acuteneſs and gravity of ſounds, as well as the length and ſhortneſs of ſyllables, contributed to the effect of his art; and each particular word having not only its determined duration, but its appropriated tones, obtained that place in the verſe which was felt to be moſt agreeable to the ear, and beſt adapted to the ſubject. The poet, therefore, naturally performed the office of the muſician, and clothed his own thoughts and ſentiments with that combination of ſounds, which rendered them moſt beautiful and expreſſive.

Of quantity and rhythm

As accent regulated the melody, quantity regulated the rhythm of ancient muſic. The moſt melodious ſucceſſion of tones, however flattering to the ear, muſt ſoon become tireſome and diſagreeable, when continued without interruption or pauſe, and undiſtinguiſhed by ſuch proportions of duration, as are readily ſeized and meaſured by the ſenſes. This truth the Greeks illuſtrated by a compariſon. The moſt brilliant compoſition of colours is nothing better, they obſerved, than a gaudy ſhow, dazzling the ſight for a moment, but paſſing afterwards diſregarded or unobſerved. But to this ſhowy colouring let the painter add the ſolid beauties of deſign, and he will convert an empty amuſement of the eye, into an elegant

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entertainment of the fancy. What deſign is to colouring, meaſure is to melody. It is meaſure that animates the ſong, and which, combined with the inimitable charms of Grecian verſe, produced thoſe extraordinary effects, which the ignorance and credulity of early ages weakly deemed miraculous. On meaſure principally depended the different *modes* of muſic, by which the moſt oppoſite paſſions were alternately excited in the mind; and courage, pride, timidity, love, anger, reſentment, ſucceſſively diffuſed through a numerous aſſembly, at the will of a ſkilful compoſer. The difference of modes, indeed, aroſe alſo, in ſome meaſure, from the difference of key; and the ſame ſucceſſion of ſounds, pronounced with various degrees of acuteneſs or gravity, may doubtleſs produce effects more or leſs powerful: but diſſimilar effects it never can produce; ſo that the grandeur of the Doric, the poliſhed elegance of the Ionic, the ſoothing ſweetneſs of the Eolic mode [52], muſt have reſulted from the rhythm or meaſure, which governing the movement of the verſe, thereby determined its expreſſion.

Of propriety and expreſſion.

Beſides theſe three modes, formerly mentioned as the original invention of Greece, the natives of that country gradually adopted ſeveral others that had been diſcovered by the neighbouring nations; particularly the Phrygian, conſecrated to religious ceremonies, and the Lydian, appropriated to the expreſſion of complaint or ſorrow. The variety, indeed, at length became greater than can be eaſily conceived by ſuch as are unacquainted with the mechaniſm of ancient languages. Every ſpecies of verſe (and of verſe there were above an hundred different kinds) occaſioned a change of muſical meaſure, and introduced what, in muſical language, may be called a different time. Theſe meaſures were only to be employed agreeably to the rules of propriety and decorum which had been diſcovered in thoſe great principles of nature, to which all rules of art muſt ultimately be referred. A ſlow ſucceſſion of lengthened tones expreſſed modera-

Of the variety and perfection of Grecian muſic.

[52] Lucian Harmod. ſub initio & Heraclid. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

tion and firmneſs; a rapid inequality of verſe betrayed diſorderly and ignoble paſſions; the mind was tranſported by ſudden tranſitions, and rouzed by impetuous reiterations of ſound; a gradual aſcent of notes accorded with all thoſe affections which warm and expand the heart; and the contrary movement naturally coincided with ſuch ſentiments as depreſs the ſpirits, and extinguiſh the generous ardour of the ſoul. Having fixed, with the moſt accurate preciſion, the wide variety of *modes* and *genera*, the Greeks ſeldom confounded them in the ſame piece, and never applied them to any ſubject which they had not been originally deſtined to expreſs. The natural perceptions of taſte were gradually ſtrengthened by habit; the principles of muſic were clearly aſcertained, and univerſally underſtood; and poſſeſſing the warmth and energy of the language of nature, they acquired the perſpicuity and extent of the language of convention. This is juſtly deemed the height of muſical perfection [53], and to this height the Greeks had attained in the beginning of the 6th century before Chriſt.

[53] The queſtion, whether the Greeks knew muſic in parts, has been carefully examined by Mr. Burette (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions); by Rouſſeau (Dictionaire de Muſique); and by Dr. Burney (Hiſtory of Muſic, vol. I. p. 146, & ſeq.) Theſe writers, who are ſo well entitled to decide on this ſubject, pronounce the Greeks to have been unacquainted with counterpoint. But that their ignorance in this reſpect did not detract from their perfection, or diminiſh the effects of their muſic, may be credited, on the unſuſpicious teſtimony of an ingenious Italian. "Il contrapunto, eſſendo compoſito di varie parti, l'una acuta, l'altera grave, queſta di andamento preſto, quella di tardo, que hanno a trovarſi inſieme, & ferir l'orecchie ad un tempo, come potrebbe egli muovere mell' animo noſtro, una tal determinata paſſione, la quale, di ſua natura, rechiede un determinato moto, et un determinato tuono." Algorotti, Saggio ſopra l'Opera in Muſica.

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The Grecian Bards.—Heroic Poetry.—Change of Manners.—Iambic or Satire.—Elegy.—Tyrtæus, Callinus, Mimnermus.—Life of Archilochus.—Terpander.—Lyric Poetry.—The Nine Lyric Poets.—Sappho, Alcæus, Anacreon, Myrtis, Corinna, Pindar.—Effects of the Sacred Games.—Strength.—Courage.—Contempt of Prejudices.—Taste.—Moral Principle.—Intellectual Powers.—Genius.

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Early perfection of the Grecian music and poetry.

POETRY has described the wonderful effects of Grecian music; and the inimitable excellence of ancient poets can alone render the description credible. Yet the early perfection of these elegant arts, asserted by the gravest writers of antiquity, seems extremely inconsistent with the received doctrines concerning the progress of civil society. Both in the ancient and modern world, the great system of practical knowledge, subservient to the useful purposes of human life, appears to have been slowly raised, and gradually extended, by successive trials, and reiterated efforts. Among savages, scarcely any distinction of professions takes place; the activity of each individual supplies his own wants. In early ages of society, men are still condemned to a wide variety of occupations; and their attention being distracted by a multiplicity of pursuits, it is impossible that, in any one art, they should reach proficiency, or even aspire to excellence. But, contrary to this observation, the Grecian music and poetry are represented as most perfect in their united state; the immortal fathers of verse excelled alike, it is said,

in

in all the various kinds of poetical compoſition [1]; and their inimitable productions were ſo far from advancing, by a gradual progreſs, to perfection, that the moſt ancient are, by univerſal conſent, entitled to a juſt preference [2].

The hiſtory of theſe admired authors is, unfortunately, as uncertain, as their merit was illuſtrious. The Greeks poſſeſſing much traditionary, and little recorded information, concerning the antiquities of their country, the great inventors of arts, and generous benefactors of ſociety, have been deprived of their merited fame and well-earned honours. Their names indeed, like firm rocks reſiſting the aſſaults of the ocean, bid defiance to the depredations of time; but of Linus, Orpheus, Muſæus, and Melampus, little elſe than the names remain;; and to determine the time in which they flouriſhed, was a matter of as much difficulty two thouſand years ago [3], as it remains in the preſent age.

If

[1] We are told by Ariſtotle, in the 4th chapter of his Poetics, that Homer wrote an iambic poem, intitled Margites, bearing the ſame relation to comedy and ſatire, that the Iliad bears to tragedy and panegyric. Notwithſtand ng the expreſs teſtimony of the great critic, two very elegant ſcholars have ſaid, that the hexameter was the only kind of verſe known in the time of Homer; the Abbé Arnaut, in his excellent diſcourſe on the Greek accents, and Mr. Burette, in his Commentary on Plut. de Muſic.

[2] Græcorum Antiquiſſima quæque ſcripta vel optima Horat. Epiſt. l. ii. Ep. 1.

[3] Herodotus, who read his hiſtory at the Olympic games 444 years B. C. expreſſes himſelf as follows: "Homer and Heſiod "lived about four hundred years ago; not "more; and theſe are the poets who com-"poſed a Theogony for the Greeks; who "aſſigned to the gods their reſpective appel-"lations and epithets; diſtinguiſhed their "ſeveral forms; and defined the arts in "which they excelled, and the honours to "which they were entitled. As to the poets "who are ſuppoſed to have preceded them, "I am of opinion that they flouriſhed in a "later age." According to Herodotus, therefore, the age of Homer is fifty years later than it is placed by the marbles of Paros. But on this ſubject we have ſurer evidence than any monuments of marble, or even the teſtimony of Herodotus can afford. The circumſtantial minuteneſs, and infinite variety, which characteriſe the Iliad and Odyſſey, prove their inimitable author to have lived near the times which he deſcribes He converſed in his youth with thoſe who had ſeen the heroes of the Trojan war; and, in the vigour of his age, beheld the grandchildren of Æneas, Ulyſſes, Achilles, and Agamemnon.

Νυν δ' ἐν Λυκίοις γένος Τρωϊκὸν ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς
Καὶ παῖδας παίδων τοὶ κὲν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

Iliad. xx. ver 306.

The learned reader may conſult the note on the paſſage in Clerk's Homer, where Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus is quoted, to prove that

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If even the chronology of the ancient bards be ſo extremely uncertain [4], it cannot be expected that we ſhould be able to give a circumſtantial account of their life and writings. Inſtead of conſidering minutely, therefore, the private hiſtory of individuals, a taſk which ſuits neither the deſign of the preſent work, nor the incredulity of the preſent age, we ſhall endeavour to explain the general nature and tendency of their profeſſion, as well as the circumſtances which conſpired to raiſe it to that rank and dignity which it long held in ſociety. During the heroic ages, the Grecian poets had one uniform character; and if we may depend on the poſitive aſſertions of antiquity, the ſame individual was alike ſucceſsful in the various branches of his divine art [5]. The earlieſt poets, therefore, may be repreſented in one picture, and delineated by the ſame ſtrokes, until their profeſſion came to be ſeparated into different departments. We ſhall then diſtinguiſh the heroic, iambic, lyric, elegiac, and other kinds of poetical compoſition; offer ſome account of the improvers of each particular ſpecies; and examine ſuch fragments of their works as deſerve attention, not merely on account of their own intrinſic merit, but as genuine and authentic, and indeed the only genuine and authentic tranſcripts of the manners of that early age in which they were compoſed.

The Grecian bards.

In ancient Greece, the favourites of fortune were often the favourites of the muſes. There remain not, indeed, the works of any Grecian king; but we are told by Homer, that Achilles ſung to his lyre the glory of heroes; Amphion, to whoſe muſical powers ſuch wonderful [6] effects are aſcribed, reigned in Thebes; the poet Me-

that the poet ſays nothing inconſiſtent with Æneas's voyage into Italy. It is to be obſerved, that the force of the criticiſm evaporates in Mr. Pope's tranſlation.

[4] The preceding note proves the ignorance of Herodotus, and his contemporaries, concerning the hiſtory of their ancient bards; ſince of theſe venerable fathers of the Grecian religion and policy, two are mentioned by Homer himſelf; Linus, in the deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles, Il. xviii.; Melampus, in the 11th book of the Odyſſey, ver. 15.

[5] There are not any two kinds of poetry more different than thoſe aſcribed to Homer by Ariſtotle, Poetic. ch. iv.

[6] Movet Amphion lapides canendo. Hor.

lampus

lampus obtained royal authority in Argos; and Chiron, the wife Centaur [7], though deſcended of the moſt illuſtrious anceſtors, and intitled to the firſt rank among the Theſſalian princes, preferred to the enjoyment of power, the cultivation of poetry, and retired, with his favourite muſes, to a ſolitary cavern at the foot of Mount Pelion, which was ſoon rendered, by the fame of his abilities, the moſt celebrated ſchool of antiquity [8].

The muſical arts were not only deemed worthy the ambition of princes, but thought capable of elevating ordinary men to the firſt ranks in ſociety. By excelling in ſuch accompliſhments, Anthes of Bœotia, Olen of Lycia, Olympus of Phrygia [9], obtained the higheſt pre-eminence. Nor was it during their lifetime only, that they enjoyed the happy fruits of their elegant labours. They were regarded as peculiarly deſerving of a double immortality; living for ever in the memory of men, and being admitted, according to the belief of antiquity, to the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours in the celeſtial regions [10].

It has been already obſerved, that the texture of the Grecian tongue was ſingularly well adapted to the improvement of poetry; and this favourable circumſtance was admirably ſeconded by the political condition of the Greeks in the early periods of their ſociety. Religion then formed the ſole principle of government; and the belief of religion was chiefly ſupported by the Theogonies [11], while its ceremonies were principally adorned by the hymns, of the bards. Theſe two kinds of poetry, doubtleſs the moſt ancient and the moſt

[7] Moſt of the heroes of the Trojan war were his diſciples. Xenoph. de Venat. ſub initio.

[8] Xenoph. ibid.

[9] Mr. Burette has collected the moſt intereſting particulars concerning theſe bards, in his Commentary on Plut de Muſic.

[10] Muſæum ante omnes. Virg Æn. vi. It is not eaſy to diſcover the reaſon why Virgil, in his Elyſium, has placed Muſæus before all the reſt. This venerable bard, by ſome called the ſon, by others the diſciple, of Orpheus, is univerſally allowed to have been a native of Attica. The admirer of Grecian eloquence (Orabant Cauſſas melius) intended, perhaps, to compliment the country of Muſæus.

[11] A Theogony is a poem explaining, not merely, as the name denotes, the generation, but alſo the hiſtory of the gods. Moſt of the ancient poets mentioned in the text wrote Theogonies. Diod. l. iii. Plut. de Muſic.

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venerable, formed the main pillars of the political edifice; and the eſſential parts of this edifice conſiſting in the praiſe of the gods, its brighteſt ornaments were compoſed of the glory of heroes. The hymns maintained the power of religion, the ſong animated to valour; and both powerfully affected that peculiar ſenſibility of temper, and that romantic turn of fancy, the prevailing characteriſtics of Greece during the heroic ages.

Their influence on ſociety.

Neither the Riiners of the north, nor the Troubadours of Provence, nor the Bards of Germany, nor even the Druids of Gaul and Britain, poſſeſſed more diſtinguiſhed authority than the Aoidoi, or Rhapſodiſts, of the Greeks. The firſt requiſite of their profeſſion was, to know many ſoothing tales [12]; and it was the daily object of their art, to delight gods and men [13]. The piety of the prieſt, and the inſpiration of the prophet, were intimately connected with the enthuſiaſm of poetry; and poets, who had celebrated the glory of the paſt, were naturally employed to rear the hopes of the future generation [14]. It is probable, however, that the ancient bards had frequent avocations from their literary labours. The curioſity, natural to men of genius, would frequently tempt them to viſit diſtant countries. The admiration paid to their abilities could only be upheld by novelty. Both inclination and intereſt, therefore, would prompt them to ſail to foreign lands, to examine their civil and religious inſtitutions, and to converſe with their prieſts and poets, from whom they might derive ſuch information as would enable them, on their return home, to ſurpriſe, entertain, and inſtruct their fellow-citizens.

Their travels.

Of all nations, the Greeks enjoyed moſt advantages for travelling; and of all Grecian profeſſions, that of the bard. The gene-

[12] Ηλλα διλκτηρια. HOMER.

[13] Θι ισι και ανθρωποισι αοιδιμ. Idem.

[14] In early ages, the education of youth was entruſted only to the firſt ranks in ſociety. This profeſſion was practiſed in Greece, by Homer, as we learn from his Life, falſely aſcribed to Herodotus, yet certainly very ancient. In Gaul it belonged to the Druids. Vid. Cæſar de Bello Gallico, l. vi.

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ral diffuſion of their national language and colonies, as well as the ſacred character with which they were inveſted, entitled this venerable claſs of men to expect a ſecure retreat among the moſt inhoſpitable barbarians. Whatever country they viſited, the elegant entertainment derived from their art procured them a welcome reception at religious feſtivals, and all public ſolemnities. Amidſt the moſt dreadful calamities which afflict mankind, the bards alone were exempted from the common danger. They could behold, in ſafety, the tumult of a battle; they could witneſs, undiſturbed, the horror of a city taken by ſtorm; calm and ſerene themſelves, they might contemplate the furious conflicts, and wild agitations, of the paſſions. It belonged to them only, and to the ſacred character of the herald, to obſerve and examine, without perſonal danger, the natural expreſſions of fear, rage, or deſpair, in the countenances and geſtures of the vanquiſhed, as well as the inſolent triumph of ſucceſs, the fury of reſentment, the avidity of gain, and the thirſt of blood, in the wild aſpect, and mad demeanour of the victors. Having conſidered at full leiſure the moſt ſtriking peculiarities of thoſe agitated and diſtreſsful ſcenes, the poet might retire to his cavern, or grotto, and there delineate, in ſecure tranquillity, ſuch a warm and expreſſive picture of the manners and misfortunes of men, as ſhould aſtoniſh his contemporaries, and excite the ſympathetic terror and pity of the moſt diſtant poſterity.

The reſpect belonging to their character,

favourable to their poetical ſtudies.

If the Grecian bards were fortunate in obſerving ſuch events of their own age as were moſt ſuſceptible of the ornaments of poetical imitation, they were ſtill more fortunate in living at a period which afforded a wonderful variety of ſuch events. Amidſt the unſettled turbulence of riſing ſtates, the foundation and deſtruction of cities, the perpetual wars and negotiations of neighbouring communities, they were daily preſented with ſubjects worthy the grandeur of the heroic muſe. The eſtabliſhment of colonies, the origin of new ſuperſtitions, as well as the imaginary le-

Peculiar advantages of the age in which they lived.

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gends which ſupported the old, furniſhed copious materials for many a wondrous ſong. Theſe materials, being eagerly embraced by the choice, were embelliſhed by the fancy of the early bards; who, continually rehearſing them to their contemporaries, had an opportunity of remarking, in their approbation or diſlike, the circumſtances neceſſary to be added, taken away, or altered, in order to give their productions the happieſt effect, and the higheſt degree of ſtrength and beauty. As writing was little practiſed for the purpoſe of communicating knowledge, ſucceeding poets learned to repeat the verſes of their predeceſſors; and, having treaſured them in their memory, they adopted them as their own. Frequent repetition, attended with ſuch careful obſervations as were natural to men whoſe character depended on the ſucceſs of their art, led to new alterations and amendments[15]; and their performances, thus improving by degrees, acquired that juſt meaſure of perfection, to which nothing could, with propriety, be added, and from which nothing could, with propriety, be taken away. In this manner, perhaps, the Iliad and Odyſſey received the laſt poliſh; the harmonious animation of poetry was admired as the language of the gods; and poets, originally the miniſters of heaven, the inſtructors of youth, and the rewarders of merit, were finally regarded as the great authors of religion, the principal benefactors of mankind, and, as ſhall be explained hereafter, the wiſe legiſlators of nations.

The perfection and authority of their works.

As the ſingular manners and events of the heroic ages naturally produced the lofty ſtrains of the epic muſe, ſo the ſtate of ſociety in Greece, during the immediately ſucceeding periods, highly favoured the introduction of other kinds of poetry. The abolition of the royal governments gave free ſcope to the activity and turbulence of democracy; and the rivalſhips and enmities of neighbouring ſtates, rankling in the minds of their citizens, prepared the imaginations

Change of manners, and introduction of iambic, or ſatire.

[15] Εγενησαν την ποιητικην ικ των αυτοσχεδιασματων. Ariſtot. Poet. c. iv.

of

of men for taking a malignant pleaſure in works of invective and reproach. The innumerable cauſes of alienation, hatred, and diſguſt, which operated, alſo, within the boſom of each little republic, opened an inexhauſtible ſource of ſatire. The competitions for civil offices, for military command, and for other places of truſt, profit, or honour, all of which were conferred by the free ſuffrages of the people, occaſioned irreconcilable variance between the ambitious members of the ſame community, and ſubjected the characters of men to mutual ſcrutiny and remark. The ſentiments of the Greeks, not being perverted by the habits of ſlavery, nor reſtrained by the terrors of a deſpot, they boldly expreſſed what they freely thought; they might openly declare a juſt contempt; and, while they extolled in the lofty ode and ſwelling panegyric the heroes and patriots whom they admired, they laſhed the cowards and traitors whom they deſpiſed, with all the ſeverity of ſatire.

Elegiac verſe.

The ode and ſatire may be ſucceſsfully cultivated by imitators in the worſt of times; but they could ſcarcely have been invented and perfected under any other than a popular government. The plaintive elegy, on the other hand, which deſcribes the torments of unſucceſsful love, or which paints the affliction of a miſerable parent, an affectionate ſon, a diſconſolate wife, or a faithful friend, for the loſs of the ſeveral objects moſt dear to their hearts, ſeems to be the ſpontaneous production of every ſoil, and hardly to admit any change of impreſſion from the fluctuating forms of ſociety. The particular purpoſes, however, to which the Greeks principally applied this ſpecies of poetry, appear to have been ſuggeſted by their peculiar circumſtances at the time of its origin. During the violence and diſorder occaſioned by the political revolutions, the frequent migrations, and the almoſt uninterrupted hoſtilities which ſucceeded and increaſed the calamities of the Trojan war, it was natural for thoſe who reaſoned concerning the affairs of men, to form, according to the original bent of their minds, two oppoſite theories for the beſt improvement of human life. Men of a firm texture of ſoul would

The purpoſes to which it was applied naturally ſuggeſted by the ſtate of ſociety.

prepare

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prepare for the miſery which awaited them, by ſtrengthening their natural hardineſs, and fortifying their natural intrepidity. The contempt of pain, and danger, and death, would be the great principle of their lives, and the perpetual ſubject of their ſong; and while they deſcribed the inevitable diſgrace of weakneſs and cowardice, they would extol, with the moſt lively ſenſibility, the glory of valour, the triumphs of ſucceſs, and the joys of victory. Such themes might delight the martial muſe of Tyrtæus and Callinus, but could offer no charms to the effeminate ſoftneſs of Mimnermus, or the licentious debauchery of Archilochus. To perſons of their character, the calamities of the times, inſtead of appearing an argument for virtue, would prove an incitement to pleaſure. The precarious condition of their lives and fortunes, while it depreciated all other objects, would increaſe the value of preſent enjoyment. In the agreeable amuſements of the fleeting hour, they would ſeek refuge againſt the melancholy proſpect of futurity. The pleaſures of the table, the delights of love, the charm of the elegant arts and of converſation, would be perpetually ſtudied in their lives, and perpetually recommended in their poetry.

Theſe obſervations illuſtrated by the hiſtory of Archilochus. Olymp. xv. 3. A. C. 718.

The precious remains of their writings, and ſtill more the authentic circumſtances related concerning the characters of the ancient poets, ſufficiently confirm the truth of theſe obſervations. Next to Homer, Archilochus is the earlieſt Greek writer, whoſe life is recorded ſo minutely as may ſerve to throw any conſiderable light on the hiſtory of his country. We are told by Herodotus[n], that he flouriſhed in the time of Gyges, king of Lydia, who mounted the throne ſeven hundred and eighteen years before Chriſt. He was a native of the iſle of Paros, one of the Cyclades, which had already become wealthy and populous. His father, Teleſicles, muſt have been a perſon of diſtinction, ſince he was employed to head a deputation of his countrymen to the oracle of Apollo. The object of the Parians was to

[n] Lib. i. cap. 12.

obtain

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obtain a favourable anſwer from the god concerning an enterpriſe, which they had long meditated, of ſettling a colony in the valuable iſland of Thaſos, oppoſite to the coaſt of Thrace. The oracle approved the deſign, and, in order to reward the reſpectful behaviour, and to repay the rich preſents delivered to the holy ſhrine by Teleſicles, who had unfortunately diſgraced the dignity of his rank by an unequal marriage with a beautiful ſlave named Enipo, declared that the fame of Archilochus, the glorious fruit of this diſhonourable connection, ſhould deſcend to the lateſt ages of the world.

The prophefy would naturally contribute to its own accompliſhment; eſpecially as Archilochus deſcended from a family, in which the love of poetry was an hereditary paſſion. Tellis, his grandfather, accompanied the prieſteſs of Ceres, in order to eſtabliſh the Eleuſinian myſteries in the iſle of Thaſos, an employment, which, like the ſacred commiſſion of Teleſicles at the city of Apollo, could not have been exerciſed by any other than a favourite of the Muſes. Enjoying the example of ſuch anceſtors, and encouraged by the admonition of the god, it was to be expected that the young poet ſhould ſecond the gifts of nature by the efforts of induſtry; and that his juvenile productions ſhould ſoon have been diſtinguiſhed above thoſe of his contemporaries, by dignity of ſentiment, force of expreſſion, and beauty of imagery.

In that martial age, no ſuperiority of genius, rank, or fortune could exempt its poſſeſſor from the duty of ſerving his country in the exerciſe of arms [16]. The Parian colony in Thaſos, having ineffectually endeavoured by its own ſtrength to eſtabliſh a ſettlement in Thrace, was obliged, in order to accompliſh this deſign, to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the parent iſle. Archilochus ſerved in this expedition, which, though finally ſucceſsful, was chequered with

[16] This was not the caſe in the heroic ages; the bards, though called Δημιοεργοι, as being of the firſt rank in ſociety, were exempted from the fatigues of war. Hom. Odyſſ. paſſim.

a great

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a great variety of fortune. During an engagement with the barbarous Thracians, in which his countrymen were defeated and put to flight, he ſaved his life by throwing away his ſhield; an action ſo extremely inconſiſtent with the military prejudices of the age, that all his eloquence and ingenuity were incapable of extenuating its infamy.

On his return home, he renewed his addreſſes to a Parian damſel, named Neobulé. Her father Lycambes, who had at firſt granted, afterwards refuſed his conſent, whether diſguſted by the unwarlike and therefore contemptible character of Archilochus, or tempted by the alluring offers of a richer rival. If we believe the poet, it was avarice alone that corrupted the ſordid mind of Lycambes; and both he and his daughter, regardleſs of their plighted faith and repeated oaths, ſacrificed their ſentiments and character to the mean gratification of this ignoble paſſion.

This aſſertion he maintained by his poetical invectives, full of indignation and reſentment againſt the whole family of the ſuppoſed traitors. His verſes were rehearſed at the public games, where the force and vivacity of the ſatire were univerſally admired. Calumny, however, ſeems to have joined her poiſoned darts to the more fair and equitable weapons employed by the anger of diſappointed love. Neobulé and her ſiſters were accuſed of every vice moſt inconſiſtent with the modeſt dignity of the female character. Yet ſuch an accuſation is extremely improbable, conſidering the reſerved circumſpection of Neobulé herſelf, during the ardent ſolicitations of Archilochus; a behaviour which naturally increaſed the fire of his paſſion, and ſharpened the edge of his ſatire.

His reproach and calumny, however ill-grounded and unreaſonable, gained an eaſy credit among the rivals and enemies of Lycambes; and the bitter taunts and invectives, which the malice of the poet had invented, the ſcornful contempt of the Parians too faithfully retained. An old poem was no ſooner in danger of being forgotten,

than

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than it was ſucceeded by new verſes, couched in the livelieſt turns of ingenious ſatire. The perpetual ſtrokes of malevolence, darted againſt the family of Lycambes by the perſevering cruelty of the poet, rendered their characters ſuſpicious to the public, and their lives painful to themſelves. They determined to withdraw from a ſcene, which ſeemed a conſtant variation of miſery; and died, in deſpair, by their own hands.

The poems which produced this melancholy effect, and of which ſome ſcattered remains have reached the preſent times, were written in iambic [17] verſe of ſix and four feet. When the lines were of the ſame length throughout, the piece was entitled an iambic; but when ſhort and long verſes alternately ſucceeded each other, it was called, from this circumſtance, an epode [18]; a name which Horace has given to thoſe performances in which he imitated the poetry and ſpirit of Archilochus, not copying, with ſervility, his ſentiments and expreſſion [19].

Though iambic was the favourite [20] purſuit of Archilochus, his genius was not intirely confined to that ſpecies of writing. Endowed with an extreme ſenſibility of heart, he was inclined to gratitude and friendſhip, as well as to enmity and reſentment. Animated by the former ſentiments, he lamented the death of a kinſman and friend, who had unfortunately periſhed by ſhipwreck. The piece conſiſted of alternate hexameter and pentameter verſes, and abounded in elegiac ſtrains, which were admired by the greateſt critics of antiquity. The ſublime Longinus, in particular, extolls the affect-

[17] The term iambic is ſynonymous, in Greek, with the words reproachful, ſatirical. Ariſt. Poet.

[18] This word, concerning the meaning of which there have been innumerable diſputes, ſimply denotes the ſucceſſion of verſes or ſtanzas of different length or ſtructure. In the firſt ſenſe it is explained in the text; in the ſecond it will be explained in ſpeaking of the ode, of which the epode regularly formed the third ſtanza, as we learn from Heph-eſtion, Terentianus Maurus, Marius Victorinus, and other ancient grammarians and philologiſts.

[19] Parios ego primus iambos
Oſtendi Latio, numeros animoſque ſecutus
Archilochi, non res, & agentia verba Lycamben. Epiſt. lib. i. 19.

[20] Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.

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ing deſcription of the ſhipwreck; and Plutarch[21] has preſerved the concluſion of the piece, in which the poet having aſſerted the hurtfulneſs of ſorrow to the living, and its inutility to the dead, determines thenceforth to abſtain from unavailing lamentations, and to ſeek relief for his affliction in wine, love, and other ſenſual pleaſures.

His malignity.

Theſe ſentiments of Archilochus ſeem to prove, that whatever may have been the poetical merit of his elegy, the tender paſſions were leſs fitted than the iraſcible, to make a durable impreſſion on his heart. He ſoon forſook the elegiac muſe; and his natural diſpoſition, as well as the fame which he had already acquired by his ſatires, led him to purſue that ſpecies of writing with unabating ardour. The perpetual rivalſhips and competitions among the principal Parian citizens, who aſpired at the firſt offices of government, frequently degenerating into hatred, malice, and revenge, they obſerved, with infinite delight, the aſperſions, however foul and falſe, that were caſt on their opponents. The malignity of the public thus nouriſhed and exaſperated the venom of the poet; but there was a degree of virulence beyond which it could not proceed. After making the circle of the whole ſociety, and equally offending friends and foes by his exceſſive and indiſcriminate reproach, Archilochus came to be regarded as a public enemy. The licentious impurity of his manners, which bid defiance to every law of decency and of nature, heightened the deteſtation of his character, and he was compelled to fly in diſgrace from his native iſland, to which his genius would have been an ornament, had his behaviour been more modeſt and inoffenſive[22].

Baniſhment.

Wanderings.

Baniſhed from the iſle of Paros, the poet ſought protection in the Thaſian colony, to the eſtabliſhment of which the ſervices of his father had ſo eminently contributed; but, unfortunately for his repoſe, the fame of his ſatires had gone before him, and the diſgrace

[21] De audiend. Poet.

[22] Critias apud Ælian. Hiſt. l. ix. c. xiii.

of

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of having loſt his ſhield in the Thracian expedition was a ſtain not eaſily wiped off. His reception among the Thaſians, therefore, anſwered neither his own expectations, nor the liberal ſpirit of ancient hoſpitality. He ſoon quitted a place in which his company was ſo little acceptable, yet not before he had lampooned the principal citizens of Thaſos, and endeavoured, by a ſingular and abſurd exceſs of reſentment, to ſatiriſe the narrowneſs and ſterility of the iſland itſelf.

Recovers the public eſteem at Olympia.

The wandering poet was not more fortunate in ſeveral other diſtricts of Greece in which he took refuge. The warlike Spartans would ſcarcely admit into their city, a writer who had ſaid that it was better for a ſoldier to loſe his ſhield than his life, becauſe he might purchaſe new armour, but could not acquire a new exiſtence. Archilochus, thus abandoned, perſecuted, and contemned, made one ſpirited effort for recovering his ancient character, and regaining the public eſteem. The time approached for celebrating the Olympic feſtival. The irregularity of his manners, the general deteſtation of his behaviour, and, above all, his vindication of cowardice, would, according to general rules, have excluded him from aſſiſting at that ſolemnity: but having removed the prejudices which the citizens of Elis had naturally conceived againſt him, by diſplaying his wonderful talents for muſic and poetry, he took care to inſinuate that he was poſſeſſed of an ode in praiſe of Hercules, which, if rehearſed before the public aſſembly, would equally entertain the fancy, and improve the piety of the ſpectators. The intereſt of religion being materially concerned in this propoſal, the judges of the games thought proper to comply with it. Archilochus appeared on the appointed day among the Olympic bards. After his competitors had given ſpecimens of their art in ſuch muſical compoſitions as the audience were accuſtomed to hear, he began the ſong in honour of Hercules, accompanied with the ſound of his lyre, and written with ſuch new variations of verſe, as neceſſarily occaſioned new modulations of me-

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lody. It is probable that, on this occaſion, he firſt practiſed the invention aſcribed to him by Plutarch [23], of paſſing, with rapidity, from one rhythm, or meaſure, to another of a different kind. The novelty, the beauty, and the grandeur of his compoſition raviſhed the ſenſes, and elevated the ſouls of his hearers. The demerit of the performer was obliterated in the perfection of his ſong. The unanimous applauſe of the aſſembly declared his ſuperiority to every rival, and he was immediately rewarded by the prize, and adorned with the crown, of victory [24].

Returns to his native iſland.

Having acquired ſuch diſtinguiſhed renown in the public theatre of aſſembled ſtates, Archilochus returned, with exultation, to his native country, the glory of which had been proclaimed at Olympia, in conſequence of the ſucceſsful merit of a baniſhed citizen. This proclamation being deemed the higheſt honour which an individual could procure for his community, the hatred and reſentment formerly entertained againſt the poet was converted into gratitude and admiration. The renewed reſpect of his country occaſioned many ebullitions of poetical vanity, which evaporated in ſome verſes that have reached the preſent times [25]. When death put an end to his labours, it could not extinguiſh his fame. His obſequies were diſtinguiſhed by every ſad circumſtance of funeral pomp;

His ſingular honours.

and his memory was celebrated by a feſtival, eſtabliſhed by the gratitude of his countrymen, and adopted by the general admiration of the Greeks, during which the verſes of Archilochus were ſung alternately with the poems of Homer [26]: and thus, by a fatality frequently attending men of genius, he ſpent a life of miſery, and acquired honour after death. Reproach, ignominy, contempt, poverty,

[23] De Muſic.

[24] We learn from Pindar and his ſcholiaſt, Ode Olymp. ix. that this celebrated poem of Archilochus long continued to be ſung at the Olympic games, in order to grace the coronation of thoſe victors who either could not afford, or who did not incline, to purchaſe an ode in their particular honour.

[25] Athenæus, l. xiv. Pauſanias, l. x. Stobæus, ſerm. 123.

[26] Anthol. p. 212. Ariſtot. Rhetor. l. ii.

verty, and perſecution were the ordinary companions of his perſon; admiration, glory, reſpect, ſplendour, and magnificence were the melancholy attendants of his ſhade. CHAP. VI.

Archilochus was the principal improver, not only of the iambic, but of the graver kind of lyric poetry; and Terpander, who flouriſhed in the ſame age, was, as far as we can trace the hiſtory of the arts, the chief promoter of the gay and feſtive kinds of lyric compoſition. This agreeable poet was a native of Leſbos. He obtained the muſical prize in the Carnean feſtival at Sparta; and in the beginning of the ſeventh century before Chriſt, gained four ſucceſſive prizes at Delphi, as appeared by a correct regiſter of the conquerors in the Pythian games, preſerved in the time of Plutarch[27]. Theſe advantages procured him the reſpect of his contemporaries; but he was honoured by poſterity chiefly for his improvement of the lyre, and for the new varieties of meaſure which he introduced into the Grecian poetry[28]. Hiſtory of the lyric poets. Terpander.

The example of Archilochus and Terpander[29] was followed by the nine Lyric poets who, in the courſe of two centuries flouriſhed almoſt in regular ſucceſſion, and maintained the poetic fame of their country. Of the two moſt ancient, Alcman and Steſichorus, we have only a few imperfect remains: of Sappho there are two complete odes; her followers Alcæus, Simonides, Ibycus, and Bacchilides are known by a few mutilated fragments, and by the remarks of ancient critics; but we ſtill poſſeſs many inimitable odes of Pindar, and many pleaſant ſongs of Anacreon.

As to the Grecian lyriſts in general, it is worthy of obſervation, that except Alcman of Sardis, who on account of his merit was natu- Sappho. Alcæus, &c.

[27] De Muſic.

[28] Euclid. Harmon. Strabo, l. xiii.

[29] Πινδαρος φητιν ὁτι των σκολιων μελων Τερπανδρος ηρετης ην. Plut. de Muſic. "Pindar "ſays, that Terpander invented the Scholia," which, according to Pollux and Heſychius, properly denote the drinking ſongs of the Greek, but, in a more general ſenſe, ſignify every kind of lyric poetry, not aſpiring to the dignity of the ode.

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raliſed at Sparta, Pindar of Thebes in Bœotia, and Steſichorus of Himera in Sicily, all the reſt were born on the Aſiatic coaſt, or in the iſlands of the Ægean ſea. Theſe enchanting climates were the beſt adapted to inſpire the raptures peculiar to the ode, as well as to excite that voluptuous gaiety characteriſtic of the Grecian ſong [30]. Amidſt the romantic ſcenes of Ionia, was felt with uncommon ſenſibility the force of that pleaſing painful paſſion, which, uniting grief, joy, and enthuſiaſm, contains the fruitful ſeeds of whatever is moſt perfect in muſic and poetry [31]. Here the celebrated Sappho breathed the amorous flames by which ſhe was conſumed; while her countryman and lover Alcæus declared the warmth of his attachment, excited leſs perhaps by the beauty of her perſon, than by the bewitching charms of her voice. But neither Alcæus, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the ſixth, nor Anacreon, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the fifth century before Chriſt, allowed the natural vivacity of their tempers to be overcome by the ſeverities of a paſſion which they conſidered chiefly as an inſtrument of pleaſure. When unfortunate in love, they had recourſe to wine; and their lively invitations to this enjoyment compoſed the favourite *airs* of antiquity [32]. Of Alcæus it is uſual to judge by the ſcattered remains of his works preſerved in Plutarch [33] and Athenæus [34], and by the high commendations beſtowed on him by Horace and Quintilian. The Latin poet, however, ſeems on many occaſions to have ſo exactly imitated, or rather tranſlated the Greek, that the copy will perhaps beſt enable us to form a complete idea of the original [35].

[30] Hippocrat. de Locis, vol. ii. p. 346. Edit. Lugd. Bat.

[31] Agreeably to the principles eſtabliſhed by Theophraſtus in Plutarch's Sympoſium.

[32] Give us a ſong of Alcæus or Anacreon, was a common ſaying in the age of Socrates. Athenæus, l. x. c. viii.

[33] Sympoſ. c. vi.

[34] Lib. x.

[35] Μηδὲ αλλο φιτυσης προτιξον δενδρεον αμπελον.
ALC.

Nullam, Vare, ſacra vite, prius ſeveris arborem.

Other tranſlations, equally literal, may be diſcovered by careſully examining the fragments in Athenæus, l. x.

Alcæus,

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Alcæus, though he chiefly indulged in the gay and ſportive ſtrains of poetry, was yet qualified to undertake more lofty[36] themes; but the whole ſoul of Anacreon was of that effeminate texture which fitted him only to ſing of love and pleaſure[37]. Venus, Bacchus, Cupid, and the Graces were the peculiar divinities whom he adored; and the preſents which he offered at their ſhrine, were the moſt acceptable that any mortal could beſtow. He not only obſerved the external rites and ceremonies which they commanded, but proved that his heart and mind had imbibed the genuine ſpirit of their worſhip. Throughout the whole of his works, now remaining[38], there reign the moſt inimitable ſimplicity, purity, and ſweetneſs of diction: his verſes flow with a ſmooth volubility; his images, ſentiments, and reaſonings (if what in him ſeems much intuitive conviction can be called reaſonings) are copied from the warmeſt impreſſions of nature. Yet in theſe poems, otherwiſe ſo beautiful and ſo perfect, there may be diſcovered an extreme licentiouſneſs of manners, and a ſingular voluptuouſneſs of fancy, extending beyond the ſenſes, and tainting the ſoul itſelf.

Anacreon.

The diſſolute gaiety of Anacreon, the delicate ſenſibility of Sappho, and the tearful complaints of Simonides[39], were all expreſſed in that eaſy equable flow of uninterrupted harmony, which, in the opinion of the moſt learned of their countrymen[40], poſſeſſes more grace than ſtrength, and more beauty than grandeur. The majeſtic muſe of Steſichorus was of a more elevated kind. Diſdaining the ſubjects to which the other lyriſts deſcended, he ſung of war and he-

Steſichorus.

[36] In luſus & amores deſcendit, majoribus tamen aptior. QUIN. l. x. c. i.

[37] Ἁ ϐαρύϊτος δὲ χἠδὺς
Ἔρωτα μόνον ἠχεῖ —— ANAC. Od. i.

[38] The works of Anacreon are ſaid, by Petrus Alcyonius de exilio, to have been burned by the Greek prieſts of Conſtantinople, from which ſome learned men, deſtitute of taſte, have abſurdly concluded, that the works aſcribed to the old poet are ſpurious. It cannot, ſurely, be ſaid of thoſe poems, "Etſi excitant animos noſtrorum hominum "ad flagrantiorem religionis cultum, non "tamen verborum Atticorum proprietatem "& linguæ Græcæ elegantiam docent;" which is the character that Petrus Alcyonius gives of the compoſitions ſubſtituted by the prieſts in their place.

[39] Mœſtius lachrymis Simonideis. Catull.

[40] Dionyſius Halicarn.

roes,

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roes, and ſupported, by his harp, the whole weight and dignity of epic poetry [41]. Such, at leaſt, are the ſentiments of a celebrated critic, who had read his works, of which we are at preſent entitled to judge only by their reſemblance to thoſe of Pindar, who poſſeſſed a ſimilar turn of genius, and treated the ſame lofty themes.

Pindar; the admiration in which he was held.

The honours beſtowed on Pindar by his contemporaries, as well as the admiration in which his name was uniformly held by the moſt improved nations of antiquity, render both his perſon and his works objects of a very natural curioſity. He was born five hundred and twenty years before Chriſt, and his long life almoſt completed the full revolution of a century. His age, therefore, extended beyond the period of hiſtory now under our review; yet the works of his predeceſſors having periſhed by the ravages of time and barbariſm, it is neceſſary to examine, in this place, the nature and character of the writings of Pindar, as the only materials remaining that can enable us to form a general notion of the performances recited by the lyric poets at the principal Grecian ſolemnities. Pindar, from his earlieſt years, was carefully trained by his father (himſelf a muſician) to the ſtudies of muſic and poetry. His genius, naturally wild and luxuriant, was corrected by the leſſons of his fair countrywomen, Myrtis and Corinna [42], whoſe poetical productions had acquired unrivalled fame, not only in Thebes, but among all the neighbouring cities [43]. His firſt efforts for equalling their renown were diſplayed at the muſical conteſts celebrated in his native country; where, after conquering Myrtis, he was five times overcome by Corinna, who, if we may believe, however, the voice of ſcandal, owed her repeated victories, more to the charms of her beauty, than to the ſuperiority of her genius [44]. But in the four public aſſemblies of Greece, where females were not admitted to contend,

[41] Epici carminis onera lyra ſuſtinentem. Quint.

[42] Pauſanias, l. ix. c. xxii.

[43] Lucian. Ælian. Var. Hiſt.

[44] Pauſan. ibid.

Pindar

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Pindar carried off the prize from every competitor. The glory, in particular, which his poetry both acquired and beſtowed at Olympia, made the greateſt generals and ſtateſmen of the age court the friendſhip of his muſe. To the temples of the gods, and eſpecially to the celebrated temple of Delphi, his hymns and pœans drew an extraordinary concourſe of Greeks and ſtrangers. The prieſts, prophets, and other miniſters of Apollo, ſenſible of the benefits which they derived from his muſical fame, repaid the merit of his ſervices by erecting his ſtatue in the moſt conſpicuous part of the temple, and declared by their organ the Pythia, that Pindar ſhould be honoured with one half of the firſt-fruit offerings annually preſented by the devout retainers of the Delphian ſhrine[45]. Pindar was thus, during his lifetime, aſſociated to the honours of the gods; and after his death, his memory was adorned by every mark of reſpect that public admiration can beſtow. The beauty of the monument, erected to him by his fellow-citizens in the Hippodrome of Thebes, was admired after the revolution of ſix centuries[46]. At the Theoxenian feſtival, a portion of the ſacred victim was appropriated, even as late as the time of Plutarch, to the deſcendants of the poet. The inveterate hoſtility of the Spartans, when they deſtroyed the capital of their ancient and cruelleſt enemies, ſpared the houſe of Pindar, which was equally reſpected in a future age by the warlike and impetuous ſon of Philip, and the giddy triumph of his Macedonian captains[47].

Diviſion and nature of his works.

Pindar, we are told, acquired unrivalled fame by his hymns to Jupiter, his pœans to Apollo, and his dithyrambics to Bacchus. But as all theſe works have periſhed, as well as his love verſes, his elegies, and his parthenia[48], we are unfortunately obliged to confine our obſervations to the odes, which were rehearſed at the ſacred

[45] Pauſan. Phocic.
[46] Pauſan. Bœotic.
[47] Polyb. Hiſtor.
[48] Sung, as the word denotes, by a chorus of virgins.

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games, in praiſe of the conquerors in the gymnaſtic and equeſtrian conteſts. Theſe conquerors being perſons of the firſt diſtinction in Greece, the poet takes occaſion to celebrate the ſplendour of their paſt lives, the dignity of their character, the fame of their anceſtors, and the glory of their ſeveral republics The tutelary deities, to whom they owed their felicity, are not forgotten; and hence, by an eaſy tranſition, the poet paſſes to the worſhip of the god in whoſe honour the games were eſtabliſhed; to the adoration of the heroes who had appointed them; and to innumerable other epiſodes, which are often more intereſting and more beautiful than the original ſubject.

Such, moſt commonly, are the materials of the ode; and its form uſually conſiſted of three ſtanzas, of which the two firſt, being of an equal length, were either of them longer than the third. This arrangement was introduced as moſt ſuitable to the occaſion of the poem, as well as to the ſcene on which it was rehearſed. The occaſion was the ſolemn ſacrifice, accompanied by a public entertainment given to the ſpectators by the friends of the ſucceſsful candidate for Olympic fame. Grateful acknowledgments to the gods formed a principal part of the ceremony, which could not, without impiety, be omitted by the victor, who had obtained ſo honourable a prize through the aſſiſtance of his protecting divinity. On the altar of this divinity the ſacrifice was performed; and in his temple was ſung the panegyrical poem, containing the united praiſes of the beneficent god, and of his favoured votary. The chorus waited, as uſual, to begin the ſong, till preparations were made for the feaſt. They repeated the firſt ſtanza, properly called ſtrophé, while they gratefully danced, towards the right, round the well-repleniſhed altar; returning, in an oppoſite direction, to the place from which they ſet out, they recited the ſecond ſtanza, therefore called antiſtrophé; then ſtanding motionleſs before the altar, and, as it were, in the immediate

diate preſence of the divinity, with whoſe ſtatue it was adorned, they ſung the concluding ſtanza, with a richer exuberance, and more complicated variations, of melody [49]. The ode, therefore, was diſtinguiſhed from other pieces of poetry, not by being ſet to muſic [50] (for this was common to them all), but by being ſung by a chorus, who accompanied the various inflections of the voice with ſuitable attitudes and movements of the body.

His characteriſtic excellence.

The lyric poetry of the Greeks thus united the pleaſures of the ear, of the eye, and of the underſtanding. In the various nature of the entertainment conſiſted its eſſential merit and perfection; and he only could be entitled the prince of lyric poets, whoſe verſes happily conſpired with the general tendency of this complicated exhibition. By the univerſal conſent of antiquity, this poet is Pindar, whom, ever ſince the eulogium of Horace, critics have extolled for the brilliancy of his imagination, the figurative boldneſs of his diction, the fire, animation, and enthuſiaſm of his genius. The panegyrics, beſtowed on him, have generally more of the wildneſs of the ode, than of the coolneſs of criticiſm; ſo that the peculiar nature of his excellencies may ſtill deſerve to be explained. It will be allowed by every one who reads his works with attention, that Pindar is leſs diſtinguiſhed by the ſublimity of his thoughts and ſentiments, than by the grandeur of his language and expreſſion; and that his *inimitable* [51] excellence conſiſts in the energy, propriety, and magnificence of his ſtyle, which is admirably fitted to aſſociate with the lengthened tones of muſic, and the figured movements of the dance. The uniform cadence, the ſmooth volubility, and the light unimportance of ordinary compoſition, are extremely ill adapted to this aſſociation, which bringing every ſingle word into notice, and ſubjecting it to obſervation and remark, muſt expoſe its natural

[49] Marius Victorinus de Gram. and the Scholia on Hephæſtion.

[50] This error runs through the whole of the otherwiſe very ſenſible diſcourſe of Mr. Charbanon on lyric poetry, in the Memoires de l'Academie.

[51] Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet *æmulari*, &c.

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meanneſs, inſignificance, and poverty. But as much as the language of ordinary writers would loſe, that of Pindar would gain, by ſuch an examination. His words and phraſes are choſen with an habitual care, and poſſeſs a certain weight and dignity, which, the more they are contemplated, muſt be the more admired. It is this magnificence of diction, thoſe compound epithets, and thoſe glowing expreſſions (which the coldneſs of criticiſm has ſometimes condemned as extravagant) that form the tranſcendent merit of the Pindaric ſtyle, and diſtinguiſh it even more than the general flow of the verſification, which is commonly ſo natural, free, and unreſtrained, that it bears leſs reſemblance to poetry, than to a beautiful and harmonious proſe. It is not meant, however, that this great poet paid more attention to the choice, than to the arrangement, of words. The majeſty of the *compoſition* equalled, and in the opinion of a great critic, even ſurpaſſed the value of the materials. Dionyſius, the critic to whom I allude, has explained by what admirable refinements of art Pindar gave to his words a certain firmneſs and ſolidity of conſiſtence, ſeparated them at wide intervals, placed them on a broad baſe, and raiſed them to a lofty eminence, from which they darted thoſe irradiations of ſplendour that aſtoniſhed the moſt diſtant beholders.

But the moſt exalted fame cannot extend with equal facility to diſtance of time and diſtance of place. The poems of Pindar are now deprived of their accompaniments of muſic and dancing, by which they were formerly ennobled and adorned. They are now read in the retirement of the cloſet, without intereſt and without emotion. They were anciently ſung to large aſſemblies of men, who believed the religion which they deſcribed, knew the characters whom they celebrated, and felt the influence of that piety and patriotiſm which they were admirably calculated to uphold. Such paſſages as may appear moſt exceptionable in the cool moments of ſolitary ſtudy, would obtain the higheſt applauſe amidſt the joyous animation

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of ſocial triumph, when men are naturally diſpoſed to admire every happy boldneſs of expreſſion, and to behold, with unuſual rapture, thoſe lofty and dangerous flights which elevate the daring muſe of Pindar.

Phyſical effects of the public games.

In examining the effect of the games, as inſtitutions for bodily exerciſe and mental improvement, it is neceſſary to reflect, not only on the univerſality of their eſtabliſhment, but on the frequency of their repetition. Beſides the public ſolemnities already deſcribed, innumerable provincial feſtivals were celebrated in each particular republic. The Athenians employed near a third part of the year in ſuch amuſements; and if we may be allowed to conjecture, that thoſe communities which inſtituted moſt feſtivals, would moſt excel in the arts and exerciſes diſplayed in them, we may conclude, from the national deſignations of the Olympic victors, preſerved in ancient authors, that the number of the Athenian feſtivals was rivalled by that of ſeveral other ſtates.

For theſe warlike and elegant amuſements the youth were carefully trained by the diſcipline of the gymnaſia, in which they learned whatever can give ſtrength and agility to the limbs, eaſe and grace to the motions, force and beauty to the genius. Bodily ſtrength and agility were accompanied by health and vigour of conſtitution. Their athletic hardineſs bore, without inconvenience, the viciſſitudes of cold and heat. Even in the ſcorching warmth [52] of July (for that was the ſeaſon of the Olympic games), they received, bareheaded, the direct rays of the ſun. And the firm organization, acquired by perpetual exerciſe, counteracted that fatal propenſity to vicious indulgence, too natural to their voluptuous climate, and produced thoſe inimitable models of ſtrength and beauty, which are ſo deſervedly admired in the precious remains of Grecian ſtatuary.

They produced courage,

Theſe corporeal advantages were followed by a train of excellencies to which they are nearly allied. There is a courage depend-

[52] Lucian, Solon.

ing

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ing on nerves and blood, which was improved to the higheſt pitch among the Greeks. They delight, ſays Lucian[53], to behold the combats of bold and generous animals; and their own contentions are ſtill more animated. In the memorable war with Perſia, they ſhewed the ſuperiority of their national courage; and it is worthy of obſervation, that the moſt ſignal exploits were performed in the field of battle by thoſe who had been previouſly adorned with the Olympic crown. It was a general boaſt, that one Grecian could conquer ten Perſians[54]; and the ſuggeſtions of reaſon tend to confirm the evidence of hiſtory. In the battles of the Greeks and Perſians, victory was not obtained by the mechanical exertions of diſtant hoſtility. The conteſt was decided by the point of the ſword and ſpear. Theſe weapons require activity of the limbs, ſteadineſs of the eye, and dexterity of the hand. They improve the courage as well as the vigour of the ſoldier; and both were admirably promoted by the habitual exerciſes of the gymnaſia, which inſpired not only the ſpirit to undertake, but the ability to execute, the moſt dangerous and difficult enterpriſes.

and temperance.

The gymnaſtic arts encouraged other qualities ſtill more important than bodily accompliſhments and courage. Chiefly by *their* influence, the love of pleaſure and the love of action, the two moſt powerful principles in the human breaſt, were directed to purpoſes not only innocent but uſeful. The deſire of an Olympic crown reſtrained alike thoſe weakneſſes which form the diſgrace, and thoſe vices which form the guilt and miſery, of undiſciplined minds; and an object of earthly and periſhable ambition, led to the ſame external purity and temperance, that is recommended by the precepts, and enforced by the ſanctions, of a divine and immutable religion. The oil, the crown, the robes, and the palms, compoſe not the *only* reſemblance between the Chriſtian and the Olympic victors. Theſe viſible images have been borrowed, indeed, by the ſacred writers, to

[53] In Solon.

[54] Herodot. l. viii.

aſſiſt

assist our imperfect conception of divine truths[55]; but they have been borrowed from an institution which resembles Christianity, not in the honours and rewards which it proposed, but in the efforts and duties which it required. The ambition of honest fame[56] taught men to controul the appetites of the body by the affections of the soul; the springs of emulation repressed the allurements of sensuality; one dangerous passion combated another still more dangerous; and a train of useful prejudices supported the cause, and maintained the ascendant, of virtue.

Contempt for the modern notions concerning the point of honour.

Many of the peculiarities which distinguish the Greeks from the mass of ancient and modern nations, seem to have derived their origin from the same useful institutions; particularly the custom of going unarmed, and their perpetual contempt for the capricious notions concerning the point of honour. These unpolished republicans were accustomed, in the private gymnasias, as well as at the public entertainments, to inflict and to suffer the most provoking indignities. A barbarous Scythian, who witnessed a spectacle that seemed to him as shocking and intolerable as it would appear to a punctilious modern gentleman, declared to his Athenian conductor, that if any person should offer the same insults to him, which the Athenian youths were continually offering to each other, he would soon convince the assembly, that his sword was not an empty ornament of his person, but an useful guardian of his honour[57]. Such were the sentiments of the Scythian; and history proves, that such are the sentiments of all uncultivated minds. An untutored barbarian sets no bounds to his resentment. The smallest injury renders his anger implacable; his indignation against the offender is proportioned, not to the nature of *his* offence, but to his own pride, which is boundless. The slightest fault requires the severest atonement;

[55] 1 Corinth. 9th chapter, four last verses.

[56] Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metum,
Multa tulit fecitque puer sudavit & alsit.
Abstinuit vivere & vino.

[57] Lucian Anacharsis.

and

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and not only a blow, but a word, or a look, may inflict a ſtain on the delicacy of his ſuppoſed honour, which can only be waſhed out by the blood of the aggreſſor. The exceſſes of this ſanguinary temper, before they were corrected by the refinements of Grecian philoſophy, were repreſſed by the habitual practice of the gymnaſtic exerciſes. In the ſchools appropriated to the advancement of theſe uſeful arts, the Greeks learned the valuable leſſon of repelling injuries by others of a ſimilar kind, of proportioning the puniſhment to the offence, and of thus preventing a ſlight occaſion of animoſity from degenerating into a ſolid ground of revenge. If any citizen of thoſe warlike republics had worn armour in time of peace, he muſt have been regarded either as a madman or as an aſſaſſin; for to the chaſtiſed principles of Grecian diſcipline, it would have appeared altogether abſurd that the ſword or dagger ſhould be thought neceſſary to retaliate the reproaches of the tongue, or even the more daring inſults of the arm.

Emulation and rewards of the victors.

The entertainments of the public feſtivals thus tended to eradicate the wild exceſſes of reſentment, and to improve the mild and gentle virtues; but conſidered in another view, the ſame entertainments were calculated to promote ardour, emulation, friendſhip, patriotiſm, and all the animated principles and contentions of active life. The rewards beſtowed on the conquerors were the moſt flattering which in that age could be propoſed. Odes were ſung in their praiſe; ſtatues were erected to them on the ſcene of victory; the names of their parents and country were jointly celebrated with their own; they were entitled to the firſt ſeats at all public entertainments; maintained at the expence of their reſpective communities; and in their native cities, rewarded not only with monuments and inſcriptions, but ſometimes with altars and temples. Of theſe honours and rewards, the appropriated ſymbols were the olive, the pine, the parſley; and the laurel crowns; which were reſpectively diſtributed at the ſeveral ſolemnities of Olympia, the Iſthmus, Nemea,

mea, and Delphi. Obſerving the ſmall value of theſe badges of diſtinction, without adverting to the ſolid benefits which they conferred, the Perſian Tigranes would have diſſuaded his maſter from going to war with a people, who, inſenſible to intereſt, fought only for glory [58]. But had Tigranes been more completely informed concerning the inſtitutions of Greece, he would have underſtood, that both intereſt and glory operated moſt powerfully upon the candidates for Olympic fame, and not only their perſonal intereſts, but thoſe of their friends, their parents, and their country, who, being aſſociated to their honours, were regarded by them with that love and affection which men naturally feel for the objects of their protection and bounty.

Influence of the muſical and poetical conteſts.

In explaining the influence of the Grecian ſolemnities, we muſt not forget the muſical and poetical exhibitions, which, from being employed to reward the victors in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, came to be themſelves thought worthy of reward. The martial leſſons of Tyrtæus and Callinus admirably conſpired with the effects which have already been deſcribed, encouraging the firm and manly virtues both by the enthuſiaſm with which their precepts were conveyed, and by the lively impreſſions which they gave of thoſe objects for which it is important to contend. The courage depending on blood and nerves is uncertain and tranſitory in its exiſtence, and even while it exiſts, may be indifferently employed to purpoſes beneficial or deſtructive. It belonged to the martial bards to determine its doubtful nature, to fix and illuſtrate its genuine motives, and to direct it to the proper objects of its purſuit.

They infuſed a proper mixture of ſoftneſs and ſenſibility into the Grecian character.

The muſical entertainments thus ſtrengthened, refined, and exalted the manly principles inſpired by all the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of that warlike age. But as bravery is a hardy plant that grows in every ſoil, the moſt beneficial conſequence of the arts conſiſted in

[58] The word is αριστης in the original; but here means the reward of virtue. Vid. Herodot. l. viii. c. 26.

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infuſing a proper mixture of ſoftneſs and ſenſibility into the Grecian character. This is well known to be their effect in every country where they are allowed to flouriſh[59]. The Greeks, in a peculiar manner, required their aſſiſtance; nor could it have been poſſible for that people, without the happy influence of the arts, to controul the barbarity naturally occaſioned by their conſtant employment in war, the ſavage cruelty introduced by the practice of domeſtic ſervitude, and the intolerable ferocity which ſeems eſſentially inherent in the nature of democratical government. Amidſt theſe ſources of degeneracy and corruption, the time and application neceſſary to attain proficiency in the purſuits of genius, habituated the Greeks to gentle amuſements, and innocent pleaſures. The honours and rewards beſtowed on the ſucceſsful candidates for literary fame, engaged them to ſeek happineſs and glory in the peaceful ſhade of retirement, as well as on the contentious theatre of active life; and the obſervations and diſcoveries occaſionally ſuggeſted by the free communication of ſentiment, ſtrengthened and confirmed thoſe happy prejudices which combat on the ſide of virtue, and enforce the practice of ſuch rules of behaviour as are moſt uſeful and agreeable in ſociety.

Their effects on moral principle,

and on the intellectual powers,

If the muſical and literary entertainments acquired ſuch an happy influence over the moral diſpoſitions of the heart, they produced a ſtill more conſiderable effect on the intellectual faculties of the mind. It is almoſt impoſſible, in the preſent age, to conceive the full extent of their efficacy in improving the memory, animating the imagination and correcting the judgment. As to the memory, indeed, there is a period in the progreſs of ſociety preceding the introduction of writing, when the energies of this faculty have been exerted among many nations with a wonderful degree of force. Even among the barbarous Celtic inhabitants of our own iſland, the Druids could re-

[59] Ingenuas didiciſſe fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros. HORACE.

pea

peat an incredible number of verſes, containing the knowledge of their hiſtory, laws, and religion; and a period of twenty years was required to complete the poetical ſtudies of a candidate for the prieſthood [60].

prepared the Greeks for their high attainments in eloquence and philoſophy.

But if the Greeks were equalled by other nations in the exerciſe of the memory, they have always been unrivalled in the delicacy of their taſte, and the inimitable charms of their fancy. Theſe excellences, whether originally produced by natural or moral cauſes, or more probably by a combination of both, were, doubtleſs, extended and improved by emulation and habitual exerciſe. To this exerciſe the public ſolemnities afforded a proper field; and, in the conteſts of muſic and poetry, were diſplayed the opening bloſſoms of Grecian genius, bloſſoms which afterwards ripened into thoſe fruits of philoſophy and eloquence, that will form the admiration and delight of the laſt ages of the world.

[60] Cæſar, de bello Gallico, l. vi.

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State of the Grecian Colonies.—The Ionians flouriſh in Arts and Arms.—Their Wars with the Lydians.—The Aſiatic Greeks ſubdued by Crœſus.—Splendour of the Lydian Court.—Foundation of the Perſian Monarchy.—Cauſes of its rapid Grandeur—Which alarms Crœſus.—His Alliance with the Lacedæmonians.—He invades the Perſian Dominions.—Meaſures of his Allies.—Crœſus defeated by Cyrus.—End of the Lydian Monarchy.

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State of the Greek colonies in Europe and Africa. Olymp. xx. 1. A. C. 700.

ABOVE two thouſand years have elapſed ſince it was obſerved, to the honour of Europe, that a handful of Greeks, having eſtabliſhed themſelves in Aſia and Africa, continually maintained and extended their poſſeſſions in thoſe quarters of the world[1]. Wherever the ſpirit of enterpriſe diffuſed their ſettlements, they perceived, it is ſaid, on the ſlighteſt compariſon, the ſuperiority of their own religion, language, inſtitutions, and manners; and the dignity of their character and ſentiments eminently diſtinguiſhed them from the general maſs of nations whoſe territories they invaded, and whom they juſtly denominated Barbarians[2]. Yet theſe honourable advantages, inſtead of conciliating good-will, tended only to exaſperate hoſtility. The northern Greeks were perpetually haraſſed by the fierce inroads of the Thracians: the ſouthern were endangered by the united ſtrength of Egypt and Lybia. The colonies in Magna

[1] Hippocrat. vol. i. p. 350. Edit. Lugdun. 1763.

[2] Iſocrat. Panegyr. paſſim.

Græcia,

Græcia, having eaſily reſiſted the rude, though warlike natives of that country, were called to contend with the more formidable power of Carthage. But the conſequences of all theſe wars, which ſhall be deſcribed in due time, extended not beyond the countries in which they firſt aroſe. The memorable conflict between the Greek colonies in the eaſt, and the great nations of Aſia, forms a ſubject more vaſt and more intereſting. Not confined to the extremities, it reached and ſhook the centre of Greece. It recoiled with more deſtructive violence on Perſia; its duration comprehends the moſt illuſtrious period in the hiſtory of both countries; and its extent embraces all the great nations of antiquity, together with the ſcattered communities of Grecian extraction in every part of the world.

State of the Greek colonies in Aſia.

In the third century after their eſtabliſhment in the eaſt, and above ſeven hundred years before the Chriſtian æra, the Greeks of Aſia, and particularly the Ionians, far ſurpaſſed their European anceſtors in ſplendor and proſperity [3]. While ancient Greece was haraſſed by inteſtine diſſentions, and its northern frontier expoſed to the hoſtility of neighbouring Barbarians, the eaſtern colonies enjoyed profound peace, and flouriſhed in the vicinity of Phrygia and Lydia, the beſt cultivated and moſt wealthy provinces of Lower Aſia [4], and perhaps of the ancient world. Hiſtory and poetry alike extol the golden treaſures of the Phrygian and Lydian kings [5]. Their ſubjects wrought mines of gold, melted the ore, moulded figures in bronze, dyed wool, cultivated muſic, enjoyed the amuſements of leiſure, and indulged the demands of luxury [6], when the neighbouring countries of Cappadocia and Armenia remained equally ignorant of laws and arts, and when the Medes and Perſians, deſtined ſucceſſively to obtain the empire of Aſia, lived in ſcattered villages, ſubſiſted by hunting, paſturage, or robbery, and were clothed with the ſkins of wild beaſts [7].

[3] Herodot. paſſim. Plin. l. v. & Senec. ad Helv.

[4] Strabo, l. xii. & l. xiii.

[5] Idem. p. 628 & 621. Edit. Paris.

[6] Herodot. l. i. c. xcliv. Plin. l. vi. c. lvi.

[7] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

Yet

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They engroſs the commerce of Lydia. Phrygia, and Egypt.

Yet the Lydians and Phrygians, ſatisfied with their domeſtic advantages, ſeem never to have directed their attention towards foreign commerce [8]. When the voluptuouſneſs or oſtentation of their kings and nobility made them covet the conveniencies and luxuries of diſtant countries, they were contented to owe theſe new gratifications, firſt to the Phœnician merchants, and afterwards to the Greek ſettlements eſtabliſhed on their coaſts. Through the ſupine neglect of their neighbours, reſpecting maritime affairs, the Aſiatic Greeks acquired without conteſt, and enjoyed without moleſtation, beſides ſeveral valuable iſlands, the whole weſtern coaſt of the continent, extending, in a waving line, above ſix hundred miles in length, beautifully diverſified by hill and dale, interſected by rivers, broken by bays and promontories, and adorned by the nobleſt proſpects and fineſt climate in the world. The face of that delightful country will be more particularly deſcribed, when it becomes the unhappy ſcene of military operations. It is ſufficient at preſent to obſerve, that its Ionian inhabitants, poſſeſſing the mouths of great rivers, having convenient and capacious harbours before them, and behind, the wealthy and populous nations of Aſia, whoſe commerce they enjoyed and engroſſed, attained ſuch early and rapid proficiency in the arts of navigation and traffic, as raiſed the cities of Miletus [9], Colophon [10], and Phocæa [11], to an extraordinary pitch of opulence and grandeur. Their population increaſing with their proſperity, they diffuſed new colonies every where around them. Having obtained

[8] The Lydians and Phrygians are mentioned, in Caſtor's Epochs, among the ſeventeen nations, who, according to that careleſs and ignorant compiler, ſucceſſively became maſters of the Mediterranean ſea; but the extravagant dreams of this fabulous writer are at variance with the whole tenor of ancient hiſtory. It is extraordinary that thoſe who ever looked into Herodotus ſhould pay any regard to the unwarranted aſſertions of Caſtor; yet this fabuliſt has been generally followed by modern chronologers and compilers. See BLAIR's Tables, &c.

[9] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 523. Comparing their ancient and actual ſtate, the Greek proverb ſaid, Παλαι ποτε ησαν αλκιμοι Μιλησιοι: Once, but long ago, the Mileſians were powerful.

[10] Athen. l. xiv. p. 643.

[11] Strabo, p. 582 & p. 647. Herodot. l. iv. c. clii.

footing

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footing in Egypt[12], in the eighth century before Chriſt, they acquired, and thenceforth preſerved, the excluſive commerce of that ancient and powerful kingdom. Their territories, though in their greateſt breadth compreſſed between the ſea and the dominions of Lydia to the extent of ſcarce forty miles, became not only flouriſhing in peace, but formidable in war[13]; and bore ſomething of a ſimilar relation to the powerful kingdoms of Egypt, Lydia, and Aſſyria, which had hitherto ſwayed the politics of the ancient world, that the ſmall but induſtrious republics of Italy had to the reſt of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; or, to deſcribe their condition ſtill more exactly, that the Netherlands, three hundred years ago, had to the extenſive countries of France, England, and Germany.

Improved the arts which they had learned in thoſe countries.

Such multiplied advantages could not languiſh in the hands of men, who, as we ſhall ſoon learn from their hiſtory, had genius to conceive, and courage to execute, the moſt arduous deſigns. With the utmoſt induſtry and perſeverance they improved and ennobled the uſeful or elegant arts, which they found already practiſed among the Phrygians and Lydians. They incorporated the muſic of thoſe nations with their own. Their poetry, as above deſcribed, far excelled whatever Pagan antiquity could boaſt moſt precious[14]. They rivalled the ſkill of their neighbours in moulding clay, and caſting braſs. They appear to have been the firſt people who made ſtatues of marble. The Doric and Ionic orders of architecture perpetuate, in their names, the honour of their inventors. Painting was firſt reduced to rule, and practiſed with ſucceſs among the Greeks; and we may be aſſured that, during the ſeventh century before Chriſt, the Ionians ſurpaſſed all their neighbours, and even the Phœnicians, in the arts of deſign, ſince the magnificent preſents which the far-famed oracle of Delphi received from the oſtentation or piety of the Lydian kings, were chiefly the productions of

Invent others peculiar to themſelves.

[12] Herodot. l. ii. c. cxxxii.
[13] Idem. ibid. & Ariſtot. de Civitat. l. iv. c. iv.
[14] See Chap. vi.

Ionian

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Ionian [15] artiſts. In the following century Ionia gave birth to philoſophy; and we ſhall have occaſion to explain hereafter by what means both ſcience and taſte were diffuſed from that country over Greece, Italy, and Sicily. But our preſent ſubject recals us from the hiſtory of arts to that of arms.

Incurſion of the Cimmerians.

The firſt formidable enemies with whom the Aſiatic Greeks had to contend, were the barbarous Cimmerians [16], who, being driven from the banks of the Euxine, by a Scythian horde ſtill fiercer than themſelves, overflowed, with irreſiſtible violence, the fineſt provinces of Aſia Minor. But the invaſion of the Cimmerians is deſcribed as a predatory [17] incurſion, not as a regular plan of enterpriſe directed to the purpoſes of conqueſt and ſettlement. The hurricane ſoon ſpent its force; the Greeks recovered from the terror inſpired by theſe deſultory ravagers, and, within a few years after their departure, the Ionian and Eolian colonies, who ſeem to have carried their ancient enmity into their new acquiſitions, totally forgot their recent and common danger, and engaged in cruel domeſtic wars.

Domeſtic diſſentions interrupted by the growth of the Lydian power.

Theſe unnatural diſſentions were quieted by the growing power of the Lydians, which extending itſelf on all ſides, finally reduced the greateſt part of Leſſer Aſia, a country once affording the materials of many rich and flouriſhing kingdoms, but now reduced to beggary and barbariſm under the oppreſſive yoke of Turkiſh tyranny. The territory of Lydia, which extended its name with its authority, from the river Halys to the Ægean, and from the weſtern ſhore of the Euxine, to the northern coaſt of the Mediterranean, was anciently confined to that delightful diſtrict ſituate at the back of Ionia, watered on the north by the river Pactolus, famous for the

[15] Herodot. l. i.

[16] Strabo, p. 292, ſays, that the Cimmerians were called Cimbri by the Romans. He ſpeaks frequently of them, particularly p. 108. 193. 292. 494. Their impetuous and deſtructive incurſions are well expreſſed by the elegiac poet Callinus, cited in Strabo, p. 648.

Νυν δ' επι Κιμμεριων τρατος ιεχιται ομβιμοιργων.

[17] Ου καταστροφη ιγινιτο των πολιων αλλα ιξ επιδρομης ἁρπαγη. HERODOT.

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golden particles[18] intermixed with its ſand, and on the ſouth by Cayſter, whoſe banks, frequented by ſwans, have afforded one of the moſt beautiful compariſons in the Iliad[19]. The kingdom of Lydia was anciently ſubject to a race of princes[20], ſtyled Atyatidæ, from the heroic Atys, the great founder of their houſe. To the family of Atys ſucceeded that of Hercules, which had obtained the government before the war of Troy, and continued to reign five hundred and five years, till their honours expired in the unhappy Candaules. The ſtory of Candaules, of his beautiful wife, and of his fortunate ſervant, has been adorned by the father of hiſtory with the inimitable charms of his Ionic fancy. The vain, credulous prince, injudiciouſly diſplaying the beauty, offended the modeſty, of his injured ſpouſe. Gyges[21], the moſt favoured of her huſband's attendants, to whom his weak maſter had proſtituted the ſight of her naked charms, was involuntarily employed as the inſtrument of her reſentment. As a reward for taking away the life of Candaules, he was honoured with the hand of the queen, and from the rank of captain of the guards, advanced to the throne of Lydia. Olymp. xv. 3. A. C. 718.

This revolution, which happened ſeven hundred and eighteen years before Chriſt, was felt by the neighbouring nations, who ſoon diſcovered in the enterpriſing character of Gyges, the difference between adventurers who acquire, and princes who inherit, a crown. The Ionian cities of Aſia offered a tempting prize to the valour of Gyges, and the valuable mines[22] diſcovered between the cities Atarneus and Pergamos, as well as the gold obtained from the river Gyges makes war on the Ionians.

[18] They were waſhed down from Mount Tmolus, the gold of which was exhauſted in the time of Strabo. Vid. Strab. l. xiii.

[19] Καυστριω αμφι ρειθρα, &c. Iliad ii. ver. 460. and Pope, ver. 540.

[20] Herodotus, l. i. throughout, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, l. i. c. 27. & ſeq. furniſh the principal materials for the hiſtory of Lydia.

[21] Herodotus was unacquainted with the wonderful ſtory of Gyges's ring, which had the power of rendering him inviſible; by means of which he was enabled to kill his maſter, and uſurp his throne. Plato, l. ii. de Repub.

[22] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 625.

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Takes Colophon. Olymp. xxv. 1. A. C. 680.

Pactolus [23], enabled him to hire ſuch a number of troops as ſeemed neceſſary to accompliſh his ambitious deſigns. The citizens of Miletus and Smyrna were haraſſed by a long war; but of all the Ionic ſettlements, Colophon alone ſubmitted to his arms.

The war continued by his ſucceſſors. Olymp. xl. 2. A. C. 619.

Ardys his ſucceſſor, following the military example of Gyges, ſtormed the city Priené, and invaded the territories of the Mileſians. He tranſmitted his enmity againſt that people to his ſon Sadyattes, from whom it deſcended to his more warlike grandſon. Alyattes, grandſon of Ardys, annually invaded the country of Miletus, cut down the trees, burnt the ſtanding corn, ravaged and deſolated the whole territory. The houſes he allowed to remain entire, that the Mileſians, guided by the ordinary attachment which binds men to their ancient habitations, might return thither after his departure, and again apply to the ſowing and cultivation of the ground, the fruits of which he was determined next harveſt to deſtroy. In this manner he continued, during eleven years, to haraſs, but was unable to conquer, the Mileſians. The inhabitants of the country retired at his approach, and ſhut themſelves up in their capital, the walls of which bid defiance to his aſſaults; nor was it poſſible to reduce by blockade a city that had long been, and ſtill continued, miſtreſs of the ſea. But Alyattes perſiſted in diſtreſſing thoſe whom it ſeemed impoſſible to ſubdue; and he was carrying on his twelfth autumnal incurſion with fire and ſword, when an unforeſeen accident occaſioned a ſpeedy termination of the war.

An unforeſeen event puts an end to the war. Olymp. xliii. 2. A. C. 607.

The beautiful territory of Miletus was, according to annual cuſtom, thrown into a blaze, and the flames of the ſtanding corn, impelled by the violence of the wind, communicated with the temple of Aſſeſian Minerva. That ſacred edifice was burnt to the ground. Alyattes, who was attended on his march by pipes, harps, and flutes, adapted to the voice both of men and of women, did not immediately

[23] Strabo, p. 680. The wealth of Gyges was proverbial in the time of Anacreon.

Ου μοι μελει Γυγαιο
Του Σαρδιων ανακτος, &c.

conſider,

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conſider, amidſt the noiſe of feſtivity, and the parade of military triumph, the fatal conſequences of this enormous impiety. But ſickening ſoon after at Sardis, he had leiſure, during the quiet and ſolitude of his diſtemper, to reflect on the horror of his crime; and prying into futurity with that anxious ſolicitude which is the uſual attendant of guilt, he diſpatched meſſengers to the temple of Delphi, to conſult the Grecian god concerning the means of mitigating the diſtreſs of his preſent ſtate of mind. Apollo refuſed giving an anſwer to his petition, until he had rebuilt the temple of Minerva. The Lydian prepared to comply with this condition, and immediately ſent ambaſſadors to Miletus, to propoſe a ſuſpenſion of arms, until the great work ſhould be completed. That city was then governed by Thraſybulus, who, by one of thoſe revolutions not unfrequent in the Grecian republics, had attained the rank of tyrant [24], as it was then called, in a ſtate uſually governed as a democratical community. Similarity of views and diſpoſitions had introduced a friendly connection between Thraſybulus and the celebrated Periander of Corinth; who was no ſooner acquainted with the advice of Apollo, than he ſent immediate intimation of it to the Mileſian prince, counſelling him at the ſame time to avail himſelf of the preſent conjuncture to promote the intereſt of his country. In compliance with this advice, Thraſybulus employed an expedient equally ſingular and ſucceſsful. When the Lydian ambaſſadors arrived at Miletus, they expected to behold a city in diſtreſs, not only deſtitute of the accommodations and luxuries, but ill provided in the chief neceſſaries of life. But their ſurpriſe was extreme, to obſerve vaſt magazines of corn open to public view, to perceive an extraordinary

[24] In the ſtrict ſenſe, τυραννος means him who has acquired ſovereignty in a free republic. The word has no relation to the abuſe of power, as in the modern acceptation. Thraſybulus of Miletus, Periander of Corinth, Piſiſtratus of Athens, Polycrates of Samos, Alexander of Pheræ, and Dionyſius of Syracuſe, were all called τυραννοι, though their characters were as widely different as thoſe of Titus and Domitian, the extremes of virtue and vice.

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abundance of all the other fruits of the ground; and to behold the inhabitants revelling in fulneſs and feſtivity, as if their country had never ſuffered the cruel ravages of an invader. This appearance of eaſe and plenty was exhibited by the contrivance of Thraſybulus, by whoſe command the corn and other proviſions had been carried from the private magazines into the ſtreet, that the Lydians, returning to Sardis, the uſual reſidence of their prince, might acquaint him with the proſperous condition of a people, whom it had been the great object of his reign to afflict and to annoy. Alyattes was much affected by the intelligence, and at length conſented to a peace with the Mileſians on honourable terms. To compenſate for his paſt injuries and impiety, he promiſed to dedicate to Minerva two new edifices, the magnificence of which ſhould far eclipſe the ſplendour of her ancient temple. The promiſe was performed, the new temples were conſecrated, Alyattes recovered from his diſtemper, and peace ſubſiſted for a ſhort time between the two nations.

Happy reign of Alyattes.

The long reign of Alyattes, which, if we may credit the doubtful evidence of ancient authors in matters of chronology, laſted fifty-two years after the treaty with Miletus, was not chequered with any great variety of fortune. He conquered, indeed, the city, and ſmall territory of Smyrna, a Grecian ſettlement then in its infancy, but which was deſtined afterwards to become, by its happy ſituation for commerce, the moſt wealthy and populous eſtabliſhment in thoſe parts, and to be ſtyled, in the pompous language of inſcription, the ornament of Ionia, the firſt and chief city of the Aſiatic coaſt [25]. His arms were equally ſucceſsful in repelling the deſtructive invaſions of the Scythian hordes, who ravaged the northern parts of his dominions, and in reſiſting the dangerous ambition of the Medes, the moſt powerful nation of Upper Aſia. Satisfied with theſe advantages, Alyattes became unwilling to commit his future fortune to the viciſſitudes of war. Fixed in this purpoſe, he ſpent

[25] Marm. Oxon.

his

his remaining days amidſt the happineſs of his wealth and grandeur, in contemplating the various ſtages of his proſperity, in liſtening to the flattery of his courtiers, in receiving the grateful homage of his ſubjects, and in enjoying that pomp and pleaſure which uſually ſurround an eaſtern throne. CHAP. VII.

This fortunate prince was ſucceeded, five hundred and ſixty-two years before Chriſt, by his ſon Crœſus, whoſe uninterrupted proſperity, in the firſt years of his reign, far eclipſed the glory of all his predeceſſors. But the ſplendour of Crœſus was that of a paſſing meteor, which dazzles for a while, and diſappears for ever. Of all the kings of Lydia, he was the greateſt conqueror, but he was alſo the laſt king of that country [26], as well as the laſt prince of his family. Under various unjuſt pretences he attacked the Grecian cities of Aſia Minor, which being undiſturbed by foreign war, had unfortunately engaged in domeſtic diſſentions. While jealouſy hindered the Greeks, ignorance prevented the barbarians, from forming a confederacy ſufficient to reſiſt the Lydian power. The Carians, Myſians, and Phrygians, fighting ſingly, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; and the whole peninſula of Leſſer Aſia (excepting only the little territory of the Lycians and Cilicians), extending eaſtward as far as the river Halys, and inhabited by three nations of Grecian, and eleven of barbarian extraction [27], finally acknowledged the power of Crœſus, and tamely received his commands.

The war renewed by Crœſus; Olymp. liv. 3. A. C. 562.

who ſubdues the Aſiatic Greeks, as well as the neighbouring nations.

Having met with ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs by land, the Lydian prince determined to render his power equally conſpicuous by ſea. For this purpoſe, he thought ſeriouſly of equipping a fleet, with which he purpoſed to invade and conquer the Grecian iſlands directly fronting his dominions. But this deſign, which, conſidering the ſlow progreſs in maritime power among the nations moſt di-

He is diverted from his deſign of raiſing a naval power.

[26] Lydia deſcended to the rank of a province, as will appear below.

[27] The Phrygians, Myſians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Lydians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Bithynians, Carians, and Pamphylians.

ligent

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ligent to attain it, would probably have failed of ſucceſs, was prevented by the advice of a philoſophical traveller, conveyed in ſuch a lively turn of wit, as eaſily changed the reſolution of the king. Bias of Priené, in Ionia, ſome ſay Pittacus of Mitylene, in the iſle of Leſbos, while he travelled, after the Grecian cuſtom, from curioſity and a love of knowledge, was preſented to Crœſus at the Lydian court; and being aſked by that prince, what news from Greece? he anſwered with a republican freedom, that the iſlanders had collected powerful ſquadrons of cavalry, with an intention of invading Lydia. "May the gods grant," ſaid Crœſus, "that the "Greeks, who are unacquainted with horſemanſhip, ſhould attack "the diſciplined valour of the Lydian cavalry; there would ſoon be "an end to the conteſt." "In the ſame manner," replied Bias, "as "if the Lydians, who are totally unexperienced in naval affairs, "ſhould invade the Grecians by ſea." Struck by the acuteneſs of this unexpected obſervation, Crœſus deſiſted from his intended expedition againſt the iſlands; and inſtead of employing new means for extending his conqueſts, determined peaceably to enjoy the laurels which he had won, and to diſplay the grandeur which he had attained:

The ſplendour of Crœſus' court.

His court was the gayeſt and moſt ſplendid of any in that age; and the Aſiatic Greeks, whatever diſhonour they incurred, ſuſtained not, perhaps, any real loſs by their eaſy ſubmiſſion to a vain and weak man, but a magnificent and liberal prince[28], who was extremely partial to their country. They acknowledged the conqueror, indeed, by a very moderate tribute, but they enjoyed their ancient laws, and adminiſtered without controul their domeſtic concerns and government[29]. Crœſus ſpoke their language, encouraged their

[28] Such is the character which reſults from conſidering the conduct of Crœſus. The tranſactions of his reign will not warrant our adopting the admirable panegyric of him by Pindar (Pyth. i.).

Ου φθονι Κροισου φιλοφρων αρετα, &c.

He was taught wiſdom late, and only by adverſity.

[29] Herodot.

arts,

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Condition of the Aſiatic Greeks under his government.

arts, admired their poets and *ſophiſts*. Ionia, perhaps, was [30] never more happy than under the eye of this indulgent maſter, whoſe protection nouriſhed the tender ſhoot of philoſophy, which had begun to ſpring up ſhortly before his reign. Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priené, Cleobulus of Lindus, and the other wiſe men, as they are emphatically ſtyled, who lived in that age, not only gave advice and aſſiſtance to their countrymen in particular emergencies, but reſtrained their vices by wholeſome laws, improved their manners by uſeful leſſons of morality, and extended their knowledge by important and difficult diſcoveries. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to conſider more fully the improvements made by thoſe ancient ſages, who are ſaid to have maintained a correſpondence with each other, as well as with Chilon of Sparta, Periander of Corinth, and Solon of Athens, men who acquired ſuch reputation by their practical wiſdom, as rendered them the oracles of their reſpective countries. Moſt of theſe, as well as Æſop the fabuliſt, and the elegant Greek poets of the times, were bountifully received at the court of Crœſus. There is ſtill on record a memorable converſation between that prince and Solon, which ſeemed to predict the ſubſequent events of his reign, and which had a late, but important influence on the character and fortune of the Lydian king.

His converſation with Solon.

Crœſus having entertained his Athenian gueſt, according to the ancient faſhion, for ſeveral days, before he aſked him any queſtions, oſtentatiouſly ſhowed him the magnificence of his palace, and particularly the riches of his treaſury. After all had been diſplayed to the beſt advantage, the king complimented Solon upon his curioſity and love of knowledge; and aſked him, as a man who had ſeen many countries, and reflected with much judgment upon what he had ſeen, whom of all men he eſteemed moſt happy? By the particular occaſion, as well as the triumphant air with which the queſtion was propoſed, the king made it evident that he expected

[30] Thucydid.

flattery

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flattery rather than information. But Solon's character had not been enervated by the debilitating air of a court, and he replied with a manly freedom, "Tellus, the Athenian." Crœsus, who had ſcarcely learned to diſtinguiſh, even in imagination, between wealth and happineſs, enquired with a tone of ſurpriſe, why this preference to Tellus? "Tellus," rejoined Solon, "was not conſpicuous for his riches, or his grandeur, being only a ſimple citizen of Athens; but he was deſcended from parents who deſerved the firſt honours of the republic. He was equally fortunate in his children, who obtained univerſal eſteem by their probity, patriotiſm, and every uſeful quality of the mind or body; and as to himſelf, he died fighting gallantly in the ſervice of his country, which his valour rendered victorious in a doubtful combat; on which account the Athenians buried him on the ſpot where he fell, and diſtinguiſhed him by every honour which public gratitude can confer on illuſtrious merit."

Crœsus had little encouragement, after this anſwer, to aſk Solon, in the ſecond place, whom, next to Tellus, he deemed moſt happy? Such, however, is the illuſion of vanity, that he ſtill ventured to make this demand, and ſtill, as we are informed by the moſt circumſtantial of hiſtorians, entertained hopes of being favourably anſwered. But Solon replied with the ſame freedom as before, "The brothers Cleobis and Biton; two youths of Argos, whoſe ſtrength and addreſs were crowned with repeated victory at the Olympic games; who deſerved the affection of their parents, the gratitude of their country, the admiration of Greece; and who having ended their lives with peculiar felicity [30], were commemorated by the moſt ſignal monuments of immortal fame." "And is the happineſs of a king, then," ſaid Crœsus, "ſo little regarded, O Grecian ſtranger! that you prefer to it the mean condition of an Athenian or Argive citizen?" The reply of Solon ſufficiently juſtified his reputation for wiſdom. "The life of man," ſaid he, "conſiſts of

[30] Ειλιντη τη Σω αριστη επιγινετο. Herodot. l. i. c. 31.

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ſeventy years, which make twenty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty days; an immenſe number, yet in the longeſt life, the events of any one day will not be found exactly alike to thoſe of another. The affairs of men are liable to perpetual viciſſitudes; the Divinity who preſides over our fate, is envious of too much proſperity; and all human life, if not condemned to calamity, is at leaſt liable to accident [31]. Whoever has uninterruptedly enjoyed a proſperous tide of ſucceſs may juſtly be called fortunate; but he cannot before his death be entitled to the epithet of happy."

Crœſus affected by the loſs of his ſon Atys.

The events which ſoon followed this converſation, prove how little ſatisfaction is derived from the poſſeſſion of a throne. Victorious in war, unrivalled in wealth, ſupreme in power, Crœſus felt and acknowledged his unhappineſs. The warmeſt affections of his ſoul centered in his ſon Atys, a youth of the moſt promiſing hopes, who had often fought and conquered by his ſide. The ſtrength of his attachment was accompanied with an exceſs of paternal care, and the anxiety of his waking hours diſturbed the tranquillity of his reſt. He dreamt that his beloved ſon was ſlain by a dart; and the ſolicitude with which he watched his ſafety, preventing the youth from his uſual occupations and amuſements, and thereby rendering him too eager to enjoy them, moſt probably expoſed him to the much-dreaded misfortune. Reluctantly permitted to engage in a party of hunting, the juvenile ardour of Atys, encreaſed by the impatience of long reſtraint, made him neglect the precautions neceſſary in that manly amuſement. He was ſlain by a dart, aimed at a wild boar of monſtrous ſize, which had long ſpread terror over the country of the Myſians. The weapon came from the hand of Adraſtus, a Phrygian prince and fugitive, whom Crœſus had purified from the involuntary guilt of a brother's blood, and long diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of bounty. To the grateful protection of the Phrygian, Crœſus re-

[31] Ὀυτω ων ω Κροισε πας τις ολβιοτης συμφορη. The laſt word is improperly explained in all the tranſlations that I have met with.

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commended, at parting, the ſafety of his beloved ſon. A mournful proceſſion of Lydians brought to Sardis the dead body of Atys. The ill-fated murderer followed behind. When they approached the royal preſence, Adraſtus ſtepped forward, and intreated Crœſus to put him to death; thinking life no longer to be endured after killing, firſt his own brother, and then the ſon of his benefactor. But the Lydian king, notwithſtanding the exceſs of his affliction, acknowledged the innocence of Adraſtus, and the power of fate. "Stranger, your "action is blameleſs, being committed without deſign. I know "that my ſon was deſtined to a premature death." Adraſtus, though pardoned by Crœſus, could not pardon himſelf. When the mourners were removed, he privately returned, and periſhed by his own hand on the tomb of Atys.

Rouſed from his inactivity by the growing power of Perſia.

Two years Crœſus remained diſconſolate for the loſs of his ſon, and might have continued to indulge his unavailing affliction during the whole courſe of his life, had not the growing greatneſs of Perſia, which threatened the ſafety of his dominions, rouſed him from his dream of miſery. That country was anciently confined to a ſmall part of the immenſe region at preſent known by the Perſian name. Its inhabitants had recently become formidable, and, in the courſe of a few years, under the elder Cyrus, they extended their name and conqueſts over Upper Aſia, overturned the power of Crœſus, enſlaved the Greeks of Aſia Minor, and, for the firſt time, threatened Europe with the terrors of Aſiatic deſpotiſm. This memorable revolution deſerves not only to be examined in its conſequences, but traced to its ſource, becauſe the Grecian wars and tranſactions, during the ſpace of above two centuries, with the Perſian empire, form an important object of attention in the preſent hiſtory.

The revolutions in Upper Aſia, till the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire.

The firſt Aſſyrian monarchy extended its dominion in Upper Aſia, from the northern deſerts of Scythia, to the Southern or Indian Ocean. On the weſt it was ſeparated by the river Halys from the dominions of Lydia. The river Indus formed its eaſtern boundary.

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The conquerors of the eaſt have aſſumed, in all ages, the title of King of Kings; a title expreſſive of the nature, as well as of the greatneſs of their power. The various provinces which they conquered, though acknowledging their univerſal dependence on the emperor, were yet ſubject to their particular princes, who, while they paid their appointed tribute during peace, and furniſhed their contingent of troops in time of war, were permitted, in their ancient territories, to retain the power, and to diſplay the pomp, of royalty. This ſyſtem of government is more favourable to the extent than to the permanence of empire. The different members of this unwieldy body were ſo feebly connected with each other, that to ſecure their united ſubmiſſion required almoſt as much genius as to atchieve their conqueſt. When the ſpirit which animated the immenſe maſs was withdrawn, the different parts fell aſunder; revolutions were no leſs rapid than frequent; and, by one of thoſe events familiar in the hiſtory of the Eaſt, the warlike ſceptre of Ninus and Semiramis was wreſted from the effeminate hands of Sardanapulus. In the year ſeven hundred and forty-ſix before Chriſt, the provincial governors of Babylonia and Media, diſdaining to receive orders from this enervated ſhadow of their ancient lords, rejected his contemptible authority, and eſtabliſhed two new dynaſties, which, having governed Aſia for two centuries, were again reunited by the fortunate valour of Cyrus.

Extraction of Cyrus.

This extraordinary man, who raiſed the Perſian glory on the ruins of the Medes and Babylonians, was the ſon of Cambyſes, the tributary prince of Perſia: on the mother's ſide he derived a more honourable deſcent from Mandana, daughter of Aſtyages, the ſupreme lord of Media, and many kingdoms of the Eaſt. The powerful monarchy erected by Cyrus was diſtinguiſhed by the name of his native province, as the preceding empires had been denominated after the provinces of their reſpective conquerors, although all of them, comprehending the ſame nations, were bounded by nearly the

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ſame limits, Cyrus alone having extended his empire to the Grecian ſea.

Deſcription of Perſia.

The territory of Perſia, to the name of which we allude, is ſituated on the ſouthern frontiers of Media, and reaches to the Perſian gulph. The mountainous nature of the country renders it improper for cavalry, but it formerly produced a bold and hardy race of men, who, uncorrupted by the effeminacy of the Aſiatic plains, required only the directing genius of a commander to conduct them to war and victory. Such a commander they found in Cyrus, whoſe mind, burſting through the ſhackles impoſed on virtues and abilities by the manners and climate of the Eaſt[32], extended the name and conqueſts of Perſia from the Tigris to the Indus, and from the Caſpian Sea to the Ocean; a name which, after the revolution of ſo many ages and empires, is ſtill retained by that ſpacious region of the earth.

The early inſtitutions of that country embelliſhed by ancient hiſtorians.

As it is natural to account, by extraordinary cauſes, for extraordinary events, hiſtorians have aſcribed inſtitutions and cuſtoms to the Perſians worthy of rendering them the maſters of the world. The philoſophical Xenophon, embelliſhing and diſguiſing with wonderful art the moſt admired, and the moſt admirable, branches of Grecian diſcipline, has beſtowed them with too laviſh a generoſity on the founders of a nation, who became the unrelenting enemies of his country. But, notwithſtanding all the refinements of his ingenious and well cultivated invention, it is not impoſſible to ſee through the thick artifice of the diſguiſe; and, as truth only is conſiſtent, we may diſcern very material contradictions in the only remaining accounts of the ancient manners of the Perſians.

Their early education conſiſted, if we may credit both Xenophon and Herodotus, in learning to manage the horſe, to ſhoot with the bow, and to ſpeak truth. Yet it is neceſſary to obſerve that the firſt of thoſe arts, how well ſoever it might be underſtood in later times

[32] See his panegyric in Xenophon's Cyropædia, and in Æſchylus's Perſæ.

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by the Perſian nobility, muſt have been very little known to their anceſtors in the time of Cyrus. The craggy mountains which they inhabited were unfavourable to the rearing of horſes, and the poverty of their circumſtances was ill adapted to maintain them. While all the other nations of Upper Aſia, except the Scythians, fought on horſeback, the Perſian armies were compoſed chiefly of infantry: and when it is conſidered, that the Grecians under Alexander, the Romans under the republic, as well as the northern barbarians who over-ran and ſubdued the countries of the eaſt and weſt, became maſters of the world chiefly through the firm intrepidity of their infantry, there is reaſon to aſſign, as the main cauſe of the Perſian conqueſts, not their acquaintance with horſemanſhip, but rather their ignorance of that art, which obliged them to employ the determined valour of foot ſoldiers againſt the deſultory aſſaults of horſemen. The Perſians were commonly armed with ſwords and lances, inſtead of bows and darts, the uſual weapons of the people of Aſia. This diſtinction was occaſioned by their want of cavalry. While their neighbours, truſting to the mettle and ſwiftneſs of their ſteeds, employed the harmleſs efforts of diſtant hoſtility, the Perſians fought hand to hand, each man buckling cloſely to his foe. If defeated, they had no means of eſcape; but it was not to be expected that, practiſing ſuch a ſuperior ſtyle of war, under the conduct of an accompliſhed general, they ſhould ever meet with a defeat; and indeed Cyrus always proved victorious over the civilized nations of Aſia; nor was the career of his triumph interrupted, till, contending againſt the barbarous Scythians, who joined the Perſian arms and diſcipline to their own irreſiſtible fury, he loſt at once his army and his life[33].

Real cauſes of the Perſian grandeur.

[33] In the hiſtory of Cyrus, the plain relation of Herodotus is to be preferred to the moral embelliſhments of Xenophon, except when the accounts of the latter are confirmed by the authority of ſcripture.

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The reign of Cyrus.

A. C. 559—529.

His firſt conqueſts.

But before experiencing this fatal reverſe of fortune, he was deſtined, in the courſe of thirty years, to act a diſtinguiſhed part on the theatre of the world, which long retained the marks, and will always preſerve the memory of his reign. Among the firſt conqueſts of Cyrus were the territories of Armenia and Chaldea, which had openly revolted againſt eſtabliſhed authority. If we believe Xenophon, Cyrus was ſent againſt theſe rebellious countries as the lieutenant of his grandfather Aſtyages, who from his palace in Ecbatan diffuſed his ſovereign mandates over many provinces of Upper Aſia. The relation of Herodotus makes it probable, that Cyrus had before this time aſſumed the government of Media, over which the cruelty, injuſtice, and ſuperſtitious fears of Aſtyages, rendered him unworthy to reign, even in the opinion of his moſt truſty ſubjects.

Which alarm Crœſus.

Olymp. lvii. 4.

A. C. 549.

However that may be (for it affects not the deſign of the preſent narrative), it was natural to expect that the Perſian ſucceſs in Armenia, a province ſituate ſo near to the Lydian dominions, ſhould alarm the fears of Crœſus, and determine that prince to reſiſt the encroachments of a power which endangered the permanence of his own. In taking this reſolution, which might probably be attended with the moſt important conſequences, he was deſirous to learn the will of heaven concerning the iſſue of the war. The principal oracles which he conſulted were thoſe of Branchis in Ionia, of Hammon in Libya, and of Delphi in Greece. Among theſe reſpected ſhrines, the oracle of Delphi maintained its aſcendant, as the moſt faithful interpreter of fate. Crœſus was fully perſuaded of its veracity; and deſirous generouſly to compenſate for the trouble which he had already given, and ſtill meant to give, the prieſts of Apollo, he ſacrificed three thouſand oxen to the god, and adorned his ſhrine with dedications, equally valuable for the workmanſhip and for the materials; precious veſſels of ſilver, ewers of iron beautifully inlaid and enamelled; various ornaments of pure gold, particularly a golden

Crœſus conſults the oracle of Delphi.

golden lion, weighing ten talents, and a female figure, three cubits, or near five feet high. In return for theſe magnificent preſents, the oracle flattered Crœſus, in ambiguous language, with obtaining an eaſy victory over his enemies, and with enjoying a long life and a proſperous reign. The god at the ſame time enjoined him to contract an alliance with the moſt powerful of the Grecian ſtates.

Enters into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

Elevated with theſe favourable predictions of Apollo, Crœſus prepared to yield a ready obedience to the only condition required on his part, for the accompliſhment of his aſpiring purpoſe. Not deeming himſelf ſufficiently acquainted with the affairs of Greece, to know what particular republic was meant by the oracle, he made particular enquiry of thoſe beſt informed concerning the ſtate of Europe, and diſcovered, that among all the members of the Grecian confederacy, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were juſtly entitled to the pre-eminence. In order to learn which of thoſe communities deſerved the epithet of moſt powerful, it was neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors into Greece. The Lydians diſpatched with this important commiſſion ſoon diſcovered that the Athenians, after having been long haraſſed by internal diſſentions, were actually governed by the tyrant Piſiſtratus. The Spartans, on the other hand, though anciently the worſt-regulated of all the Grecian communities, had enjoyed domeſtic peace and foreign proſperity, ever ſince they had adopted the wiſe inſtitutions of Lycurgus. After that memorable period, they had repeatedly conquered the warlike Argives, triumphed over the hardy Arcadians, and, notwithſtanding the heroic exploits of Ariſtomenes, ſubdued and enſlaved their unfortunate rivals of Meſſené. To the Lydian ambaſſadors, therefore, the Spartan republic appeared to be pointed out by the oracle, as the community whoſe alliance they were enjoined to ſolicit. Having repaired accordingly to Sparta, they were introduced not only to the kings and ſenate, but, as the importance of the negociation required, to the general aſſembly of the Lacedæmonians, to whom they, in

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few words, declared the object of their commiſſion: "We are ſent, O Lacedæmonians! by Crœſus, king of the Lydians and of many other nations, who, being commanded by the oracle of Apollo, to ſeek the friendſhip of the moſt powerful people of Greece, now ſummons you, who juſtly merit that epithet, to become his faithful allies, in obedience to the will of the god whoſe authority you acknowledge." The Lacedæmonians, pleaſed with the alliance of a warlike king, and ſtill more with the fame of their valour, readily accepted the propoſal. To the ſtrict connection of an offenſive and defenſive league, they joined the more reſpected ties of ſacred hoſpitality. A few years before this tranſaction, they had ſent to purchaſe gold at Sardis, for making a ſtatue of Apollo. Crœſus had on that occaſion gratuitouſly ſupplied their want. Remembering this generoſity, they gave the Lydian ambaſſadors, at their departure, as a preſent for their maſter, a veſſel of braſs, containing three hundred amphoras (above twelve hogſheads), and beautifully carved on the outſide with various forms of animals.

His flattering proſpects.

Crœſus, having thus happily accompliſhed the deſign recommended by the oracle, was eager to ſet out upon his intended expedition. He had formerly entered into alliance with Amaſis king of Egypt, and Labynetus king of Babylon. He had now obtained the friendſhip of the moſt warlike nation of Europe. The newly-raiſed power of Cyrus and the Perſians ſeemed incapable to reſiſt ſuch a formidable confederacy.

He invades the Perſian territories. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

Elevated with theſe flattering ideas of his own invincible greatneſs, Crœſus waited not to attack the Perſian dominions until he had collected the ſtrength of his allies. The ſanguine impetuoſity of his temper, unexperienced in adverſity, unfortunately precipitated him into meaſures no leſs ruinous than daring. Attended only by the arms of Lydia, and a numerous band of mercenaries, whom his immenſe wealth enabled him at any time to call into his ſervice, he marched towards the river Halys, and having croſſed, with much

difficulty, that deep and broad ſtream, entered the province of Cappadocia, which formed the weſtern frontier of the Median dominions. That unfortunate country ſoon experienced all the calamities of invaſion. The Pterian plain, the moſt beautiful and the moſt fertile diſtrict of Cappadocia, was laid waſte; the ports of the Euxine, as well as ſeveral inland cities, were plundered; and the inofenſive inhabitants were either put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity. Encouraged by the unreſiſting ſoftneſs of the natives of thoſe parts, Crœſus was eager to puſh forwards; and if Cyrus did not previouſly meet him in the field, he had determined to proceed in triumph to the mountains of Perſia. Againſt this dangerous reſolution he was in vain exhorted by a Lydian, named Sandanis, who, when aſked his opinion of the war, declared it with that freedom which the princes of the eaſt have in every age permitted, amidſt all the pride and caprices of deſpotic power, to men diſtinguiſhed by the gifts of nature or education. "You are preparing, O king, to march againſt a people who lead a laborious and a miſerable life; whoſe daily ſubſiſtence is often denied them, and is always ſcanty and precarious; who drink only water, and who are clothed with the ſkins of wild beaſts. What can the Lydians gain by the conqueſt of Perſia; they who enjoy all the advantages of which the Perſians are deſtitute? For my part, I deem it a bleſſing of the gods, that they have not excited the warlike poverty of theſe miſerable barbarians to invade and plunder the luxurious wealth of Lydia [34]." The moderation of this advice was rejected by the fatal preſumption of Crœſus, who confounding the dictates of experienced wiſdom with the mean ſuggeſtions of puſillanimity, diſmiſſed the counſellor with contempt.

Mean while, the approach of Cyrus, who was not of a temper to permit his dominions to be ravaged with impunity, afforded the Lydian king an opportunity of bringing the war to a more ſpeedy iſſue, than by his intended expedition into Perſia. The army of

Is defeated by Cyrus in Cappadocia.

[34] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

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Cyrus gradually augmented on his march, the tributary princes cheerfully contributing to the utmoſt of their power towards the aſſiſtance of a maſter whoſe valour and generoſity they admired, and who now took arms to protect the ſafety of his ſubjects, as well as to ſupport the grandeur of his throne. Such was the rapidity of his movement, eſpecially after being informed of the deſtructive ravages of the enemy in Cappadocia, that he arrived from the ſhores of the Caſpian to thoſe of the Euxine Sea, before the army of Crœſus had provided the neceſſaries for their journey. That prince, when appriſed of the neighbourhood of the Perſians, encamped on the Pterian plain; Cyrus likewiſe encamped at no great diſtance; frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the light troops; and at length a general engagement was fought with equal fury and perſeverance, and only terminated by the darkneſs of night. The loſs on both ſides hindered a renewal of the battle. The numbers, as well as the courage of the Perſians, much exceeded the expectation of Crœſus. As they diſcovered not any intention to haraſs his retreat, he determined to move back towards Sardis, to ſpend the winter in the amuſements of his palace, and after ſummoning his numerous allies to his ſtandard, to take the field early in the ſpring, with ſuch an increaſed ſtrength as ſeemed ſufficient to overpower the Perſians [35].

The prudent conduct of Cyrus.

But this deſign was defeated by the careful vigilance of Cyrus. That experienced leader allowed the enemy to retire without moleſtation; carefully informing himſelf of every ſtep which they took, and of every meaſure which they ſeemed determined to purſue. Patiently watching the opportunity of a juſt revenge, he waited until Crœſus had re-entered his capital, and had diſbanded the foreign mercenaries, who compoſed the moſt numerous diviſion of his army. It then ſeemed the proper time for Cyrus to put his Perſians in motion; and ſuch was his celerity, that he brought the firſt news of his own arrival in the plain of Sardis [36]. Crœſus, whoſe firmneſs

[35] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxvii.

[36] Αυτος αγγιλος Κροισω ιληλυθει. He came his own meſſenger to Crœſus.

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might well have been ſhaken by the imminence of this unforeſeen danger, was not wanting, on the preſent occaſion, to the duties which he owed to his own fame, or to the luſtre of the Lydian throne. Though his mercenaries were diſbanded, his own ſubjects, who ſerved him from attachment, who had been long accuſtomed to victory, and who were animated with a high ſenſe of national honour, burned with a deſire of enjoying an opportunity to check the daring inſolence of the invaders. Crœſus indulged and encouraged this generous ardour. The Lydians, in that age, fought on horſeback, armed with long ſpears; the ſtrength of the Perſians conſiſted in infantry. They were ſo little accuſtomed to the uſe of horſes, that camels were almoſt the only animals which they employed as beaſts of burden. This circumſtance ſuggeſted to a Mede, by name Harpagus, a ſtratagem, which, being communicated to Cyrus, was immediately adopted with approbation by that prince[37]. Harpagus having obſerved that horſes had a ſtrong averſion to the ſhape and ſmell of camels, adviſed the Perſian army to be drawn up in the following order: All the camels, which had been employed to carry baggage and proviſions, were collected into one body, arranged in a long line, fronting the Lydian cavalry. The foot ſoldiers of the Perſians were poſted immediately behind the line, and placed at a due diſtance. The Median horſe (for a few ſquadrons of theſe followed the ſtandard of Cyrus) formed the rear of the army. As the troops on both ſides approached to join battle, the Lydian horſes, terrified with the unuſual appearance of the camels, mounted with men in arms, were thrown into diſorder, and turning their heads, endeavoured to eſcape from the field. Crœſus, who perceived the confuſion, was ready to deſpair of his fortune; but the Lydians, abandoning their horſes, prepared with uncommon bravery to attack the enemy on foot. Their courage deſerved a better fate; but unaccuſtomed as they were to this mode of fighting, they were received

Defeats Crœſus in the plain of Sardis.

[37] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxx.

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Crœsus shuts himself up in that city, and craves assistance from his Spartan allies.

ceived and repelled by the experienced valour of the Persian infantry, and obliged to take refuge within the fortified strength of Sardis, where they imagined themselves secure. The walls of that city bid defiance to the rude art of attack, as then practised by the most warlike nations. If the Persian army should invest it, the Lydians were provided with provisions for several years; and there was reason to expect, that in a few months, and even weeks, they would receive such assistance from Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece (to which countries they had already sent ambassadors), as would oblige the Persians to raise the siege [38].

State of Sparta at that time.

The Lydian ministers dispatched into Greece met with great sympathy from the Spartans. That people were particularly observant of the faith of treaties; and while they punished their enemies with unexampled severity, they behaved with generous compassion towards those whom they had once accepted for allies. The benevolent principles of their nature were actually warmed and elevated by the triumph of a successful expedition against the most formidable of their domestic foes. They had maintained a long and bloody war with the Argives, for the small, but valuable district of Thyrea, situate on the frontiers of the rival states. The Spartans at length obtained possession of it; but the Argives advanced with an army more powerful than any that they had ever led into the field, in order to make good their ancient pretensions. The wars of the Greeks were not merely undertaken from the dictates of interest and ambition, but considered as trials of skill, and contests of honour. When a conference, therefore, was proposed, we know not by which of the parties, it was agreed, in order to avoid a greater effusion of blood, that three hundred combatants on the Spartan, and an equal number on the Argive side, should determine, by the success of their arms, the disputed title to Thyrea, as well as the warlike pre-eminence of their respective republics. Three hundred

[38] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxx.

champions

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champions being ſelected for this purpoſe from either army, it ſeemed neceſſary that the remainder of both nations ſhould retire; for the Argive and Spartan citizens, who felt with a republican ſenſibility for the intereſt of their communities, could not have remained tame ſpectators of the battle. The combatants fought with an obſtinate valour, of which there are few examples in hiſtory. Each ſoldier behaved as if the ſucceſs of the day had been committed to his ſingle ſpear; and each was eager to ſacrifice his own life to the preſervation of his country's fame. Theſe generous ſentiments were fully proved by the iſſue of the battle. At the approach of night, only three combatants ſurvived, two Argives, and the Spartan Othryades. The Argives, either through neglect or pity, ſpared the life of their ſingle opponent, and returned home with the melancholy tidings of their bloody victory. Othryades ſtill kept the field, collecting the ſpoil, and carrying into his own camp the arms of the enemy, which he erected into the uſual trophy of military ſucceſs. Next day the two armies, conſiſting of a great proportion of the citizens capable of bearing arms, arrived at the ſcene of action. The ſurpriſe of the Argives is not to be expreſſed, when they ſaw the appearance of the field. Notwithſtanding the Spartan trophy, they ſtill inſiſted, that as *two* of their champions, and only *one* of the enemy's, had ſurvived, they were juſtly entitled to the glory of the day; but, ſeemingly with more reaſon, the Spartans maintained that this honour belonged to Othryades. From verbal altercation, carried on with that warmth which the importance of the diſpute naturally inſpired, they made an eaſy tranſition to acts of violence [39]. The conflict was long, fierce, and bloody; but the ſuperior diſcipline of Sparta finally prevailed. The Argives lamented their defeat, as the greateſt calamity that had ever befallen them. The inward feelings of their hearts were expreſſed by external demonſtrations of ſorrow. Like moſt of the Grecian nations, they had hither-

Their victories over the Argives.

[39] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxii.

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to adorned their long hair, to increaſe the gracefulneſs of manly beauty, and render them more terrible to their enemies. But in remembrance of this diſaſter, they ſhaved their heads[35], deprived the Argive women of their golden ornaments, and bound themſelves by a dreadful imprecation never more to aſſume their wonted appearance, until they had recovered poſſeſſion of Thyrea. The Spartans, on the other hand, celebrated their victory with the livelieſt expreſſions of national triumph. Othryades alone partook not the general joy. Aſhamed of returning to Sparta a ſolitary monument of three hundred brave men, he, with a generous deſpair, ſacrificed his own life to the manes of his warlike companions. Such were the circumſtances of the Lacedæmonian republic, when the ambaſſadors of Crœſus came to demand their aſſiſtance. The proſperity of their own ſituation naturally heightened, by contraſt, the melancholy condition of their unfortunate ally, beſieged, as they learned, in his capital, by a victorious army. They immediately reſolved to ſend him a ſpeedy and effectual relief; and for this purpoſe aſſembled their troops, made ready their veſſels, and prepared every thing neceſſary for the expedition.

They determine to aſſiſt Crœſus.

Sardis taken by the Perſians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

The valour of the Spartans might perhaps have upheld the ſinking empire of Lydia, but before their armament could ſet ſail, Crœſus was no longer a ſovereign. Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of Sardis, that city had been taken by ſtorm, on the twentieth day of the ſiege; the walls having been ſcaled in a quarter, which, appearing altogether inacceſſible, was too careleſsly guarded. This was effected by the enterpriſe of Hyreades a Mede, who accidentally obſerved a ſentinel

[35] At funerals, the Greeks cut off their hair, to be conſumed in the funeral pile with the bodies of their friends. Thus, at the interment of Patroclus, Achilles

Στας απαναιθε πυρης ξανθην απεκειρατον χαιτην
Την ρα Σπερχειω ποταμω τρεφε τηλεθοωσαν.

In the Oreſtes of Euripides, Helen is blamed for ſparing her locks, and cutting off only the ends. "She is," ſays Electra, "ὑ παλαιγενης, the ſame coquette as ever" Lyſias ſpeaking of a great national calamity, ſays metaphorically, "It becomes Greece to ſhave her head." Lyſias, Orat. Funeb. The Argives, as a community, realiſed the metaphor.

deſcend

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deſcend part of the rock in order to recover his helmet. Hyreades was a native of the mountainous province of Mardia, and being accuſtomed to clamber over the dangerous precipices of his native country, reſolved to try his activity in paſſing the rock upon which he had diſcovered the Lydian. The deſign was more eaſily accompliſhed than he had reaſon to expect; emulation and ſucceſs encouraged the braveſt of the Perſians to follow his example; theſe were ſupported by greater numbers of their countrymen; the garriſon of Sardis was ſurpriſed; the citadel ſtormed; and the rich capital of lower Aſia ſubjected to the vengeful rapacity of an indignant victor [41].

The Perſians were accuſtomed, like other nations of the ancient world, to exerciſe the rights of conqueſt, without reſpecting the laws of humanity. Though they fought, and conquered, and plundered, only for the benefit of their prince, whoſe ſlaves and property they themſelves were, yet in the firſt emotions of military ſucceſs they diſcovered all the eagerneſs of avarice, and all the fury of reſentment; acting as if they had been called to puniſh, not the enemies of their king, but their own perſonal foes; and as if each man had been entitled to reap the full fruits of his rapacious cruelty.

Ungenerous treatment of Crœſus.

The Lydian prince, delivered, as we are told, by an extaordinary accident from the blind rage of the ſoldiery [42] ſeemed to be reſerved for a harder fate. Dragged into the preſence of his conqueror, he was loaded with irons; and the ſtern, unrelenting Cyrus, of whoſe humane temper of mind we have ſo beautiful, but ſo flattering a picture in the philoſophical romance of Xenophon, ordered him, with the melancholy train of his Lydian attendants, to be committed to the

[41] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxiv.

[42] Herodot. p. 36. Crœſus had a dumb ſon, who ſeeing a Perſian ruſh againſt his father, whoſe misfortunes had rendered him careleſs of life, firſt ſpoke on this occaſion: Ἄνθρωπε μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον. The learned in phyſiology will decide, whether certain impediments of ſpeech may ſometimes be conquered by the impetuous violence of ſome ſtrong paſſion.

flames.

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flames. An immenſe pile of wood and other combuſtibles, was erected in the moſt ſpacious part of the city. The miſerable victims, bound hand and foot, were placed on the top of the pyre. Cyrus, ſurrounded by his generals, witneſſed the dreadful ſpectacle, either from an abominable principle of ſuperſtition, if he had bound himſelf by a vow to ſacrifice Crœſus as the firſt fruits of his Lydian victory; or from a motive of curioſity, equally cruel and impious, to try whether Crœſus, who had ſo magnificently adorned the temples and enriched the miniſters of the gods, would be helped in time of need by the miraculous interpoſition of his much honoured protectors [43].

Meanwhile the unfortunate Lydian, oppreſſed and confounded by the intolerable weight of his preſent calamity, compared with the ſecurity and ſplendour of his former ſtate, recollected his memorable converſation with the Athenian ſage, and uttered with a deep groan the name of Solon. Cyrus aſked by an interpreter, "Whoſe name he invoked?" "*His*," replied Crœſus, emboldened by the proſpect of certain death, "whoſe words ought ever to ſpeak to the heart of kings." This reply not being ſatisfactory, he was commanded to explain at full length the ſubject of his thoughts. Accordingly he related the important diſcourſe which had paſſed between himſelf and the Athenian, of which it was the great moral, that no man could be called happy till his death [44].

Cyrus receives him into favour.

The words of a dying man are fitted to make a ſtrong impreſſion on the heart. Thoſe of Crœſus deeply affected the mind of Cyrus. The Perſian conſidered the ſpeech of Solon as addreſſed to himſelf. He repented of his intended cruelty towards an unfortunate prince, who had formerly enjoyed all the pomp of proſperity. He dreaded the concealed vengeance that might lurk in the boſom of Fate; and gave orders that the pyre ſhould be extinguiſhed. But

[43] Herodot l. i. c. lxxxvi.

[44] See above, p. 223.

the

the workmen who had been employed to prepare it, had performed their taſk with ſo much care, that the order could not ſpeedily be obeyed. At that moment, Crœſus calling on Apollo, whoſe favourite ſhrine of Delphi had experienced his generous munificence, and whoſe perfidious oracle had made him ſo ungrateful a return, the god, it is ſaid, ſent a plentiful ſhower to extinguiſh the pyre. This event, which ſaved the life, and which ſufficiently atteſted the piety of Crœſus, ſtrongly recommended him to the credulity of his conqueror. It ſeemed impoſſible to pay too much reſpect to a man who was evidently the favourite of heaven. Cyrus gave orders that he ſhould be ſeated by his ſide, and thenceforth treated as a king; a revolution of fortune equally ſudden and unexpected. But the mind of Crœſus had undergone a ſtill more important revolution; for, tutored in the uſeful ſchool of adverſity, he learned to think with patience, and to act with prudence; to govern his own paſſions by the dictates of reaſon, and to repay by wholeſome advice the generous behaviour of his Perſian maſter [45].

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The firſt advantage which he derived from the change in Cyrus's diſpoſition towards him, was the permiſſion of ſending his fetters to the temple of the Delphian Apollo, whoſe flattering oracles had encouraged him to wage war with the Perſians. "Behold," were his meſſengers inſtructed to ſay, "the trophies of our promiſed ſucceſs! behold the monuments of the unerring veracity of the god!" The Pythia heard their reproach with a ſmile of contemptuous indignation, and anſwered it with that ſolemn gravity which ſhe was ſo carefully taught to aſſume: "The gods themſelves cannot avoid their *own* deſtiny, much leſs avert, however they may retard, the determined fates of men. Crœſus has ſuffered, and juſtly ſuffered, for the crime of his anceſtor Gyges, who entruſted, as chief of the guards, with the perſon of Candaules, the laſt king of the race of Hercules, was ſeduced by an

Crœſus reproaches the oracle of Delphi;

[45] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxix.

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impious woman to murder his maſter, to defile his bed, and to uſurp his royal dignity. For this complicated guilt of Gyges the misfortunes of Crœſus have atoned: but know, that, through the favour of Apollo, theſe misfortunes have happened three years later than the fates ordained [46]."

whoſe predictions are explained to his ſatisfaction.

The Pythia then proceeded to explain her anſwers concerning the event of the war againſt Cyrus, and proved, to the conviction of the Lydians, that her words, if properly underſtood, portended the deſtruction, not of the Perſian, but of the Lydian empire. Crœſus heard with reſignation the report of his meſſengers, and acknowledged the juſtice of the Delphian oracle, which maintained and increaſed the luſtre of its ancient fame.

[46] Herodot. L. i. c. xci. & ſeq.

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Cyrus threatens the Aſiatic Colonies.—Their Meaſures.—The Spartans remonſtrate againſt his Deſign.—Conqueſts of Harpagus.—Migrations of the vanquiſhed Greeks.—Cyrus takes Babylon.—Cambyſes ſubdues Egypt.—Receives Tribute from the African Greeks.—Reign of Darius.—Final Settlement of the Perſian Empire.—Degeneracy of Manners.—Revolt of Ionia.—State of Greece.—The Ionian Revolt abetted by the Athenians and Eretrians—who burn Sardis.—The Aſiatic Greeks defeated by Sea and Land.—Their Condition under the Perſian Government.

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Cyrus threatens the Ionians. Olymp. lviii. 2. A. C. 547.

DURING the reign of Crœſus, and his four warlike predeceſſors, the Aſiatic Greeks ſometimes enjoyed their favourite form of republican government, ſometimes ſubmitted to domeſtic tyrants, alternately recovered and loſt their national independence. The ſucceſs of the ambitious Cyrus was not likely to improve the condition of the Ionians, who, during the dependence of his fortune, had repeatedly neglected opportunities to deſerve his gratitude. Before invading Lower Aſia, he earneſtly entreated them to ſhare the glory of his arms; but they preferred their allegiance to Crœſus, to the friendſhip of a leſs known, and perhaps ſeverer, tyrant. When the fortune of war, or rather the ſuperiority of his own genius, had given Cyrus poſſeſſion of all the neighbouring provinces, the Ionians were forward to declare, by embaſſy, their acceptance of his proffered

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fered alliance; or, if that ſhould now be refuſed, to requeſt his protection on the ſame terms required by his Lydian predeceſſor. This ſubmiſſive propoſal only inflamed the ambition of the Perſian; and his celebrated anſwer [a], on this occaſion, clearly announced to the Greeks, that if they would eſcape the rigour of ſervitude, they muſt owe their ſafety to the ſtrenuous exertions of a brave defence, not to the clemency of Cyrus.

Meaſures of the Aſiatic colonies.

When his hoſtile intentions were made known in Ionia, the inhabitants of that delightful country aſſembled in the Panionian grove, their ordinary rendezvous in general and important deliberations. This place, which, together with the adjoining promontory of Mycalé, was ſolemnly conſecrated to Neptune, formed the centre of the Ionic coaſt. Towards the north extended the ſpacious bay of Epheſus, beyond which the beautiful peninſula of Clazomené ſtretched an hundred miles into the Ægean. On the ſouth, the territory of Miletus occupied ſixty-two miles of the winding ſhore. But the Mileſians ſent not their deputies to the preſent convention; for having been the confederates, not the ſubjects of Crœſus, they were admitted into the Perſian alliance on terms of equality and independence.

The Ionian confederacy.

The Grecian intereſt in Aſia, thus ungenerouſly abandoned by the principal member of the confederacy, was ſupported with unuſual ſpirit and unanimity by all the inferior communities. Repreſentatives immediately appeared from Myus and Priené, which were ſituate, like Miletus, on the coaſt of Caria; from Epheſus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomené, Erythræ, Phocæa, and Smyrna, which formed the maritime part of Lydia; and from the iſles of Chios and Samos, which completed the whole number of the Ionic ſettlements.

[a] After the Oriental faſhion, he anſwered them by an apologue. A piper, ſeeing a great ſwarm of fiſhes in the ſea, began to play, in order to allure them to land. But as they diſregarded his muſic, he employed a net with better ſucceſs. When caught, the fiſhes jumped about in the net. But he told them, "It is unneceſſary now to dance, ſince I have ceaſed to play." Herodot. l. i. c. cxli.

Mean-

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That of the Eolians.

Meanwhile the Eolians, alarmed by the ſame danger, convened in their ancient capital of Cymé. Their inferior towns were, Lariſſa, Neontichus, Tenus, Cilla, Notion, Æginoæſſa, Pitané, Ægæa, Myrina, and Greneia. Their territory was more extenſive, and more fertile, than that of their Ionian rivals, but their climate leſs temperate [2], their harbours leſs commodious, and their cities far leſs conſiderable in power and fame.

Of the Dorians.

It may ſeem extraordinary, that the Dorians, eſpecially thoſe inhabiting the peninſula of Caria, who were likewiſe deſtined to feel the Perſian power, ſhould not have joined in meaſures neceſſary for the common defence. But this circumſtance it is ſtill poſſible to explain. Of the ſix Doric republics, who annually aſſembled at Triopium to celebrate the feſtival of Apollo [3], four were encouraged, by their inſular ſituation, to contemn the threats of Cyrus. Cnidus, as will appear hereafter, hoped to derive from art the ſame advantages which its confederates, Cos, Lindus, Jaliſſus, and Camirus, enjoyed by nature. And Halicarnaſſus, the ſixth Dorian ſtate, as we are informed with a laudable impartiality, by a native of that city, had been recently excluded from the Triopian feſtival. This diſgrace was occaſioned by the ſordid avarice of Agaſicles the Halicarnaſſian, who having conquered in the Triopian games, carried away the tripod, which was the prize of his victory; whereas, according to an eſtabliſhed rule, he ought to have conſecrated it in the temple of Apollo. His ſacrilege deprived his country of the common benefits of the Dorian name [4].

[2] Herodotus's encomium on the climate of Ionia is remarkable: Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστι, τῇ μὲν ὥρῃσι, καὶ τῶν ὡρέων, ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἱτυγχάνον ἱδρυσάμενοι πόλιας, πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν: "These Ionians, to whom Panionium belongs, have built cities in the fineſt climate, and in the moſt beautiful ſituations, of all men whom we know." He then proceeds to obſerve, that the countries on all ſides of Ionia were oppreſſed by cold and humidity on the one hand, or heat and drought on the other. Herod. l. i. c. cxlii.

[3] Three in the iſle of Rhodes, one in Cos.

[4] Herodot. l. i. c. cxliv.

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Contraſt between the ancient and modern ſtate of Lower Aſia.

To enliven the dryneſs of geographical deſcription, eſſential, however, to the perſpicuity of the preſent narrative, we ſhould in vain turn our thoughts to the actual condition of the Aſiatic ſhore. Few veſtiges remain of the Doric and Eolic cities; and even the Ionic, which far ſurpaſſed them in magnificence and ſplendor, can ſcarcely be recognized by the learned and curious traveller. Nothing now remains but the indelible impreſſions of nature; the works of men have periſhed with themſelves. The phyſical advantages of Lower Aſia continue nearly[4] the ſame now, as two thouſand years ago; but the moral condition of that country, compared to what it once was, is the ſilent obſcurity of the grave, contraſted with the vivid luſtre of active life.

The Aſiatic Greeks ſend an embaſſy, craving aid, to the mother country. Olymp. l. iii. A. C. 540.

The Aſiatic Greeks having examined the ſtate of their affairs, were fully ſenſible of their own weakneſs, compared with the ſtrength of the enemy. In forming their eſtabliſhments in Aſia, they had confined themſelves to a long and narrow line on the coaſt, looking with a wiſhful eye towards the mother-country, from which, in every calamity, they expected aſſiſtance and protection. The reſult, therefore, of the preſent deliberation was to ſend an embaſſy into Greece, in order to explain the danger to which they were expoſed, and to ſhew the neceſſity of powerful and timely aid. It might have been expected that Attica, the native country of the Ionians, ſhould have received the firſt viſit of the ambaſſadors; but Athens was then governed by the tyrant Piſiſtratus, who, it was ſuppoſed, would be averſe to take arms againſt a tyrant like himſelf. Sparta, though a republic of greater power and renown, was little connected, either by commerce or affinity, with the Greeks of Aſia. The propoſals of the Aſiatic ambaſſadors, therefore, were very

[4] The changes in the face of the country, produced chiefly by the receding of the ſea, may be ſeen in the ſplendid work of Monſ. Choiſeuil Gouffier, Le Voyage pittoreſque de la Grêce, &c.

coolly received by the Spartan ſenate. On ſuch occaſions, however, it was cuſtomary to take the opinions alſo of the people. In the aſſembly convened for this purpoſe, Pythermus, a Phocæan, clothed with purple, as a mark of his conſideration in his native country, ſpoke for himſelf and his colleagues. But the beauties of his Ionic dialect were unable to move the reſolution of the Lacedæmonians, who, mindful of the ancient enmity between the Ionic and the Doric race, declined ſending any forces into Aſia, to reſiſt the arms of Cyrus. Though their generoſity furniſhed no public aſſiſtance, their caution privately diſpatched ſeveral Spartan citizens to obſerve the operations of the war. When theſe men arrived in Ionia, they were eaſily perſuaded to exceed the bounds of their commiſſion. They appointed Lacrines, the moſt conſiderable of their number, to travel to the Lydian capital, in order to acquaint Cyrus, that if he committed hoſtilities againſt any of the Grecian cities, the Lacedæmonian republic would know how to puniſh his injuſtice. Cyrus, aſtoniſhed at ſuch an inſolent meſſage from a people altogether unknown to him, aſked the Greeks preſent (for there was always a great number of Grecian fugitives in the armies of their neighbours), who the Lacedæmonians were[5]? and what number of men they could bring into the field? When informed of theſe particulars, he replied to the Spartan ambaſſador, "That he never ſhould fear men who had a ſquare in the midſt of their city, in which they met together to practiſe mutual falſehood and deception[6]; and that if he continued to enjoy the bleſſings of health, he hoped to afford the Spartans more domeſtic reaſons of complaint, than his military preparations againſt the Greeks of Aſia."

The Spartans remonſtrate with Cyrus againſt his deſign of ſubduing the Aſiatic Greeks.

His anſwer to them.

[5] Herodotus leaves it uncertain whether this ignorance was not affected, the better to mark his contempt.

[6] Cyrus alludes to the market-places, or public ſquares, common in all Grecian cities, with the uſe of which the Aſiatics were totally unacquainted, "being deſtitute," as Herodotus ſays, "of all places of public reſort."

The

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His lieutenant Harpagus reduces all the countries of Lower Asia. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

The interview with Lacrines happened among the last public transactions during Cyrus's residence at Sardis. Having reduced Crœsus into captivity, the only enemy in those parts who seemed worthy of his arms, he was eager to return towards the east, in order to complete his conquests in Upper Asia. The Grecians he knew to be a warlike people; but as their numbers were inconsiderable, their cities small, and ill fortified, he thought proper to attempt in person objects of greater moment, and to commit the Grecian war to the skill of his lieutenant, Harpagus [7].

In the course of a few months, this general became master of all the countries of Lower Asia, possessed by either Greeks or Barbarians. Having the command of men and labour, he caused mounds of earth to be thrown up, adjacent to the Grecian walls. In this service, immense numbers must have perished by the darts of the enemy; but the work was no sooner completed, than the Persians, running up the mounds, got possession of the walls, drove the Greeks from their battlements, overpowered them from their own fortifications, entered, and sacked their towns [8].

The Phocæans leave their country. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

When we consider the fury with which the wars of the ancients were carried on, and reflect, that the immediate consequences of a defeat were servitude or death, we have reason to believe that the Greeks would make a resolute and bloody defence. This indeed sufficiently appears, by the evidence of a few scattered facts preserved in history. The first place which Harpagus attacked was the celebrated capital of the Phocæans, the most northern city of Ionia. The inhabitants, as already mentioned, were famous for their long and successful navigations, in the course of which they had often visited the coasts of Spain, the Mexico and Peru of the ancient world. The money derived from that country had enabled

[7] His predecessor, Mazares, died almost immediately after he had taken Priené and Magnesia, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. Herodot. l. i. c. lxi.

[8] Herodot. lib. i. cap. clxii, clxiii, & seq.

them

them to build the beſt fortification that was to be ſeen in all thoſe parts; yet they entertained not any hopes of reſiſting the Perſian invaders. Such, however, was their love of liberty, and their dread of ſeeing in their ſtreets the army of a conqueror, that they reſolved on a meaſure which has been often propoſed, but ſeldom executed. When Harpagus ſent them his commands, they begged the favour of a day's pauſe for deliberation. In all probability they had already taken many neceſſary meaſures for effecting their eſcape; for during that ſhort interval, their ſhips were prepared, their money and goods put on board, their wives and families embarked, and the whole community was floating on the waves, when the Perſians arrived to take poſſeſſion of deſolated dwellings and empty walls. The advantageous ſituation of Phocæa, and the pains which had been taken to improve and to embelliſh it, make this reſolution appear the more extraordinary; if any thing, at leaſt, can add to the wonder, that a whole people ſhould unanimouſly abandon their temples, their altars, and what in ancient times ſeemed not leſs ſacred, the tombs of their anceſtors; ſhould totally diveſt themſelves of every right to a country which they were accuſtomed to call their own; and ſet ſail with their wives and children, ignorant whither to direct their courſe, or in what friendly port they might expect protection or repoſe [9].

Their adventures.

The Phocæan fleet, conſiſting of more than two hundred ſail, made for the iſle of Chios, which, of all the Ionic ſettlements, ſeemed moſt ſecure againſt the Perſian arms. Having arrived there, they endeavoured to purchaſe from the Chians the ſmall Oenuſſian iſlands: but the Chians, jealous of their commerce, and knowing the adventurous ſpirit of the fugitives, denied their requeſt. The Phocæans, thus cruelly rejected by men of the ſame race and language with themſelves, ſet ſail on a much longer voyage, for the iſle

[9] Herodot. l. i. c. clxiv.

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of Cynus, or Corſica, where, about twenty years before, they had formed a ſmall eſtabliſhment. As they coaſted, in the night, along the ſolitary ſhore of their ancient city, a few ſhips, manned with enterpriſing crews, landed in the harbour, ſurpriſed the Perſian garriſon, and put every man to the ſword. After applauding this memorable act of revenge, the whole fleet, tranſported with fury againſt the Perſians, bound themſelves by mutual oaths never to return to Phocæa, until a burning ball of iron, which they threw into the ſea, ſhould again emerge unextinguiſhed [10]. Yet ſuch is the powerful attachment of men to their ancient habitations, that in a few hours, more than one half the fleet, unable to reſiſt the alluring proſpect of their native country, diſregarded their oaths, and ſailed for the well-known harbour. The deſtruction of the Perſian garriſon removed the only obſtacle in the way of immediate poſſeſſion; and the blame of this maſſacre might be thrown on their countrymen who fled, while thoſe who returned to Phocæa might prove their innocence, by ſpeedily ſubmitting to every burden impoſed on them. Meanwhile, the beſt and braveſt portion of the Phocæan republic arrived with ſafety at the iſland of Corſica; where, their ſubſequent adventures not being immediately connected with our preſent ſubject, will merit attention in another part of this hiſtory [11].

Part of them return.

The Teians ſettle in Abdera. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

The Phocæans were not the only people of Aſiatic Greece who deſerted their country, rather than abandon their liberty. The Teians, who inhabited the ſouthern ſhore of the Ionic peninſula, had not yet been ſoftened into cowardice by the effeminate muſe of Anacreon. They followed the generous example which the inhabitants of Phocæa had ſet; forſook a city in which they could no longer remain free, and ſought refuge in Abdera, an ancient colony of Clazomené, on the coaſt of Thrace, and near the mouth of the river

[10] Herodot. l. i. c. clxv.

[11] Idem, ibid.

Neſſus.

Neſſus[12]. The city of Clazomené, now mentioned, was built on the continent; but on the preſent occaſion, the inhabitants, to avoid ſlavery, ſettled in eight ſmall iſlands, at a little diſtance from the ſhore, on which they founded a new city, the model of that of Venice. The advantage which the Clazomenians enjoyed by nature, the Cnidians endeavoured to procure by art. They occupied the extremity of the Carian peninſula; and their city being joined to the continent by an iſthmus of only half a mile broad, they attempted, by means of a ditch, to detach themſelves entirely from the main land. If this could be effected, they might deſpiſe the power of their enemies, who not having as yet ſubdued the Phœnicians, poſſeſſed not any naval force ſufficient to conquer the Grecian iſles. But the approach of the Perſians, and ſtill more their own ſuperſtitious fears, interrupted this uſeful undertaking; and the city of Cnidus, as well as all others on the Aſiatic coaſt, Miletus alone excepted, were reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion under the Perſian yoke.

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Meaſures of the Clazomenians.

Of the Cnidians.

While the arms of Harpagus were thus ſucceſsful on the weſtern ſhore, thoſe of Cyrus acquired ſtill greater glory in the central parts of Aſia[13]. With amazing rapidity his victorious troops over-ran the rich countries between the Mediterranean and the Tigris. Every thing gave way before their valour and their fortune. The city of Babylon alone, the ancient and proud capital of the Aſſyrian empire, oppoſed its lofty and impenetrable walls to the ambition of the conqueror. When all the countries round were reduced into obedience, it might ſeem abſurd in the inhabitants of one place to think of reſiſting the Perſian arms. But when we conſider the ſingular reſources of this place, we ſhall perceive, that a deſign which would have been obſtinate folly in any other citizens, was no

Cyrus beſieges Babylon. Clymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

[12] Herodot. l. i. c. lxviii. & c. clxviii.

[13] Xenophon's Cyropædia, and Herodotus, contain the materials for the reign of Cyrus, as far as it is connected with the hiſtory of Greece. It is foreign to the ſubject of the preſent work, to examine the differences between theſe authors.

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more than proper firmneſs in the Babylonians. Their capital, which was celebrated for its magnificence, wealth, and magnitude, when nothing deſerving the name of capital exiſted elſewhere in the world, was ſituate in a ſpacious plain, ſurrounded on all ſides by broad and rapid rivers. The outward wall was of a firm quadrangular form, three hundred feet high, ſeventy-five broad, extending ſixty miles in circumference, and ſurrounded by a deep ditch, continually ſupplied with water. Behind this extraordinary bulwark, of whoſe exiſtence the wall of China and the pyramids of Egypt can alone ſerve to convince modern incredulity, was another of almoſt equal dimenſions; and beſides both theſe general fortifications, each diviſion of the city had its appropriated mounds and defences. It is unneceſſary to deſcribe the towers, temples, and gardens, which by their ſingular greatneſs evidently announced the ſeat of a mighty empire. Theſe magnificent monuments tended, indeed, to adorn, but others, leſs ſplendid, ſerved to defend Babylon [14]. Theſe were magazines of corn and proviſions, capable of maintaining the inhabitants for twenty years; and arſenals, which ſupplied with arms ſuch a number of fighting men as ſeemed equal to the conqueſt or defence of a powerful monarchy. It was to be expected that Babylon would exert its utmoſt ſtrength, being then governed by Labynetus, or Belthazar, whoſe deſpotiſm, injuſtice, and impiety, exceeded even the crimes of his father Nebuchadnezzar, and left him no room to expect forgiveneſs from the clemency of Cyrus.

Takes the city by ſtratagem. Olymp. lx. 3. A. C. 538.

During two years Cyrus blocked up the city, without attaining any nearer proſpect of ſucceſs than when he firſt approached its walls. The events of this memorable ſiege are not related by ancient writers. We only know, that the efforts of the Perſians proved fruitleſs, until ſtrength was directed by ſtratagem. The river Euphrates entered, by a deep channel, the northern walls of Babylon, and iſſuing forth from the oppoſite ſide, almoſt equally biſected

[14] Herodot. l. i. c. clxxix. & ſeq.

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the city. Of this circumſtance Cyrus availed himſelf to become maſter of the place. He employed his numerous army in digging a profound cavern adjacent to the lofty mound which confined the courſe of the river. This work being completed, he patiently waited an opportunity for cutting the mound, and thus turning the waters of the Euphrates into the prepared cavern; ſince if this could be done without being perceived by the enemy, his troops, ſtationed at the two paſſages of the Euphrates, in and out of the city, might enter Babylon by the channel which the river had abandoned. This deſign was happily executed, when the Babylonians, who had long deſpiſed the impotent efforts of the beſiegers, were employed in celebrating a feſtival with every circumſtance of the moſt licentious ſecurity. The mound of the Euphrates being divided, the higheſt waters deſerted their channel, the river became fordable, and the troops of Cyrus, who, had not the Babylonians been ſunk in riot and debauchery, might have been confined between the walls, and overwhelmed by darts from the battlements, made their entrance, unperceived, into the place; cut to pieces the unarmed inhabitants; and having puniſhed an impious king and his voluptuous courtiers, took poſſeſſion of the greateſt and richeſt city of the ancient world [15].

Conqueſts of his ſucceſſor Cambyſes. Olymp. lxii. 4. A. C. 529.

This memorable event rendered Cyrus ſole maſter of thoſe valuable countries around the Tigris and Euphrates, which, from time immemorial, had been the ſeat of deſpotiſm and luxury, wealth and wickedneſs. The active ambition of this great prince was adopted by the emulation of his immediate ſucceſſors. His ſon Cambyſes received the ſubmiſſion of Tyre and Cyprus, and effected the important conqueſt of Egypt, in the conſequences of which the Greek colonies in that country, and on the adjoining coaſt of Africa, were involved.

Olymp. lxiv. 1. A. C. 524.

Pſammetichus raiſed to the throne of Egypt by Greek pirates,

In the eighth century before the Chriſtian æra, the adventurous colonies in Ionia and Caria had, amidſt other commercial, or rather piratical

[15] Herodot. l. i. c. clxxviii.—c. cxcii.

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piratical expeditions, undertaken a voyage to Egypt. Their brazen armour [14], their courage, and their activity, were beheld with amazement and terror by the Egyptians, then divided by faction, and torn by ſedition. Pſammetichus, one of the many pretenders to the throne, engaged the Greeks in his ſervice. Through their valour and diſcipline he became maſter of Egypt. His rewards and promiſes prevailed on them to ſettle in that country. They upheld the throne of his ſucceſſors, until Apries, the fourth in deſcent from Pſammetichus, having undertaken an unfortunate expedition againſt the Greek colony of Cyrene, was dethroned by Amaſis, the contemporary and ally of Crœſus [15].

who ſettle in that country:

Are employed as the body guard of his ſucceſſor Amaſis.

Amaſis rivalled the Lydian prince, in his partiality for the language and manners of the Greeks. He raiſed a Cyrenian woman to the honours of his bed. The Greeks who had ſerved his predeceſſors, and who, in conſequence of the Egyptian law, obliging the ſon to follow the profeſſion of his father, now amounted to near thirty thouſand, he removed to Memphis, his capital, and employed them as his body guard. He encouraged the correſpondence of this colony with the mother country; invited new inhabitants from Greece into Egypt; promoted the commercial intercourſe between the two nations; and aſſigned to the Greek merchants for their reſidence the town and diſtrict of Naucratis, on the Nile, where they enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religious proceſſions and ſolemnities,[1] and where the induſtry of the little iſland of Ægina in Europe, and the opulence of ſeveral Greek cities in Aſia, erected temples after the faſhion of their reſpective countries [16].

Cambyſes conquers Egypt. Olymp. lxiii. 4. A. C. 525.

This able prince was ſucceeded by his ſon Pſammenitus, ſoon after Cambyſes mounted the throne of Perſia. While Cambyſes made preparations for invading Egypt, Pſammenitus imprudently excited the reſentment of Phanes [17], a Halicarnaſſean by birth, and

[14] Herodot. l. ii. c. clii. & ſeq.
[15] Herodot. ibid. & Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. xlvi.
[16] Herodot. ibid.
[1] Herodot. l. iii. c. iv. &c.

an

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an officer of much authority in the Grecian guards. Phanes having dexterouſly effected his eſcape from Egypt, offered his ſervices to Cambyſes, who by this time had collected the Grecian and Phœnician fleets. This armament, however, ſeemed unequal to the conqueſt of Egypt; and to conduct an army thither by land, was an undertaking of extreme difficulty. The main obſtacle was overcome by the experience of Phanes. He adviſed Cambyſes to purchaſe the friendſhip of an Arabian chief, who agreed to tranſport on camels a ſufficient quantity of water for the uſe of the Perſians in their paſſage through the deſert. With the punctuality peculiar [18] to his nation, the Arabian fulfilled his engagement. The Perſian army joined the fleet before Peluſium; that place, regarded as the key of Egypt, ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege; Pſammenitus was defeated in a great battle; and the whole kingdom ſubmitted to a haughty conqueror [19], whom proſperity rendered incapable of pity or remorſe.

The African Greeks pay tribute to Cambyſes.

His cruel, outrageous, and almoſt frantic behaviour in Egypt, alarmed the neighbouring Africans, who ſought to avert the tempeſt from themſelves by ſpeedy offers of ſubmiſſion and tribute. This prudent meaſure was adopted even by the Greek inhabitants of Cyrenaica, who had braved the united power of Egypt and Libya. The African Greeks were a colony of Thera, the moſt ſouthern iſland of the Ægean, and itſelf a colony of the Lacedæmonians [20]. During the heroic ages, but it is uncertain at what preciſe æra, the adventurous iſlanders ſettled in that part of the Sinus Syrticus, which derived its name from the principal city, Cyrene, and which is now loſt in the deſert of Barca. Deſcended from Lacedæmon, the Cyrenians naturally preſerved the regal form of government. Under Battus, the third prince of that name, their territory was well cultivated, and their cities populous and flouriſhing. Six

Their hiſtory.

[18] Herodot. ibid. [19] Idem, ibid. [20] Herodot. l iv. c. clix. & ſeq.

centuries

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centuries before the Chriſtian æra, they received a conſiderable acceſſion of inhabitants from the mother country. Emboldened by this reinforcement, they attacked the neighbouring Libyans [21], and ſeized on their poſſeſſions. The injured craved aſſiſtance from Apries king of Egypt [22]. A confederacy was thus formed, in order to repreſs the incurſions, and to chaſtiſe the audacity of the European invaders. But the valour and diſcipline of Greece, though they yet feared to encounter the power of Cambyſes, and the renown of Perſia, always triumphed over the numbers and the ferocity of Africa [23]: nor did Cyrene become tributary to Egypt, till Egypt itſelf had been ſubdued by a Grecian king, and the ſceptre of the Pharaohs and of Seſoſtris had paſſed into the hands of the Ptolemies [24].

Darius Hyſtaſpes mounts the throne of Perſia. Olymp. lxiv. 4. A. C. 521.

Cambyſes is ſaid to have died by an accidental wound from his own ſword. Darius Hyſtaſpes, the third in ſucceſſion to the empire (for the ſhort reign of the prieſt Smerdis deſerves only to be mentioned in the hiſtory of the palace), poſſeſſed the political abilities, but reached not the magnanimity, of Cyrus. His ambition was unbounded, and his avarice ſtill greater than his ambition. To diſcriminate the characters of the three firſt and moſt illuſtrious, of their monarchs, the Perſians, in the expreſſive language of the Eaſt, ſtyled Cyrus the father, Cambyſes the maſter, or tyrant, and Darius the broker, of the empire. The laſt-mentioned prince added the wealthy, but unwarlike, nations of India to his dominions. This important acquiſition, which cloſed the long ſeries of Perſian conqueſts in Aſia, was formed into the twentieth ſatrapy, or great diviſion, of the empire. The other military enterpriſes of this prince (as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate) were leſs ſucceſsful. But his reign is chiefly remarkable as the ſuppoſed

[21] Herodot. l. iv. c. clix.
[22] Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. xlvi.
[23] Herodot. ibid. & l. iii. c. clxi.
[24] Strabo, l. ii. & l. xvii. p. 836. Pauſan. l. i.

æra

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æra at which the religious and civil polity of the Perſians received that form which they afterwards invariably retained.

The ſuppoſed age of Zoroaſter.

Yet it muſt be acknowledged, that the greateſt learning and ingenuity have failed in the arduous taſk of aſcertaining the age, and ſtill more of explaining the doctrines, of Zoroaſter. At whatever period he lived, he certainly did for the Perſians, what Homer and Heſiod are ſaid to have done for the Greeks [24]. His theogony [25], as the Greeks would have called it, conſiſted in the extravagant doctrine of the two principles, in ſome moral precepts, and innumerable abſurd ceremonies. The magi, or prieſts, who probably derived ſome ſhare of their influence from practiſing thoſe occult ſciences afterwards diſtinguiſhed by their name, were ſtrongly protected by the authority of the prophet. "Though your good works," ſays the Sadder, "exceed the ſands on the ſea ſhore, or the ſtars of heaven, they will all be unprofitable, unleſs accepted by the prieſt; to whom you muſt pay tithes of all you poſſeſs, of your goods, of your lands, and of your money. The prieſts are the teachers of religion, they know all things, and deliver all men." Next to the prieſts, the royal family, and particularly the reigning prince, was the peculiar care of Zoroaſter. In their prayers and ſacrifices, the Perſians were not allowed to ſolicit individually for themſelves the protection of heaven, but only for the great king, and for the nation at large. In celebrating their religious worſhip, they employed neither altars, nor images, nor temples; they even derided the folly of ſuch practices in others, probably (ſays Herodotus) not believing, like the Greeks, the nature of the gods to reſemble that of men. On the ſummits of the higheſt mountains they ſacrificed to the divinity; and the whole circle of the heavens they called God. They ſacrificed, beſides, to the

Religion of the Perſians.

elements, particularly fire, which they conſidered as the pureſt ſymbol, and moſt powerful agent, of the Divine Nature. They borrowed, however, the worſhip of ſome other divinities from the Aſſyrians and Arabians; for of all ancient nations, the Perſians, ac-

[24] See above, p. 183.

[25] Herodot. l. i. c. cxxii.

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Their manners,

cording to Herodotus, were the moſt diſpoſed to adopt the cuſtoms of their neighbours. They ſoon preferred the dreſs, and as an eſſential part of dreſs, the arms, of the Medes, to their own. When they became acquainted with the Greeks, they learned the worſt and moſt unnatural of their vices. There was ſcarcely any abſurdity, or any wickedneſs, which they might not imbibe, from the licentious caprice, the univerſal corruption, and the exceſſive depravity of Babylon. The hardy and intrepid warriors, who had conquered Aſia, were themſelves ſubdued by the vices of that luxurious city. In the ſpace of fifty-two years, which intervened between the taking of Babylon, and the diſgraceful defeat at Marathon, the ſentiments, as well as the manners of the Perſians, underwent a total change; and, notwithſtanding the boaſted ſimplicity of their religious worſhip, we ſhall find them thenceforth oppreſſed by the double yoke of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, whoſe combined influence extinguiſhed every generous feeling, and checked every manly impulſe of the ſoul [26].

under Cyrus.

The tendency towards this internal decay was not perceived during the reign of Cyrus, whoſe extraordinary abilities enabled him to ſoften the rigours of deſpotiſm, without endangering his authority. He committed not the whole weight of government to the inſolence of ſatraps, thoſe proud ſubſtitutes of deſpotiſm, who were ever ready to betray their truſt, and abuſe their power. The inferior governors of towns and diſtricts were appointed and removed by himſelf, to whom only they were accountable. By an inſtitution, ſomewhat reſembling the modern poſt, he provided for exact and ready information concerning the public occurrences in every part of his dominions. The vigilant ſhepherd of his people, he was always ready to hear their petitions, to redreſs their grievances, and to reward their merit. Nor did the love of eaſe or pleaſure ever interfere with the diſcharge of his duty, in which he placed the greateſt glory and happineſs of his reign [27].

[26] Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyri, l. iii. p. 238.—243.

[27] Xenoph. ibid. p. 230.

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Under Darius. Olymp. lxv. 4. A. C. 517.

His ſucceſſors were univerſally diſtinguiſhed by an exorbitant ambition, nouriſhed by the immenſe reſources of their empire, which under Darius amounted to fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Euboeic talents, a ſum equal to three millions ſix hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds ſterling. Of this vaſt revenue, which, conſidering the value of money in ancient times, exceeded thirty millions at preſent, the Greek cities on the coaſt, together with the Carians, Lycians, and ſeveral other nations of Aſia Minor, paid only the thirty-ſixth part, a little more than an hundred thouſand pounds. Beſides this ſtated income, Darius might on every neceſſary occaſion demand the money and ſervices of his ſubjects. His predeceſſors were contented with voluntary contributions, and a militia. This prince eſtabliſhed taxes, and a ſtanding army. The number of his troops equalled the reſources of his treaſury; and both correſponded to the extent of his dominions, which comprehended the greateſt and moſt populous nations of the earth. The barbarity of the northern Scythians, and the pertinacious ſpirit of the European Greeks, the only enemies whom it remained for him to conquer, ſeemed feeble barriers againſt the progreſs of univerſal monarchy. In the extenſive regions of Aſia, every head bowed to the tiara of the great king, who in an annual progreſs through the central parts of his empire, ſpent the winter in the warm plains of Babylon; enjoyed the happy temperature of ſpring in the city of Suſa, which adorned the flowery banks of the Eulæus; and avoided the ſummer heats in his ſpacious palace at Ecbatan, fanned by the refreſhing breezes of the Median mountains [29].

Reſources and grandeur of that monarch.

His expedition into Scythia. Olymp. lxi. 4. A. C. 513.

But Darius could not enjoy the ſplendour of his preſent greatneſs, while a ſingle nation had merited his reſentment, without feeling the weight of his revenge. The wandering hordes of Scythia have been, in all ages, formidable to the civilized kingdoms of the eaſt. Thrice before the reign of Darius the inhabitants of that frozen region had

[29] Xenoph. ibid. & Herodot. l. iii. c. lxxix. & ſeq.

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overrun the fineſt provinces of Aſia. Fighting againſt theſe barbarians the founder of the Perſian empire had loſt his army and his life. It belonged to his warlike ſucceſſor to puniſh the ferocity of that rude and uncultivated, but bold and high-minded people. With an army, it is ſaid, of ſeven hundred thouſand men, Darius traverſed Aſia Minor, croſſed the Thracian Boſphorus, ravaged Thrace, and arrived on the banks of the Danube. Meanwhile a fleet of ſix hundred ſail left the Aſiatic coaſt, and paſſing the narrow ſeas which join the Ægean to the Euxine, coaſted in a northern direction the ſhores of the latter, entered the mouth of the Danube, and ſailed along that river, until they joined the army. The Danube was paſſed by the uſual expedient, of a bridge of boats, which was built by the aſſiſtance of the fleet, compoſed chiefly of Grecians, who were left to guard the work of their hands, againſt the dangers of the elements, and the deſtructive rage of the barbarians [26].

Loſes great part of his army.

This formidable army, collected from ſo many diſtant provinces, boldly entered the vaſt uncultivated wilds of Scythia, in which they continued for five months, continually expoſed to hunger and thirſt, and the darts of the flying enemy. When they prepared to return from an expedition in which they had already loſt the beſt part of their ſtrength, their good fortune, rather than their prudence, ſaved them from immediate deſtruction. It had been agitated among the Greeks, whether they ought not to demoliſh the bridge; a meaſure ſtrongly recommended to them by the Scythian tribes, who having ravaged all the adjacent country, expected to revenge the invaſion of the Perſians, by confining them, without reſource, in an inhoſpitable deſert. Miltiades, an Athenian, deſcended from the heroic Ajax, eagerly embraced this propoſal. He was king, or tyrant, of the city of Cardia, ſituate near the neck of the Thracian Cherſoneſus. There his uncle, of the ſame name, planted a Grecian colony, which uniting with the barbarous natives, formed a

Miltiades approves the advice of the Scythians, for cutting off his retreat.

[26] Herodot. l. iv. c. i. & ſeq.

ſmall

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ſmall community, the government of which deſcended to the ſon of his brother Cimon, who increaſed the population of the riſing ſtate by new inhabitants from Athens. The generous ſon of Cimon, though, like all the princes of thoſe parts, he held his authority under the protection of Darius, preferred the recovery of national independence to the preſervation of perſonal dignity. The other chiefs of the Grecian cities liſtened with apparent pleaſure to his arguments for deſtroying the bridge, and thus delivering themſelves for ever from the yoke of Perſia. Hiſtiæus, tyrant of Miletus, was alone averſe to this bold reſolution. He obſerved to the little tyrants of the Aſiatic Greeks, "That their own intereſt was intimately connected with the ſafety of Darius and his Perſians. Under the auſpicious influence of that powerful people, they each of them enjoyed royalty in their reſpective commonwealths: but ſhould the empire of the Perſians fall (and what leſs could be expected from the deſtruction of Darius and his army), the Greeks would immediately diſcover their partiality for republican government, baniſh their kings, and re-aſſume liberty." The opinion of Hiſtiæus prevailed; the Perſians repaſſed the Danube: but Miltiades, dreading their reſentment, had previouſly retired to Athens, where, twenty-three years after the Scythian expedition, he enjoyed a more favourable opportunity of diſplaying his attachment to the cauſe of liberty, in the ever memorable battle of Marathon [27].

Hiſtiæus, tyrant of Miletus, oppoſes this meaſure.

His opinion prevails. Olymp. lxvi. 4. A. C. 513.

If the public-ſpirited Athenian excited the hatred and revenge, the ſelfiſh tyrant of Miletus deſerved the gratitude and the rewards, of Darius. To continue the ſovereign of his native city ſeemed a ſtation below his merit; he was taken into the confidence of Darius, and accompanying him to Sardis, and afterwards to Suſa, became the friend, counſellor, and favourite, of the great king. While Hiſtiæus acted ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part at the Perſian court, his nephew Ariſtagoras, to whom he had committed the government of

He accompanies Darius to Upper Aſia.

[27] Herodot. l. iv. c. i. & ſeq.

Miletus,

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Miletus, incurred the diſpleaſure of Artaphernes [28], the brother of Darius, and governor of Sardis. The repreſentations of that miniſter, he well knew, would be ſufficient to ruin him, both with his uncle and with Darius, by whom he might be deprived not only of his authority, but of his life. Governed by theſe conſiderations, Ariſtagoras meditated a revolt [29], when a meſſenger unexpectedly

His intrigues with Ariſtagoras; Olymp. lxix. 3. A. C. 502.

arrived from Hiſtiæus, exhorting him to that meaſure. The crafty Mileſian, who diſliked the reſtraint of a court, and the uncouth manners of the Perſians, languiſhed for an honourable pretence to return to his native country; and he ſaw not any means more proper for affording ſuch an opportunity, than the tumults of the Greeks, which, as lieutenant of Darius, he would probably be ſent to quell. His meſſage confirmed the reſolution of Ariſtagoras, who, as the firſt act of rebellion againſt the Perſians, formally renounced all power over his fellow-citizens [30]. After giving this ſeemingly diſintereſted proof of his regard for the public, he erected the ſtandard of freedom, which was ſoon ſurrounded by the flower of the Ionian youth; by whoſe aſſiſtance, traverſing the whole coaſt, he aboliſhed in every city the authority of kings, and proclaimed to all worthy to acquire it, the double bleſſing of civil liberty and national independence [31].

who excites the Ionians to revolt from the Perſian government.

Sails to Greece to crave aſſiſtance.

The revolt thus happily effected, could not however be maintained without more powerful reſources than the ſtrength, the bravery, and the enthuſiaſm, of the Aſiatic Greeks. In order to reſiſt the force of the Perſian empire, which, it was eaſy to foreſee, would ſoon be exerted in cruſhing their rebellion, it was neceſſary for the Ionians to obtain the protection and co-operation of their brethren in Europe. This important object was committed to the

[28] Ariſtagoras had quarrelled with Megabates, the kinſman of Artaphernes (ſince both were of the blood royal), during a fruitleſs expedition, in which they ſeem to have enjoyed a joint command, againſt the iſland of Naxos, one of the Cyclades. Herodot. l. ii. c. xxviii. & ſeq.

[29] Herodot. l. v. c. xxxvi. xxxvii.

[30] Herodot. ibid.

[31] Herodot. l. v. c. xxxviii.

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prudence and activity of Ariſtagoras, who having ſettled the affairs of the Eaſt, undertook, for the public ſervice, an embaſſy into Greece.

His proceedings at Sparta.

Lacedæmon ſtill continued, rather in name, however, than in reality, the moſt powerful ſtate in that country. Though their government was, in ſtrict language, of the republican kind, yet the Spartans ſometimes beſtowed an extraordinary authority on their kings. This degree of pre-eminence, more honourable than any that birth or fortune can beſtow, the public eſteem had conferred on Cleomenes. To him therefore Ariſtagoras, after arriving at Sparta, found it neceſſary to apply[32]; and in order to effect the object of his commiſſion, he deſcribed to the Spartan king the immenſe wealth of the Perſians, which they had neither virtue to enjoy, nor valour to defend. He painted in the warmeſt colours, the love of liberty which animated the Ionians, and their firm expectation that the Spartans would enable them to maintain that political independence, which their own laws taught them to conſider as the moſt valuable of all human poſſeſſions. Their intereſt and their glory, he obſerved, were on this occaſion moſt fortunately united: for how much greater glory might be acquired by conquering Aſia, than by ravaging Greece? and how much eaſier would it be to defeat the Perſian archers, than to ſubdue the Arcadians or Argives, who knew, as well as the Spartans themſelves, the uſe of the ſpear and buckler? Their journey to Suſa, the rich capital of the Perſian dominions, would be not only ſafe but delightful. To prove this, he ſhewed the Spartan a brazen tablet, on which were engraved all the countries, ſeas, and rivers, of the ancient world. Pointing to the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and the cities of the Ionians, with which Cleomenes was already acquainted, he ſhewed him adjoining to theſe, the beautiful and rich country of Lydia. Next to the celebrated kingdom of Croeſus (he obſerved) extend the fertile fields of

[32] Herodot. l. v. c. xlix. & ſeq.

Phrygia,

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Phrygia, equally adapted to agriculture and paſturage. Beyond Phrygia lie the territories of the Cappadocians, whom the Greeks call Syrians. Farther towards the eaſt dwell the wealthy Cilicians, who pay an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king; next to them live the Armenians, abounding in cattle; and laſt of all the Matienians, bordering on the province of Ciſſia, and the flowery banks of the Choaſpes [33], containing the ſuperb city of Suſa, and the invaluable treaſury of Darius. This immenſe ſpace is filled up by well-inhabited countries, interſected by excellent roads, and ſupplied at proper diſtances with convenient places of refreſhment and accommodation, even for a great army. Cleomenes having patiently liſtened to the verboſe deſcription of the Mileſian, anſwered him with Laconic brevity, "In three days I will decide concerning the propriety of your demand [34]." At the expiration of that time, Ariſtagoras failed not to repair to the place appointed, where he was ſoon met by the Spartan king, who aſked him, In how many days they might march to Suſa? Here the uſual prudence of Ariſtagoras forſook him; for he ought not to have told the true diſtance, ſays Herodotus, if he had wiſhed to engage the Spartans to accompany him. But he replied unguardedly, That travelling at the rate of about eighteen miles a day, they might reach Suſa in three months. Upon this Cleomenes exclaimed with indignation, "Mileſian ſtranger, you muſt be gone from Sparta before the ſetting of the ſun; for you have made a very inauſpicious and a very dangerous propoſal, in adviſing the Spartans to undertake a journey of three months from the Grecian ſea." With this ſevere reprimand he left Ariſtagoras, and immediately returned home. The artful Mileſian, however, was not to be diſconcerted by a firſt refuſal. According to the cuſtom of ancient times, when men endeavoured to paint to the eye the feelings of the heart, he clothed himſelf in the garment of a ſuppliant, and ſought protection in the

His overtures rejected there.

[33] Otherwiſe called the Eulæus, as above, p. 259.

[34] Herodot. ibid.

houſe

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houſe of Cleomenes. Having obtained the favour of a third audience, he attempted to effect by money what he could not accompliſh by argument. But he found it as difficult to bribe, as it had been to perſuade, the Spartan; and although he tempted him with the offer of about five thouſand pounds (an immenſe ſum in Greece in thoſe days), it was impoſſible to render Cleomenes propitious to his deſigns [35].

He applies to Athens.

Ariſtagoras, thus ungenerouſly diſmiſſed from Sparta, had recourſe to the Athenians, from whom he had reaſon to expect a more favourable reception. Athens was the mother-country of the Ionians, who formed the greateſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed portion of the Aſiatic Greeks. The Athenians, as a maritime ſtate, had always maintained a cloſer connection than the Spartans, with their diſtant colonies; and as they poſſeſſed, for that early age, a very conſiderable naval ſtrength, they were not averſe to a diſtant expedition. Beſides theſe reaſons, which at all times muſt have had no ſmall influence on their councils, the preſent ſituation of their republic was peculiarly favourable to the cauſe of Ariſtagoras. The free form of government, gradually introduced by the progreſſive ſpirit of liberty, had been defined by the laws of Solon, and confirmed by the unanimous approbation of the whole people. The public aſſembly, conſiſting of all citizens who had attained the age of manhood, was inveſted with the executive, as well as the legiſlative powers of government. The nine archons were rather the miniſters, than, as their name denotes, the governors of the republic. The ſenate, conſiſting firſt of four, and afterwards of five hundred members, was conſtituted by lot, the moſt popular mode of appointment. The court of the Areopagus, originally entruſted with the criminal juriſdiction, aſſumed an extenſive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens. It conſiſted only of ſuch magiſtrates as had diſcharged with approbation the duties of their reſpective offices.

Conſtitution of that republic, as regulated by Solon. Olymp. xlvi. 3. A. C. 594.

[35] Herodot. l. v. c. li.

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The members were named for life; and as, from the nature of the inſtitution, they were generally perſons of a mature age, of an extenſive experience, and who having already attained the aim, had ſeen the vanity, of ambition, they were well qualified to reſtrain the impetuous paſſions of the multitude, and to ſtem the torrent of popular frenzy. Such was the government[36] enjoyed by the Athenians, which they fondly regarded as the moſt perfect of all human inſtitutions, and which was peculiarly endeared to them at preſent, by the recent recovery of freedom, after a long, though, in general, not a cruel tyranny.

Uſurpation of Piſiſtratus. Olymp. l. 3. A. C. 578.

The danger of tyranny is an evil neceſſarily attending every democratical republic, in which, as there is not a proper ſeparation between the legiſlative and executive powers, the aſſembly muſt intruſt to one man thoſe functions of government, which the collective body of the people are ſometimes unable, and always ill qualified to exerciſe; and in which, therefore, the ſplendour of wealth may dazzle, the charms of eloquence may ſeduce, and the combined power of policy and proweſs may intimidate and ſubdue the unſteady minds of the ignorant vulgar. The fame of his Olympic victories could not procure for Cylon[37] the ſovereignty of Athens; and it is probable that many other unſucceſsful candidates had aſpired at this high object of ambition, before the arts and eloquence of Piſiſtratus, who, though born an Athenian citizen, was deſcended of the blood of ancient kings, obtained poſſeſſion of the dangerous prize, which proved ſo fatal to his family.

Expulſion of Hippias. Olymp. lxvii. 3. A. C. 510.

What his enterprizing ability had acquired, his firmneſs, his wiſdom, and his moderation[38] enabled him long to maintain. So

[36] I forbear treating fully of the Athenian government and laws, until the eſtabliſhment of what was called the Athenian empire. During more than ſixty years, that republic maintained dominion over many hundred cities and colonies. The fate of all theſe, as well as the meaſures of independent and hoſtile ſtates, depended on the proceedings of the Athenians. Then, and not till then, a thorough acquaintance with the internal conſtitution and ſtate of Athens will become neceſſary for explaining the hiſtorical tranſactions which we ſhall have occaſion to record.

[37] Thucyd. l. i. c. cxxvi. Plut. in Solon.

[38] Plato in Hipparch. Herodot. Thucydid. i. 20. Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. xii.

completely

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completely was his authority eſtabliſhed, that on his death the government deſcended, as a private inheritance, to his ſon. Reſentment of a perſonal injury [39] delivered the Athenians from the mild tyranny [40] of Hipparchus; though his murderers, Harmodius and Ariſtogeiton, were afterwards celebrated by the Athenians, not as the avengers of a private quarrel, but as the reſtorers of public freedom [41]. His brother Hippias ſucceeding to the throne, treated his countrymen with a degree of ſeverity which they had not hitherto experienced: his perſon and his government became alike odious; he was expelled, by the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, and the general indignation of an injured people, after his family had, with various interruptions, governed Athens ſixty-eight years.

A. C. 513.

A. C. 578—510.

The power of Athens was great in ancient times; but it became incomparably greater after the re-eſtabliſhment of democracy [42]. So advantageous to the powers of the human mind is the enjoyment of liberty, even in its leaſt perfect form, that in a few years after the expulſion of Hippias, the Athenians acquired an aſcendant in Greece, which was fatal to their enemies, painful to their rivals, and even dangerous to themſelves. They chaſtiſed the inſolence of the iſlanders of Eubœa and Ægina, who contended with them in naval power; and humbled the pride of Thebes, which rivalled them in military glory. Favoured, as they fondly believed, by the protection of their tutelary Minerva, and animated as they ſtrongly

Rapid ſucceſs of the Athenians after the re-eſtabliſhment of democracy.

A. C. 509—504.

[39] In this circumſtance Plato, agrees with Thucydides, whoſe account of the tranſaction differs widely from that of moſt other ancient writers. Thucydid. l. vi.

[40] Plato, p. 234. The orators Andocides and Iſocrates agree with the philoſopher. Meurſius has made a careful collection of all the paſſages relating to the Piſiſtratidæ, in his Piſiſtratus.

[41] Αιμι σφων κλιος εσσεται κατ' αιαν
Φιλτατε Αρμοδι και Αριστογειτων
Οτι τον τυραννον κταινετον
Ισονομους τ' Αθηνας εποιησατον. ALCÆUS.

"Your glory ſhall laſt for ever, moſt beloved Harmodius and Ariſtogeiton, becauſe you ſlew the tyrant, and procured equal laws for Athens."

[42] This obſervation, which is literally tranſlated, has weight, from ſuch an old and honeſt hiſtorian as Herodotus. His words are ſtill ſtronger in another paſſage: Δηλοι δι ωδε κατα εν μουον αλλα πανταχη η ισηγορια ως χρημα σπουδαιον, ει και Αθηναιοι τυραννευομενοι μεν, ουδαμων των σφιας πλησιοχωντων ησαν αμεινονες, απαλλαχθεντες δι τυραννων, μακρω πρωτοι εγενοντο. Herodot. l. v. c. lxxviii.

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felt, by the poſſeſſion of an equal freedom, they adorned their capital with the richeſt ſpoils of their vanquiſhed enemies. Their influence ſoon extended over the northern parts of Greece; and the fame of their power, ſtill greater than their power itſelf, alarmed the fears and jealouſy of the Peloponneſians. The Spartans, in particular, who had aſſiſted them in reſtoring the democracy, now perceived the error of which they had been guilty, in promoting the greatneſs of an ambitious rival. In order to prevent [43] the dangerous conſequences of their folly, they ſummoned to a congreſs all their allies in Peloponneſus, that their united wiſdom might concert proper meaſures for reſiſting, ere it was too late, the encroachments of the Athenians, which threatened the liberties of all Greece. Their allies readily obeyed the welcome ſummons, and the deputies of the ſeveral ſtates having aſſembled in the Spartan forum, eagerly liſtened to the ſpeakers appointed to explain the intentions of that republic. The Lacedæmonian orators acknowledged the miſtaken policy of their country, in expelling from Athens the family of Piſiſtratus, and delivering the government of that city into the hands of a moſt ungrateful

Jealouſy of the Peloponneſians.

A. C. 504.

[43] Beſides this principal reaſon, the Spartans, and particularly their king Cleomenes, had private grounds of quarrel with the Athenians. The Alcmæonidæ, a powerful family, and rivals of the Piſiſtratidæ, had been baniſhed Athens during the uſurpation of the latter. Having repeatedly tried, without ſucceſs, to return by force, they at length had recourſe to ſtratagem. The temple of Delphi having been deſtroyed by fire, they contracted with the Amphictyons for rebuilding it; and inſtead of employing Porine ſtone, agreeably to their contract, they built the whole front of Parian marble. This generoſity gained them the good-will of the Amphictyons; bribery procured them the favour of the Pythia, or rather of the directors of the oracle; and the Lacedæmonians were commanded by Apollo to deliver Athens from tyrants. This was effected by Cleomenes, who, upon diſcovering the fraud, was moved with great reſentment againſt Cliſthenes, the principal of the Alcmæonidæ, by whom he and his country had been ſo ſhamefully deceived. He therefore united with Iſagoras, the rival of Cliſthenes. The latter, together with his partiſans, were again baniſhed from Athens. But the Athenians perceiving it to be the intention of the prevailing faction to eſtabliſh an oligarchy, flew to arms. Cleomenes and Iſagoras took refuge n the citadel. On the third day they ſurrendered on capitulation. The Lacedæmonians were allowed to retire in ſafety. Iſagoras was baniſhed; many of his partiſans executed; and the Alcmæonidæ, headed by Cliſthenes, again returned in triumph. From this time democracy, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, continued, with ſhort interruptions, to prevail in Athens. Herodot. l. v. c. lxv. & ſeq. Thucyd. l. vi. c. lviii.

populace,

populace, who had ſince treated them with much indignity. "But why (they proceeded) ſhould we relate private injuries? Have they not inſulted all their neighbours? Does not their pride daily increaſe with their power? and is there not reaſon to dread, that their growing ambition may endanger, and at length deſtroy, the public ſafety? In order to prevent this evil, we have recalled Hippias from baniſhment. And let us therefore, by our united efforts, reinſtate the ſon of Piſiſtratus in that power and authority of which we moſt injudiciouſly deprived him." CHAP. VIII.

Their deſign of reſtoring Hippias proves abortive.

The ſpeech of the Lacedæmonians produced not the intended effect. The Peloponneſians, however jealous of the Athenian greatneſs, were ſtill more jealous of the power of tyrants; and many of them, who had experienced the haughtineſs of Sparta, were not diſſatisfied with beholding a rival to that republic in the northern diviſion of Greece. The other deputies expreſſed their diſſent by ſilent diſapprobation; but Soſicles, the Corinthian, declared his ſentiments at great length, in a ſpeech which alike marks the manly character of the age, and the youthful vigour of Grecian eloquence. "Then ſurely, Lacedæmonians, will the heavens ſink below the earth, and the earth riſe ſublime in the air; men will inhabit the depths of the ſea, and fiſhes will take poſſeſſion of the land, when you, formerly the bulwarks of liberty, ſhall demoliſh the popular governments of Greece, and eſtabliſh tyrannies in their room, than which nothing can be more abſurd, more unjuſt, or more pernicious." After this pompous exordium, the Corinthian proceeded to deſcribe and exaggerate the calamities which his own countrymen had ſuffered, from the uſurpation of Cypſelus, and his ſon Periander. Having related, at great length, the proud, cruel, and deſpotic actions of thoſe princes, "Such," added he, "are the genuine fruits of abſolute power; but I adjure you by the Grecian gods! attempt not to reeſtabliſh it in Athens. The Corinthians were ſeized with aſtoniſhment, when they heard that you had ſent for Hippias; I myſelf was

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amazed at beholding him in this assembly; yet we never suspected that you purposed to restore him, in triumph, to his much injured city. If you still persist in this fatal resolution, know that the Corinthians disavow all part in a design equally unjust and impious [44]." The other deputies listened with pleasure to the boldness of Sosicles, who expressed the sentiments which they themselves felt, but which their respect for the Lacedæmonians obliged them to conceal. Hip-
A. C. 504. pias alone opposed the general voice of the assembly, attesting the same gods which his opponent had invoked, and prophesying, that at some future time the Corinthians would repent their present conduct, and regret their cruel injustice to the son of Pisistratus, when their own citizens, as well as the rest of Greece, should fatally experience the dangerous ambition of Athens. This remonstrance, which was so fully justified in the sequel, produced no immediate effect in the assembly; the Lacedæmonians finally yielded to the general request of their confederates, and abstained from their intended innovation in the government of a Grecian city.

Artaphernes commands the Athenians to reinstate Hippias. Olymp. lxix. 4. A. C. 501.

The dethroned prince, finding his cause universally abandoned by the Greeks, sought the protection of Artaphernes, the Persian governor of Sardis. Having acquired the confidence of this magistrate, he represented to him the insolence, ingratitude, and perfidy of his countrymen, and the severest reproaches with which he loaded their character, gained ready belief with the Persian. The Athenians, who were informed of these intrigues, sent ambassadors to Sardis, in order to counteract them: but the resolution of Artaphernes was already taken; and he told the ambassadors, that if they consulted their safety, and would avoid the resentment of Persia, they must reinstate Hippias in the throne of his father. His answer had been reported to the Athenians, and the assembly had finally resolved to oppose the power of the greatest empire upon earth, rather than admit, within their walls, the declared enemy of their liberties [45].

[44] Herodot. l. v. c. xcii.

[45] Herodot. ibid. c. xcvi.

Precisely

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Ariſtagoras arrives in Athens. Olymp. lxx. 1. A. C. 500.

Preciſely at this juncture Ariſtagoras arrived at Athens, explained the revolt of the Aſiatic Greeks from the government of Artaphernes, and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, in defending their own colonies againſt the oppreſſive violence of the common foe. Many arguments were not neceſſary to make the people of Athens adopt a meaſure which gratified their own paſſions. The eloquent Mileſian, however, deſcribed the wealth and extent of Perſia, the grandeur and populouſneſs of its cities, and, above all, the ſlothful effeminacy and puſillanimous weakneſs of their inhabitants, who, unable to ſupport the ponderous ſhield, or to poiſe the manly lance, invited, as an eaſy prey, the victorious arms of a more warlike invader. The ſpeech of Ariſtagoras was well fitted to excite the ambition and avarice of Athens. The aſſembly immediately decreed that aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent to Ionia. Twenty ſhips were fitted out with all convenient ſpeed, which, reinforced by five more belonging to Eretria, a town of Euboea, rendezvouſed in the harbour of Miletus [46].

The Athenians ſend twenty ſhips to aſſiſt their colonies.

Meaſures of the confederates. Olymp. lxx. 1. A. C. 500.

Ariſtagoras ſpent not long time in his embaſſy to the other ſtates of Greece, and ſoon met his Athenian allies at the place appointed. It was here determined, that while the commander in chief regulated the civil affairs of the Ionians, his brother Charopinus ſhould conduct a military expedition againſt the wealthy capital of Lydia. The Athenians, deſirous of teſtifying their reſentment againſt the common enemy, and ſtill more deſirous of plunder, eagerly engaged in this undertaking. The united fleets left the harbour of Miletus, and ſailed to Epheſus, where the troops were diſembarked; and, in three days, accompliſhing a journey of ſeventy miles, appeared before the walls of Sardis. The Perſian governor little expected ſuch a viſit; his ſoldiers were not prepared to take the field; and the extenſive walls of the city could not be defended, on all ſides, againſt the beſiegers. Artaphernes, therefore, contented himſelf with de-

[46] Herodot. l. v. c. xcvii.

fending

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They take and burn Sardis.

fending the citadel; while the Greeks, without oppoſition, entered Sardis, in order to plunder the accumulated wealth of that ancient capital. But an accident prevented them from reaping the fruits of their ſucceſs. The reſentment of a rapacious ſoldier, diſappointed of his prey, ſet fire to the houſe of a Lydian, ſituate on the ſkirts of the town, which conſiſted, for the moſt part, of very combuſtible materials, the houſes being all roofed, and many of them walled with cane; a mode of building doubly dangerous in that àduſt climate. The flames readily communicated from one houſe to another; and, in a ſhort time, the whole circumference of the place was ſurrounded with a wall of fire. Sardis was built in the Grecian, not in the eaſtern faſhion [47], having, on the banks of the Pactolus, which interſected the town, a ſpacious ſquare, which commonly ſerved for the market-place [48]. Thither the Perſians, driven from the extremities, betook themſelves for refuge againſt the fury of the flames.

Are defeated in their retreat.

Arms formed part of the dreſs of a barbarian; and the Perſians, who had aſſembled in the ſquare without any intention of making defence, diſcovered their own ſtrength to be more than ſufficient to reſiſt the enemy. Meanwhile the flames of Sardis brought the inhabitants from all parts of Lydia to their aſſiſtance. The Greeks were attacked, repelled, obliged to abandon their booty; and it was not without much difficulty that they effected their eſcape. Their retreat from Sardis was ſtill more rapid than their march thither. It then appeared, that the taking and burning of the Lydian capital was no more than a ſtroke of military addreſs, which ſucceeded becauſe unforeſeen, and of which the Greeks had not ſufficient ſtrength to avail themſelves. The enemy collecting their whole force, purſued them to Epheſus, and defeated them with great ſlaughter, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the Athe-

[47] We have already obſerved, that the Perſians had not any Forum, or place of public reſort.

[48] Herodot. l. v. c. ci. & ſeq.

nians.

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nians. The Eubœan auxiliaries alſo behaved with uncommon ſpirit, headed by their countryman Eualcides, whoſe Olympic victories had been highly extolled in the verſes of Simonides, and whoſe death on this occaſion was long and deeply regretted.

Subſequent conduct of the confederates.

Bad fortune is commonly attended with diſſentions in a confederate army. The allies threw the blame on each other, and the Athenians returned home in diſguſt, determined no longer to endanger [49] themſelves for the ſake of men who employed ſo little wiſdom or valour in their own defence. The Ionians, though deſerted by their allies, and defeated by the enemy at land, carried on the war vigorouſly by ſea. Sailing northwards, they reduced Byzantium, and all the neighbouring cities on the Helleſpont, or Propontis. Their fleet then directed its courſe to Caria, and having become maſter of the moſt conſiderable portion of that coaſt, defeated the Phœnicians off the iſle of Cyprus. The military ſucceſs of the Perſians engaged them, on the other hand, to proſecute the war by land; and their ſubſequent operations diſcovered ſuch a degree of prudence and courage, as they ſeem never to have exerted on any future occaſion.

Vigorous meaſures of the Perſians for cruſhing the rebellion.

In order the more ſpeedily to quaſh the hopes of the inſurgents, they formed their numerous army into three diviſions, allotting to each its particular department. After theſe ſeparate brigades had reduced the ſmaller cities of the Eolians, Dorians, and Ionians, the three great branches of the Hellenic race, it was concerted, that they ſhould re-aſſemble in one body, to attack Miletus, which was regarded as the center of rebellion; and which, though properly an Ionic city, was conſidered, on account of its great ſtrength and importance, rather as the metropolis of the whole country, than as the capital of a particular province. This plan, ſo judicioufly concerted, was carried into execution by three ſons-in-law of Darius, Hymees, Dauriſes, and Otanes; the firſt of whom reduced the Eolian cities; the ſecond conquered the Dorians,

[49] Herodot. ibid.

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as well as the other inhabitants of Caria [50], while Otanes, aſſiſted by the counſels and bravery of Artaphernes, over-ran the Ionic coaſt, burning and deſtroying all before him. The miſerable natives were put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity; the more fortunate eſcaped theſe calamities, by flying to their ſhips, or taking refuge within the lofty walls of Miletus [51].

They beſiege Miletus. Olymp. lxxi. 3. A. C. 494.

The time now approached for attacking that place, which, as its harbour commanded the coaſt, it was neceſſary to inveſt by ſea and land. We might, on this occaſion, expect to find Ariſtagoras, the prime mover of the rebellion, diſplaying the fertile reſources of his genius; but before Miletus was beſieged, Ariſtagoras was no more.

Ariſtagoras flies to Thrace;

The perfidious Ionian, who had perſuaded, not only his own countrymen but all the Aſiatic, and many of the European Greeks, that the public ſafety was the ſole object of his concern, had never, probably, any other end in view but the ſucceſs of his own ſelfiſh deſigns. When Cymé and Clazomené, two neighbouring towns of Ionia, had ſurrendered to the Perſians, he thought it time to provide, by a ſpeedy retreat, for his perſonal ſafety; and abandoning, in its greateſt need, a country which he had involved in all the calamities of war, he fled, with his numerous partizans, to an obſcure corner of Thrace, ſituated beyond the reach, both of the Perſians, from whom he had revolted, and of the Grecians, whom he had betrayed. But while he endeavoured to ſecure his eſtabliſhment there, he provoked, by his cruelty, the deſpair of the natives, and, together with the companions of his perfidy, periſhed miſerably by the hands of thoſe fierce Barbarians, who thus revenged what happened to be, for once, the common cauſe of Greece and Perſia [52].

is ſlain there.

The intrigues of Hiſtiæus.

About this time Hiſtiæus, the Mileſian, the kinſman and friend of Ariſtagoras, arrived from Suſa, commiſſioned by Darius to direct,

[50] After the conqueſt ſeemed complete, Dauriſes was ſurpriſed and ſlain by Heraclides, a general of the Carians. But this diſaſter had no effect on the general fortune of the war. Herod. l. v. c. cvi.

[51] Herodot. l. v. c. cvi. cvii. & ſeq.

[52] Herodot. l. v. c. cxxiv. cxxv. cxxvi.

by

by his experienced wiſdom and perfect knowledge of the country, the valour and activity of the Perſian generals. The birth, the education, the manners of this ſingular man, together with the ſtrong partiality of every Greek in favour of his native land, might have afforded good reaſon to the Perſian king to ſuſpect his fidelity: he indeed ſuſpected it; but the artful addreſs, the warm profeſſions, the ſubtle inſinuation of Hiſtiæus, eaſily overcame every prejudice which his ſituation and character made it natural to conceive againſt him. He was ſent to aſſiſt the army of Darius, his benefactor, in cruſhing the Grecian rebellion; but his real intention was to take upon himſelf the conduct of that rebellion, and to raiſe his own greatneſs on the ruins of the Perſian power. As he paſſed to the coaſt of Aſia Minor, his intrigues produced a conſpiracy at Sardis, which, being diſcovered by the vigilance of Artaphernes, ended in the deſtruction of his accomplices. Hiſtiæus made a ſeaſonable retreat to the Ionian ſhore [53], where he hoped to be received with open arms by his ancient friends. But the Mileſians, remembering his former tyranny, and the recent baſeneſs of his nephew Ariſtagoras, ſhut their gates againſt him. He ſought admiſſion into Chios with no better ſucceſs. The Leſbians, with much difficulty, lent him eight veſſels, which he employed againſt the enemy in the Euxine; but he was taken by the Perſians, and crucified at Sardis, having performed nothing capable to change the fortune of a war, which had been undertaken by his advice, and fomented by his ambition [54]. His death.

Meanwhile the Perſian fleet and army ſurrounded the walls of Miletus. We are not informed of the exact number of their land forces, which, conſiſting of all the united garriſons in thoſe parts, muſt have greatly exceeded any ſtrength which the much-exhauſted Greeks could bring into the field. Their fleet, compoſed of Phenicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, amounted to ſix hundred ſail; beſides a conſiderable The ſiege of Miletus continued.

[53] Herodot. l. vi. c. ii. & ſeq.

[54] Herodot. ibid.

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ſiderable naval force belonging to the iſle of Cyprus, which, having co-operated during one year with the Ionian inſurgents, had recently ſubmitted to Darius. In order to deliberate concerning the means of oppoſing this mighty armament, the Grecians aſſembled in the Panionian council, where it was unanimouſly reſolved, that no attempt ſhould be made to reſiſt the Perſians by land: the citizens of Miletus alone were exhorted to defend their walls to the laſt extremity, under the conduct of Pythagoras, a perſon of great rank and eminence in that republic. While every effort ſhould be exerted for maintaining this ſtrong hold of Ionia, it was determined that the Grecian fleet, the laſt and only hope of the nation, ſhould aſſemble at the ſmall iſland of Ladé, lying off the harbour of Miletus, and offer battle to that of the Perſians [55]. When all their forces were collected at the appointed rendezvous, they amounted to three hundred and fifty-three ſhips, which, containing, each at a medium, a compliment of above two hundred men, made the whole amount to a number ſufficiently reſpectable, and which, had they all remained firm and unanimous in the common cauſe, might, perhaps, have ſtill rendered them victorious. Such, at leaſt, was the opinion of the Perſian commanders, who, when informed of the ſtrength of the Grecian fleet, deſpaired of conquering it by open force, and endeavoured to effect by policy, what they could not accompliſh by valour. Calling together the Ionian tyrants, who, after being expelled their dominions by Ariſtagoras, had taken refuge with the Medes, and actually followed the ſtandard of Darius, they repreſented to thoſe baniſhed princes, that now was the time to ſhew their attachment to the ſervice of the great king. For this purpoſe they were inſtructed, each of them, to perſuade, by meſſage or a perſonal interview, the ſubjects whom he had formerly commanded, to deſert the Grecian confederacy; to acquaint them, that if they complied with this propoſal,

The Greciansdetermine to defend it to the laſt extremity;

and to oppoſe the enemy by ſea.

The Perſians attempt to diſunite them,

[55] Herodot. l. vi. c. vi. & ſeq.

poſal, their houſes and temples ſhould be ſpared, while thoſe of their more obſtinate allies would be deſtroyed by the flames; that their republics ſhould be treated with great lenity, and even received into favour, while their countrymen who reſiſted, would inevitably be reduced into ſervitude; their youth diſgraced by caſtration; their virgins tranſported to Bactria, to ſatisfy the luſt of Barbarians; and their country, which contained every thing once dear to them, their temples, their ſtatues, their oracles, and the tombs of their anceſtors, beſtowed on ſome more deſerving and leſs rebellious people.

without immediate effect.

Theſe inſidious repreſentations, however, produced not any immediate effect. Each community, who thought that they, alone, were ſolicited to abandon the common cauſe, ſcorned, on account of their private advantage, to deſert the general intereſt of the confederacy; and, next day, they called a council of war, to conſider of the means proper, not for appeaſing the wrath, but for reſiſting the arms, of the Perſians.

The advice of Dionyſius the Phocæan.

In this council, where no diſtinction of perſons prevailed, every individual had full liberty to propoſe his opinion. That of Dionyſius, a Phocæan, met with the approbation of the aſſembly: "Our "fortunes, ſaid he, O Ionians! ſtand on a needle's point. We "muſt either vindicate our liberty, or ſuffer the ignominious puniſh-"ment of fugitive ſlaves. If we refuſe preſent labour and danger, "we ſhall be expoſed to eternal diſgrace; but the toils of a few days "will be compenſated by a life of freedom, of glory, and of hap-"pineſs. Submit, therefore, to my direction; and I will pledge "my life, that, if the gods declare not againſt us, the enemy will "either decline the engagement, or, engaging, be ſhamefully de-"feated." The Greeks, conſenting to ſubmit to the diſcipline of Dionyſius, he, every day, arranged the fleet in three diviſions: towards the eaſt extended the right wing, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the Mileſians, twelve belonging to Priene, and three, which formed the whole ſtrength of the ſmall republic of Myus. The centre

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consisted of an hundred prime sailors, furnished by the Chians, seventy from Lesbos, and a few ships, sent by the little cities of Erythræa, Phocæa, and Teios. The Samians alone, with sixty sail, formed the left wing to the westward.

His regulations observed for a while;

In ancient times the success of a naval engagement principally depended on the activity of the rowers, and the skill of the pilots, whose object it always was to dart, with great violence, the sharp beak or prow, of their own ships, against the sides of the enemy. Sometimes, at one stroke, more frequently by repeated assaults, while they themselves, with wonderful dexterity, eluded such a shock, they shattered or sunk the vessel of their opponents. By their continual exercise in navigation, the Greeks had acquired such proficiency in managing their gallies, that their movement depending, not on the external impulse of the wind, but on the active principle within, resembled the rapid motion of a fish in its native element. Constant practice, however, was necessary to maintain this superiority, and still more to preserve their bodies in a capacity for labour, which, on account of the softness of the climate and the heat of the season, were ready to melt away in sloth and debility. The prudent Phocæan, therefore, commanded them often to change their stations, habituating the sailors to the labour of the oar, and the restraints of discipline, which he assured them would, by habit, become easy and agreeable. For seven days they cheerfully obeyed his commands: but, at length, the warmth of the season rendered their exertions too great for their strength. Distempers broke out in the fleet. The Greeks, always averse to every shadow of absolute authority, complained, at first, in secret murmurs, and afterwards in licentious clamours, of the intolerable hardships to which they were exposed by the severity of an insolent Phocæan, who, though he brought only three ships to the common defence, had assumed an arbitrary direction in all their affairs. Governed by these sentiments, they refused any longer to obey his commands, landed on the shore of Ladé, formed

but discontinued.

formed a camp in the iſland, and, ſitting under the ſhade of their tents, diſdained the uſeful labours to which they had hitherto ſubmitted.

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The Samians, who ſaw and dreaded the conſequence of this general diſorder, privately accepted the propoſal which had been made them by the Perſians. Their perfidy brought deſtruction on the common cauſe; for in the engagement, which followed ſoon after, they hoiſted ſail and deſerted the line. The Leſbians followed their example. Among thoſe, however, who obtained ſignal honour, by adhering to the cauſe of Greece, were eleven captains of Samian veſſels, who deteſted the treachery of their companions, and deſpiſed the ſigns of their admirals; on which account they were rewarded, at their return, by the community of Samos, with a pillar and inſcription, tranſmitting their names, with immortal renown, to poſterity. But of all the Greeks, the Chians acquired greateſt glory on that memorable day: notwithſtanding their inferior ſtrength they defended themſelves to the laſt extremity, and rendered the victory late and dear to the Perſians. The naval defeat was ſoon followed by the taking of Miletus, which ſurrendered in the ſixth year from the commencement of the revolt. The Perſians made good the threats which they had denounced againſt the obſtinacy of their enemies. Samos, alone, at the price of its perfidy, obtained the ſafety of its houſes and temples. Thoſe of all the other communities were burnt to the ground. The women and children were dragged into captivity. Such of the Mileſian citizens as eſcaped not by flight, were either put to the ſword, or carried into the heart of Aſia, and finally ſettled in the territory of Ampé, near the mouth of the Tygris. In other places, men of a timid or melancholy complexion continued to brood over the ruins of their ancient ſeats. The more enterpriſing ſailed to Greece, to the coaſt of Italy and Sicily, and to the Greek colonies in Africa. Probably not a few betook themſelves to piracy, among whom was Dionyſius the Phocæan, who plundered the Tuſcan and Carthaginian veſſels, always ſparing the Grecian. The

The Greeks defeated in a ſea-fight.

Miletus taken. Olymp. lxxi. 3. A. C. 494.

Diſperſion of the Greeks, and deſolation of their country.

Perſian

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Perſian fleet wintered at Miletus, and next ſpring ſubdued the iſlands of Chios, Leſbos, and Tenedos [56]. Thus were the Aſiatic Greeks conquered for the third time, once by the Lydians, and twice by the Perſians.

Ionia begins to flouriſh under the Perſian government.

But notwithſtanding theſe repeated ſhocks, which ſubjected the inhabitants of Ionia to ſuch dreadful calamities, that delightful country ſoon recovered its ancient populouſneſs and ſplendour. The Perſian government, having ſufficiently puniſhed the rebellion, began gradually to relent. The Ionians became an object of care and protection to Darius. Uſeful regulations were made for maintaining the public peace, as well as for ſecuring the lives and properties of individuals. The face of the country began once more to ſmile; the cities, being built of ſlight materials, were eaſily repaired; while the exuberant fertility of the ſoil, the attractive beauties of the proſpect, the charms of the climate, and the convenience of the harbours (an advantage of which the Perſians knew not to avail themſelves), ſpeedily collected the Greeks into their ancient habitations. Even thoſe places which had been deſerted or deſtroyed, emerged from the gloom of deſolation, and aſſumed the chearful appearance of induſtrious activity. And ſuch was the attachment of the Greeks to their native land, and ſuch their ambition to adorn it, that the labour of a few years repaired the deſtructive ravages of the Barbarians.

[56] Herodot. l. vi. c. xxxi. & ſeq.

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Reſentment of Darius againſt Greece.—Maritime Expedition of Mardonius.—Invaſion of Greece by Datis and Artaphernes.—Battle of Marathon.—Tranſactions in the Interval between that Battle and Xerxes's Invaſion.—The Invaſion of Xerxes.—Battle of Thermopylæ.

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Introduction to the hiſtory of the Perſian invaſion.

IN attempting to give the reader a general, but tolerably complete, view of the ancient hiſtory of Greece, it was often neceſſary to have recourſe to very obſcure materials; to arrange and combine the mutilated fragments of poets and mythologiſts; and to trace, by the eſtabliſhed principles of critical conjecture, and the certain, becauſe uniform, current of human paſſions, thoſe events and tranſactions which ſeem moſt curious and important. In this ſubſequent part of my work, the difficulty conſiſts, not in diſcovering, but in ſelecting, the materials; for the magnificent preparations, the ſplendid commencement, and the unexpected iſſue, of the Perſian war, have been related with the accuracy of deſcription, and adorned by the charms of eloquence. The Grecian poets, hiſtorians, and orators, dwell with complacence on a theme, not leſs important than extenſive, and equally adapted to diſplay their own abilities, and to flatter the pride of their country. The variety of their inimitable performances, generally known and ſtudied in every country converſant with literature, renders the ſubject familiar to the reader, and difficult to the writer. Yet does the merit of thoſe performances, however juſtly and univerſally admired, fall ſhort of the

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extraordinary exploits which they deſcribe; exploits which, though ancient, ſtill preſerve a freſh and unfading luſtre, and will remain, to the lateſt ages, precious monuments of that generous magnanimity, which cheriſhes the ſeeds of virtue, inſpires the love of liberty, and animates the fire of patriotiſm.

Subject divided into three acts.

The memorable tragedy (to adopt on this occaſion an apt alluſion of Plutarch), which ended in the eternal diſgrace of the Perſian name, may be divided, with propriety, into three principal acts. The firſt contains the invaſion of Greece by Darius's generals, Datis and Artaphernes, who were defeated in the battle of Marathon. The ſecond conſiſts in the expedition undertaken ten years afterwards by Xerxes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Darius, who fled precipitately from Greece, after the ruin of his fleet near the iſle of Salamis. The third, and concluding act, is the deſtruction of the Perſian armies in the bloody fields of Mycalé and Platea; events which happened on the ſame day, nearly two years after Xerxes's triumphal entry into Greece.

Olymp. lxxii. 3. A. C. 490.

Olymp. lxxv. 1. A. C. 480.

Olymp. lxxv. 2. A. C. 479.

Darius's reſentment againſt the Athenians.

The complete reduction of the inſurgents on the Aſiatic coaſt, prompted Darius to take vengeance on ſuch Greeks as had encouraged and aſſiſted the unſucceſsful rebellion of his ſubjects. The proud monarch of the eaſt, when informed that the citizens of Athens had co-operated with the Ionians in the taking and burning of Sardis, diſcovered evident marks of the moſt furious reſentment; ſhooting an arrow into the air, he prayed that heaven might aſſiſt him in puniſhing the audacious inſolence of that republic; and every time he ſat down to table, an attendant reminded him of the Athenians, leſt the delights of eaſtern luxury ſhould ſeduce him from his fell purpoſe of revenge [1].

Unfortunate expedition of Mardonius; Olymp. lxxi. 4. A. C. 493.

The execution of his deſign was entruſted to Mardonius, a Perſian nobleman of the firſt rank, whoſe perſonal, as well as heredi-

[1] Herodot. l. v. c. cv. & ſeq.

tary

tary advantages, had entitled him to the marriage of Artazoſtra, daughter of Darius; and whoſe youth and inexperience were compenſated, in the opinion of his maſter, by his ſuperior genius for war, and innate love of glory. In the ſecond ſpring after the cruel puniſhment of the Ionians, Mardonius approached the European coaſts with an armament ſufficient to inſpire terror into Greece. The rich iſland of Thaſus, whoſe golden mines yielded a revenue of near three hundred talents, ſubmitted to his fleet; while his land-forces added the barbarous province of Macedon to the Perſian empire. But having ſteered ſouthward from Thaſus, the whole armament was overtaken, and almoſt deſtroyed, by a violent ſtorm, while endeavouring to double the promontory of Mount Athos, which is connected with the Macedonian ſhore by a low and narrow neck of land, but forms a long and lofty ridge in the ſea. Three hundred veſſels were daſhed againſt the rocks; twenty thouſand men periſhed in the waves. This diſaſter totally defeated the deſign of the expedition; and Mardonius having recovered the ſhattered remains of the fleet and army, returned to the court of Perſia, where, by flattering the pride, he averted the reſentment of Darius; while he repreſented, that the Perſian forces, invincible by the power of man, had yielded to the fury of the elements; and while he deſcribed and exaggerated, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of his countrymen, the exceſſive cold, the violent tempeſts, the monſtrous marine animals, which diſtinguiſh and render formidable, thoſe diſtant and unknown ſeas [z].

who loſes the greateſt part of his fleet.

The addreſs of Mardonius reſcued him from puniſhment; but his miſfortunes removed him from the command of Lower Aſia. Two generals were appointed in his room, of whom Datis, a Mede, was the more diſtinguiſhed by his age and experience, while Artaphernes, a Perſian, was the more conſpicuous for his rank and no-

Succeeded by Datis and Artaphernes. Olymp. lxxii. 3. A. C. 490.

[z] Herodot. l. vi. c. xliii. & ſeq.

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bility, being deſcended of the royal blood, and ſon to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, whoſe name has frequently occurred in the preſent hiſtory. That his lieutenants might appear with a degree of ſplendour ſuitable to the majeſty of Perſia, Darius aſſembled an army of five hundred thouſand men [3], conſiſting of the flower of the provincial troops of his extenſive empire. The preparation of an adequate number of tranſports and ſhips of war, occaſioned but a ſhort delay. The maritime provinces of the empire, Egypt, Phœnicia, and the coaſts of the Euxine and Egean ſeas, were commanded to fit out, with all poſſible expedition, their whole naval ſtrength; the old veſſels were repaired, many new ones were built, and in the courſe of the ſame year in which the preparations commenced, a fleet of ſix hundred ſail was ready to put to ſea. This immenſe armament the Perſian generals were ordered to employ, in extending their conqueſts on the ſide of Europe, in ſubduing the republics of Greece, and more particularly in chaſtiſing the inſolence of the Eretrians and Athenians, the only nations which had conſpired with the revolt of the Ionians, and aſſiſted that rebellious people in the deſtruction of Sardis. With reſpect to the other nations which might be reduced by his arms, the orders of Darius were general, and the particular treatment of the vanquiſhed was left to the diſcretion of his lieutenants; but concerning the Athenians and Eretrians, he gave the moſt poſitive commands, that their territories ſhould be laid waſte, their houſes and temples burned or demoliſhed, and their perſons carried in captivity to the eaſtern extremities of his empire. Secure of effecting their purpoſe, his generals were furniſhed with a great number of chains for confining the Grecian priſoners; a haughty preſumption (to uſe the language of antiquity) in the ſuperiority of man over the power of fortune,

Their armament and views.

[3] Beſides Herodotus, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus, this expedition is related by Lyſias, Orat. Funeb. Iſocrat. Panegyr. Plato, Menex. Pauſan. l. x. c. xx. Juſtin. l. ii. c. ix. Corn. Nepos, in Milt.

which

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which on this, as on other occaſions, was puniſhed by the juſt vengeance of heaven.

They reduce the Cyclades.

The Perſian fleet enjoyed a proſperous voyage to the iſle of Samos, from whence they were ready to proceed to the Athenian coaſt. The late diſaſter which befel the armament commanded by Mardonius, deterred them from purſuing a direct courſe along the ſhores of Thrace and Macedonia: they determined to ſteer in an oblique line through the Cyclades, a cluſter of ſeventeen ſmall iſlands, lying oppoſite to the territories of Argos and Attica. The approach of ſuch an innumerable hoſt, whoſe tranſports darkened the broad ſurface of the Ægean, ſtruck terror into the unwarlike inhabitants of thoſe delightful iſlands. The Naxians took refuge in their inacceſſible mountains; the natives of Delos, the favourite reſidence of Latona and her divine children, abandoned the awful majeſty of their temple, which was overſhadowed by the rough and lofty mount Cynthus. Paros [4], famous for its marble; Andros [5], celebrated for its vines; Ceos, the birth-place of the plaintive Simonides; Syrus, the native country of the ingenious and philoſophic Pherecydes; Ios, the tomb of Homer [6]; the induſtrious Amorgos [7]; as well as all the other [8] iſlands which ſurrounded the once ſacred ſhores of Delos,

[4] The marble of Paros was ſuperior in whiteneſs, and the fineneſs of its grain, to the hard ſparkling veins of mount Pentelicus in Attica; which, from the ſize and brilliancy of its component particles, ſomewhat reſembling ſalt, is called by the Italians *Marmo ſalino*. Theſe two kinds of marble were always the moſt valued by the Greeks; but the marble of Paros, was preferred by artiſts, as yielding more eaſily to the graving tool, and, on account of the homogeneouſneſs of its parts, leſs apt to ſparkle, and give falſe lights to the ſtatue. The works of Parian marble, in the Farneſina palace at Rome, are mentioned by Winkelmann. Geſchichte der kunſt des Alterthums, l. i. c. 2.

[5] The wines of Andros and Naxos were compared to nectar. See Athenæus, l. i.

[6] Strabo, l. x. & Plin. l. iv. Pauſanias (in Phocic.) ſays, that Climenes, the mother of Homer, was a native of the iſle of Ios; and Aulus Gellius, l. iii. aſſerts, on the authority of Ariſtotle, that this iſland was the birth-place of Homer himſelf.

[7] Amorgos was long famous for the robes made there, and diſtinguiſhed by its name. Suid. ad voc. They were dyed red, with a ſpecies of lichen, which abounds in that iſland, and which was formerly uſed by the Engliſh and French in dying ſcarlet.

[8] Herodot. l. vi. c. 94.

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either ſpontaneouſly offered the uſual acknowledgment of earth and water, as a teſtimony of their friendſhip, or ſubmitted, after a feeble reſiſtance, to the Perſian arms[9].

and Eubœa;

The invaders next proceeded weſtward to the iſle of Eubœa, where, after almoſt a continued engagement of ſix days, their ſtrength and numbers, aſſiſted by the perfidy of two traitors, finally prevailed over the valour and obſtinacy of the Eretrians[10].

invade Attica.

Hitherto every thing was proſperous; and had their expedition ended with the events already related, it would have afforded juſt matter of triumph. But a more difficult taſk remained, in the execution of which the Perſians (happily for Europe) experienced a fatal reverſe of fortune. After the reduction of Eubœa, the Athenian coaſts, ſeparated from that iſland only by the narrow ſtrait of Euripus, ſeemed to invite the generals of Darius to an eaſy conqueſt. They readily accepted the invitation, as the puniſhment of Athens being the main object which their maſter had in view when he fitted out his ſeemingly invincible armament. The meaſures which they adopted for accompliſhing this deſign appear abundantly judicious; the greater part of the army was left to guard the iſlands which they had ſubdued; the uſeleſs multitude of attendants were tranſported to the coaſt of Aſia; with an hundred thouſand choſen infantry, and a due proportion of horſe, the Perſian generals ſet ſail from Eubœa, and ſafely arrived on the *Marathonian ſhore*, a diſtrict of Attica about thirty miles from the capital, conſiſting chiefly of level ground, and therefore admitting the operations of cavalry, which formed the main ſtrength of the Barbarian army, and in which the Greeks were very poorly provided. Here the

[9] Herodot. l. vi. c. 101. & ſeq.

[10] The preſent deplorable ſtate of theſe once fortunate iſlands may be ſeen in Tournefort, the moſt learned of travellers. Deſpotiſm, a double ſuperſtition (the Grecian and Mahommedan), pirates, banditti, and peſtilence, have not yet depopulated the Cyclades, which reſpectively contain three, five, ten, and the largeſt, twenty thouſand inhabitants.

Perſians

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Perſians pitched their camp, by the advice of Hippias, the baniſhed king of Athens[11], whoſe perfect knowledge of the country, and intimate acquaintance with the affairs of Greece, rendered his opinion on all occaſions of great value and importance.

The Athenians take meaſures for their defence.

Meanwhile the Athenians had raiſed an army, and appointed ten generals, with equal power, choſen as uſual from the ten tribes, into which the citizens were divided. Their obſtinate and almoſt continual hoſtilities with the Phocians, the Thebans, and their other northern neighbours, prevented them from entertaining any hopes of aſſiſtance from that quarter: but, on the firſt appearance of the Perſian fleet, they ſent a meſſenger to Sparta, to acquaint the ſenate of that republic with the immediate danger which threatened them, and to explain how much it concerned the intereſt, as well as the honour of the Spartans, who had acquired juſt pre-eminence among the Grecian ſtates, not to permit the deſtruction of the moſt ancient and the moſt ſplendid of the Grecian cities. The ſenate and aſſembly approved the juſtice of this demand, they collected their troops, and ſeemed ready to afford their rivals, whoſe danger now converted them into allies, a ſpeedy and effectual relief. But it was only the ninth day of the month; and an ancient, unaccountable, and therefore the more reſpected, ſuperſtition prevented the Spartans from taking the field, before the full of the moon[12]. When that period ſhould arrive, they promiſed to march, with the utmoſt expedition, to the plains of Marathon.

Demand aſſiſtance from Sparta.

Reinforced by the Plateans.

Meanwhile the Athenians had been reinforced by a thouſand choſen warriors from Platæa, a ſmall city of Bœotia, diſtant only nine miles from Thebes. The independent ſpirit of the Plataeans rendered them as deſirous of preſerving their freedom, as they were unable to defend it againſt the Theban power. But that invaluable poſſeſſion, which their own weakneſs would have made it neceſſary for them to ſurrender, the protection of Athens enabled them to maintain, and, in

[11] Thucyd. l. vi. c. lix. Herodot. ubi ſupra.

[12] Strabo, l. ix. p. 611; and Herodot. ibid.

return

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return for this ineſtimable favour, they diſcovered towards their benefactors, on the preſent as well as on every future occaſion, the ſincereſt proofs of gratitude and reſpect. The Athenian army, now ready to take the field, conſiſted of about ten thouſand freemen, and of probably a ſtill greater number of armed ſlaves. The generals might certainly have collected a larger body of troops; but they ſeem to have been averſe to commit the ſafety of the ſtate to the fortune of a ſingle engagement; neither would it have been prudent to leave the walls of Athens, and the other fortreſſes of Attica, altogether naked and defenceleſs. It had been a matter of deliberation in the aſſembly, whether they ought not to ſtand a ſiege, rather than venture a battle. The Athenian fortifications, indeed, had not attained that ſtrength which they afterwards acquired, yet they might have long reſiſted the artleſs aſſaults of the Perſians; or had the latter got poſſeſſion of the walls, the long, narrow, and winding ſtreets [13] of Athens would have enabled a ſmall number of men to make an obſtinate, and perhaps a ſucceſsful defence, againſt a ſuperior but leſs determined enemy. But all hopes from this mode of reſiſtance were damped by the conſideration, that the immenſe hoſt of the Perſians might ſurround their city on every ſide, intercept their ſupplies, and, inſtead of conquering them by aſſault, reduce them by famine. At the ſame time Miltiades, one of the ten generals, whoſe patriotiſm and love of liberty we have already had occaſion to applaud, animated his countrymen with the deſire of victory and glory. This experienced commander knew the Perſians, he knew his fellow-citizens, and his diſcerning ſagacity had formed a proper eſtimate of both.

The Athenians encouraged by Miltiades to riſk a battle.

His motives explained in the military character of the Athenians,

The Athenians were few in number, but choſen men; their daily practice in the gymnaſtic had given them agility of limbs, dexterity of hand, and an unuſual degree of vigour both of mind and body.

[13] Ariſtotle informs us, that this was the ancient mode of building in all the cities of Greece. ARIST. Polit.

Their

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Their conſtant exerciſe in war had inured them to hardſhip and fatigue, accuſtomed them to the uſeful reſtraints of diſcipline, and familiariſed them to thoſe ſkilful evolutions which commonly decide the fortune of the field. Their defenſive as well as offenſive armour was remarkably complete; and an acknowledged pre-eminence among their neighbours, had inſpired them with a military enthuſiaſm, which on this occaſion was doubly animated, in defence of their freedom and of their country. In their pertinacious ſtruggles with each other, for whatever men hold moſt precious, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, had adopted a mode of military arrangement which cannot be too highly extolled. Drawn up in a cloſe and firm phalanx, commonly ſixteen deep, the impetuous vigour of the moſt robuſt youth held the firſt ranks; the laſt were cloſed by the ſteady courage of experienced veterans, whoſe reſentment againſt cowardice ſeemed more terrible to their companions than the arms of an enemy. As the ſafety of the laſt ranks depended on the activity of the firſt, their united aſſaults were rendered alike furious and perſevering, and hardly to be reſiſted by any ſuperiority of numbers[14].

The

[14] The attention given by the Greeks to the relative diſpoſition of the ranks, according to the reſpective qualities of the men who compoſed them, introduced certain rules in ancient tactics which would be unneceſſary in the modern. To convert the rear into the front, a modern army has only to face about, becauſe it is not very material in what order the ranks are placed. But we learn from the tactics of Arian, that the Greeks had contrived three other ways of performing this evolution, in all of which the ſame front was uniformly preſented to the enemy.—The firſt was called the Macedonian. In this evolution the file-leader faced to the right-about, without ſtirring from his place; the other men in the file paſſed behind him, and, after a certain number of paces, alſo faced about, and found themſelves in their reſpective places.—The ſecond was called the Cretan. In this the file-leader not only faced about, but paced over the depth of the phalanx. The reſt followed him, and the whole found themſelves in the ſame place as before, the ranks only reverſed.—The third was called the Lacedæmonian, which was preciſely the reverſe of the firſt. In the Lacedæmonian evolution the bringer-up, or laſt man in each file, whom the Greeks called ουραγος, faced about, then halted. The file-leader faced about, and paced over twice the depth of the phalanx, the reſt following him; the whole thus found themſelves with the ſame front towards the enemy, the ranks only reverſed. The difference between theſe

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and of the Perſians.

The Perſians (for under the name of Perſians are comprehended the various nations which followed the ſtandard of Datis and Artaphernes) were not deficient in martial appearance, nor perhaps intirely deſtitute of valour, being ſelected with care from the flower of the Aſiatic provinces. But, compared with the regularity of the Greek battalions, they may be regarded as a promiſcuous crowd, armed in each diviſion with the peculiar weapons of their reſpective countries, incapable of being harmonized by general movements, or united into any uniform ſyſtem of military arrangement. Darts and arrows were their uſual inſtruments of attack; and even the moſt completely armed truſted to ſome ſpecies of miſſile weapon. They carried in their left hands light targets of reed or oſier, and their bodies were ſometimes covered with thin plates of ſcaly metal; but they had not any defenſive armour worthy of being compared with the firm corſelets, the brazen greaves, the maſſy bucklers of their Athenian opponents. The braveſt of the Barbarians fought on horſeback; but in all ages the long Grecian ſpear has proved the ſureſt defence againſt the attack of cavalry, inſomuch that even the Romans, in fighting againſt the Numidian horſemen, preferred the ſtrength of the phalanx to the activity of the legion. The inferiority of their armour and of their diſcipline, was not the only defect of the Perſians; they wanted that ardour and emulation which, in the cloſe and deſperate engagements of ancient times, were neceſſary to animate the courage of a ſoldier. Their ſpirits were broken under the yoke of a double ſervitude, impoſed by the blind ſuperſtition of the Magi, and the capricious tyranny of Darius; with them their native coun-

three evolutions, conſiſted in this, that the Macedonian, where the file-leader ſtood ſtill, and the reſt went behind him, had the appearance of a retreat; ſince the whole line receded by the depth of the phalanx from the enemy: in the Cretan, the men preſerved the ſame ground which they had originally occupied; but the Lacedæmonian carried the whole line, by the depth of the phalanx, forward on the enemy. Among the firſt military changes introduced by Philip of Macedon, hiſtorians mention his having adopted the Lacedæmonian evolution, for changing the front, in preference to that formerly uſed by his own countrymen.

try

try was an empty name; and their minds, degraded by the mean vices of wealth and luxury, were inſenſible to the native charms, as well as to the immortal reward of manly virtue.

Prudent conduct of Miltiades.

Miltiades allowed not, however, his contempt of the enemy, or his confidence in his own troops, to ſeduce him into a fatal ſecurity. Nothing on his part was neglected; and the only obſtacle to ſucceſs was fortunately removed by the diſintereſted moderation of his colleagues. The continual dread of tyrants had taught the jealous republicans of Greece to blend, on every occaſion, their civil with their military inſtitutions. Governed by this principle, the Athenians, as we already had occaſion to obſerve, elected ten generals, who were inveſted, each in his turn, with the ſupreme command. This regulation was extremely unfavourable to that unity of deſign which ought to pervade all the ſucceſſive operations of an army; an inconvenience which ſtruck the diſcerning mind of Ariſtides, who on this occaſion diſplayed the firſt openings of his illuſtrious character. The day approaching when it belonged to him to aſſume the ſucceſſive command, he generouſly yielded his authority [15] to the approved valour and experience of Miltiades. The other generals followed the illuſtrious example, ſacrificing the dictates of private ambition to the intereſt and glory of their country; and the commander in chief thus enjoyed an opportunity of exerting, uncontrouled, the utmoſt vigour of his genius.

Generous patriotiſm of Ariſtides.

Diſpoſition of both armies.

Leſt he ſhould be ſurrounded by a ſuperior force, he choſe for his camp the declivity of a hill, diſtant about a mile from the encampment of the enemy. The intermediate ſpace he cauſed to be ſtrewed in the night with the branches and trunks of trees, in order to interrupt the motion, and break the order, of the Perſian cavalry, which ſeem not to have acted in the engagement. In the morning his troops were drawn up in battle array, in a long and full line; the

[15] Plutarch. in Ariſtid. tom. ii. p. 489.

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braveſt of the Athenians on the right, on the left the warriors of Platæa, and in the middle the ſlaves[16], who had been admitted on this occaſion to the honour of bearing arms. By weakening his centre, the leaſt valuable part, he extended his front equal to that of the enemy: his rear was defended by the hill above-mentioned, which, verging round to meet the ſea, likewiſe covered his right; his left was flanked by a lake or marſh. Datis, although he perceived the ſkilful diſpoſition of the Greeks, was yet too confident in the vaſt inferiority of his numbers to decline the engagement, eſpecially as he now enjoyed an opportunity of deciding the conteſt before the expected auxiliaries could arrive from Peloponneſus. When the Athenians ſaw the enemy in motion they ran down the hill, with unuſual ardour, to encounter them; a circumſtance which proceeded, perhaps, from their eagerneſs to engage, but which muſt have been attended with the good conſequence of ſhortening the time of their expoſure to the ſlings and darts of the Barbarians.

Defeat of the Perſians in the battle of Marathon; Olymp. lxxii. 3. A. C. 490.

The two armies cloſed; the battle was rather fierce than long. The Perſian ſword and Scythian hatchet penetrated, or cut down, the centre of the Athenians; but the two wings, which compoſed the main ſtrength of the Grecian army, broke, routed, and put to flight the correſponding diviſions of the enemy. Inſtead of purſuing the vanquiſhed they cloſed their extremities, and attacked the Barbarians who had penetrated their centre. The Grecian ſpear overcame all oppoſition: the braveſt of the Perſians periſhed in the field; the remainder were purſued with great ſlaughter; and ſuch was their terror and ſurpriſe, that they ſought for refuge, not in their camp, but in their ſhips. The baniſhed tyrant of Athens fell in the engagement: two Athenian generals, and about two hundred citizens, were found among the ſlain: the Perſians left ſix thouſand of their beſt

[16] There is not any hiſtorian, indeed, who makes mention of this arrangement, although, by comparing the accounts of the havoc made in the centre, with the ſmall number of Athenian citizens who were ſlain, it is evident that the ſlaves muſt have been the greateſt ſufferers in the action, and therefore poſted, as is ſaid in the text.

troops

troops in the ſcene of action. Probably, a ſtill greater number were killed in the purſuit. The Greeks followed them to the ſhore; but the lightneſs of the Barbarian armour favoured their eſcape. Seven ſhips were taken; the reſt ſailed with a favourable gale, doubled the cape of Sunium; and, after a fruitleſs attempt to ſurpriſe the harbour of Athens, returned to the coaſt of Aſia [17].

who ſail to Aſia.

The loſs and diſgrace of the Perſians on this memorable occaſion, was compenſated by only one conſolation. They had been defeated in the engagement, compelled to abandon their camp, and driven ignominiouſly to their ſhips; but they carried with them to Aſia the Eretrian priſoners, who, in obedience to the orders of Darius, were ſafely conducted to Suſa. Theſe unhappy men had every reaſon to dread being treated as victims of royal reſentment; but when they were conducted in chains to the preſence of the great king, their reception was very different from what their fears naturally led them to expect. Whether reflection ſuggeſted to Darius the pleaſure which he might derive in peace, and the aſſiſtance which he might receive in war, from the arts and arms of the Eretrians, or that a ray of magnanimity for once enlightened the ſoul of a deſpot, he ordered the Greeks to be immediately releaſed from captivity, and ſoon afterwards aſſigned them for their habitation the fertile diſtrict of Anderica, lying in the province of Ciſſia, in Suſiana, at the diſtance of only forty miles from the capital. There the colony remained in the time of Herodotus, preſerving their Grecian language and inſtitutions; and after a revolution of ſix centuries, their deſcendants were viſited by Apollonius Tyaneus [18], the celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher, and were ſtill diſtinguiſhed from the ſurrounding nations by the indubitable marks of European extraction.

Unexpected treatment of the Eretrians.

When any diſaſter befel the Perſian arms, the great, and once independent, powers of the empire were ever ready to revolt. The

Obſtacles to the ſecond invaſion of Greece.

[17] Herodot. l. vi. c. cxi. & ſeq.

[18] Philoſtrat. in Vit. Apollon.

neceſſity

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neceſſity of watching the firſt ſymptoms of thoſe formidable rebellions gradually drew the troops of Darius from the coaſt of Leſſer Aſia; whoſe inhabitants, delivered from the oppreſſion of foreign mercenaries, reſumed their wonted ſpirit and activity; and except in paying, conjunctly with ſeveral neighbouring provinces, an annual contribution of about an hundred thouſand pounds, the Aſiatic Greeks were ſcarcely ſubjected to any proof of dependence. Diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the univerſal empire of the eaſt, the revolt of Egypt, and the death of Darius, retarded for ten years the reſolution formed by that prince, and adopted by his ſon and ſucceſſor Xerxes, of reſtoring the luſtre of the Perſian arms, not only by taking vengeance on the pertinacious obſtinacy of the Athenians, but by effecting the complete conqueſt of Europe [19]. We ſhall have occaſion fully to deſcribe the immenſe preparations which were made for this purpoſe; but it is neceſſary firſt to examine the tranſactions of the Greeks, during the important interval between the battle of Marathon and the expedition of Xerxes; and to explain the principal circumſtances which enabled a country, neither wealthy nor populous, to reſiſt the moſt formidable invaſion recorded in hiſtory.

The ſentiments and behaviour of the Athenians in conſequence of their victory.

The joy excited among the Athenians by a victory, which not only delivered them from the dread of their enemies, but raiſed them to diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence among their rivals and allies, is evident from a remarkable incident which happened immediately after the battle. As ſoon as fortune had viſibly declared in their favour, a ſoldier was diſpatched from the army to convey the welcome news to the capital. He ran with incredible velocity, and appeared, covered with duſt and blood, in the preſence of the ſenators. Exceſs of fatigue conſpired with the tranſports of enthuſiaſm to exhauſt the vigour of his frame. He had only time to exclaim, in two words, *Rejoice with the victors* [20], and immediately expired.

[19] Herodot. l. vii. c. i. & ii.

[20] Χαιρετε χαιρομεν.

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It is probable that the ſame ſpirit which animated this nameleſs patriot, was ſpeedily diffuſed through the whole community; and the Athenian inſtitutions were well calculated to keep alive the generous ardour which ſucceſs had inſpired. Part of the ſpoil was gratefully dedicated to the gods; the remainder was appropriated as the juſt reward of merit. The obſequies of the dead were celebrated with ſolemn pomp; and according to an ancient and ſacred cuſtom, their fame was commemorated by annual returns of feſtive magnificence [21]. The honours beſtowed on thoſe who had fallen in the field, reflected additional luſtre on their companions who ſurvived the victory. In extenſive kingdoms, the praiſe of ſucceſsful valour is weakened by diffuſion; and ſuch too is the inequality between the dignity of the general and the meanneſs of the ſoldier, that the latter can ſeldom hope to attain, however well he may deſerve, his juſt proportion of military fame [22]. But the Grecian republics were ſmall; a perpetual rivalſhip ſubſiſted among them; and when any particular ſtate eclipſed the glory of its neighbours, the ſuperiority was ſenſibly felt by every member of the commonwealth.

Honours beſtowed on Miltiades.

That pre-eminence, which by the battle of Marathon Athens acquired in Greece, Miltiades, by his peculiar merit in that battle, attained in Athens. His valour and conduct were celebrated by the artleſs praiſes of the vulgar, as well as by the more elaborate encomiums of the learned. Before the æra of this celebrated engagement, tragedy, the unrivalled diſtinction of Athenian literature, had been invented and cultivated by the ſucceſsful labours of Theſpis, Phrynicus, and Æſchylus. The laſt, who is juſtly regarded as the great improver of the Grecian drama, diſplayed in the battle of Marathon the ſame martial ardour which ſtill breathes in his poetry. We may reaſonably imagine, that he would employ

[21] Diodor. Sic. l. xi. Herodot. ubi ſupra.

[22] Plutarch. in Cimon, p. 18[illegible] & Æſchin. adverſ. Cteſiphont. p. 301. furniſh us with examples of the jealouſy of the Greeks, leſt the fame due to their troops in general ſhould be engroſſed by the commanders.

the

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the higheſt flights of his fancy in extolling the glory of exploits in which he had himſelf borne ſo diſtinguiſhed a part; and particularly that he would exert all the powers of his lofty genius in celebrating the hero and patriot, whoſe enthuſiaſm had animated the battle, and whoſe ſuperior talents had inſured the victory. The name of the conqueror at Marathon re-echoed through the ſpacious theatres of Athens, which, though they had not yet acquired that ſolid and durable compoſition ſtill diſcernible in the ruins of ancient grandeur, were already built in a form ſufficiently capacious to contain the largeſt proportion of the citizens. The magnificent encomiums beſtowed on Miltiades in the preſence of his aſſembled countrymen, by whoſe conſenting voice they were repeated and approved, fired with emulation the young candidates for fame, while they enabled the general to obtain that mark of public confidence and eſteem which was the utmoſt ambition of all the Grecian leaders.

who is appointed to command the fleet;

Theſe leaders, while they remained within the territories of their reſpective ſtates, were entruſted (as we already had occaſion to obſerve) with only that moderate authority which ſuited the equal condition of freedom. But when they were appointed to the command of the fleet in foreign parts, they obtained almoſt unlimited power, and might acquire immenſe riches. To this exalted ſtation Miltiades was advanced by the general ſuffrage of his country; and having ſailed with a fleet of ſeventy gallies, the whole naval ſtrength of the republic, he determined to expel the Perſian garriſons from the iſles of the Ægean; to reduce the ſmaller communities to the obedience of Athens, and to ſubject the more wealthy and powerful to heavy contributions.

Beſieges Paros unſucceſsfully.

The firſt operations of the Athenian armament were crowned with ſucceſs; ſeveral iſlands were ſubdued, conſiderable ſums of money were collected. But the fleet arriving before Paros, every thing proved adverſe to the Athenians. Miltiades, who had received a perſonal injury from Tiſagoras, a man of great authority in that

iſland, yielded to the dictates of private reſentment, and confounding the innocent with the guilty, demanded from the Parians the ſum of an hundred talents (near twenty thouſand pounds Sterling). If the money were not immediately paid, he threatened to lay waſte their territory, to burn their city, and to teach them by cruel experience the ſtern rights of a conqueror. The exorbitancy of the demand rendered compliance with it impoſſible; the Parians prepared for their defence, guided however by the motives of a generous deſpair, rather than by any well-grounded hope of reſiſting the invaders. For twenty-ſix days they maintained poſſeſſion of the capital of the iſland, which the Athenians, after ravaging all the adjacent country, beſieged by ſea and land. The time now approached when Paros muſt have ſurrendered to a ſuperior force; but it was the good fortune of the iſlanders, that an extenſive grove, which happened to be ſet on fire on the oppoſite coaſt of Aſia, was believed by the beſiegers to indicate the approach of a Perſian fleet. The ſame opinion gained ground among the Parians, who determined, by their utmoſt efforts, to preſerve the place, until they ſhould be relieved by the aſſiſtance of their protectors. Miltiades had received a dangerous wound during the ſiege; and the weakneſs of his body impairing the faculties of his mind, and rendering him too ſenſible to the impreſſions of fear, he gave orders to draw off his victorious troops, and returned with the whole fleet to Athens.

Accuſed by his enemies.

His conduct in the preſent expedition ill correſponded to his former fame; and he ſoon experienced the inſtability of popular favour. The Athenian citizens, and particularly the more eminent and illuſtrious, had univerſally their rivals and enemies. The competitions for civil offices, or military command, occaſioned eternal animoſities among thoſe jealous republicans. Xantippus, a perſon of great diſtinction, and father of the celebrated Pericles, who in the ſucceeding age obtained the firſt rank in the Athenian government, eagerly ſeized an opportunity of depreſſing the character of a man

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which had ſo long overtopped that of every competitor. Miltiades was accuſed of being corrupted by a Perſian bribe to raiſe the ſiege of Paros; the precipitancy with which he abandoned the place, ſo unlike to the general firmneſs of his manly behaviour, gave a probable colour to the accuſation; and the continual terror which, ever ſince the uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, the Athenians entertained of arbitrary power, diſpoſed them to condemn, upon very ſlight evidence, a man whoſe abilities and renown ſeemed to endanger the ſafety of the commonwealth. The crime laid to his charge inferred death, a puniſhment which his accuſer inſiſted ought to be immediately inflicted on him. But his judges were contented with fining him the ſum of fifty talents (near ten thouſand pounds ſterling), which being unable to pay, he was thrown into priſon, where he ſoon after died of his wounds.

His death.

Honours beſtowed on his memory.

But the glory of Miltiades ſurvived him; and the Athenians, however unjuſt to his perſon, were not unmindful of his fame. At the diſtance of half a century, when the battle of Marathon was painted by order of the ſtate, they directed the figure of Miltiades to be placed in the fore-ground, animating the troops to victory: a reward which, during the virtuous ſimplicity of the ancient commonwealth, conferred more real honour, than all that magnificent profuſion of crowns and ſtatues [23], which in the later times of the republic were rather extorted by general fear, than beſtowed by public admiration.

His ſucceſſors in command.

The jealouſies, reſentments, dangers, and calamities, which often attend power and pre-eminence, have never yet proved ſufficient to deter an ambitious mind from the purſuit of greatneſs. The rivals of Miltiades were animated by the glory of his elevation, not depreſſed by the example of his fall. His accuſer Xantippus, though he had acted the principal part in removing this favourite of the people, was not deemed worthy to ſucceed him. Two candidates

[23] Æſchin. p. 301. & Polybius paſſim.

appeared

appeared for the public confidence and eſteem, who alternately outſtripped each other in the race of ambition, and whoſe characters deſerve attention even in general hiſtory, as they had a powerful influence on the fortune, not of Athens only, but of all Greece.

Comparison of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides and Themiſtocles were nearly of the ſame age, and equally noble, being born in the firſt rank of citizens, though not of royal deſcent, like Solon and Piſiſtratus, Iſagoras and Cliſthenes, Xantippus and Miltiades, who had hitherto ſucceſſively aſſumed the chief adminiſtration of the Athenian republic. Both had been named among the generals who commanded in the battle of Marathon. The diſintereſted behaviour of Ariſtides on this memorable occaſion has been already mentioned. It afforded a promiſe of his future fame. But his dawning glories were ſtill eclipſed by the meridian luſtre of Miltiades. After the death of this great man, Ariſtides ought naturally to have ſucceeded to his influence, as he was eminently diſtinguiſhed by valour and moderation, the two great virtues of a republican. Formed in ſuch ſchools of moral and political knowledge as then flouriſhed in Athens, he had learned to prefer glory to pleaſure; the intereſt of his country to his own perſonal glory; and the dictates of juſtice and humanity, even to the intereſts of his country. His ambition was rather to deſerve, than to acquire, the admiration of his fellow-citizens; and while he enjoyed the inward ſatisfaction, he was little anxious about the external rewards, of virtue. The character of Themiſtocles was of a more doubtful kind. The trophy, which Miltiades had raiſed at Marathon, diſturbed his reſt. He was inflamed with a deſire to emulate the glory of this exploit; and while he enabled Athens to maintain a ſuperiority in Greece, he was ambitious to acquire for himſelf a ſuperiority in Athens. His talents were well adapted to accompliſh both theſe purpoſes; eloquent, active, enterpriſing, he had ſtrengthened his natural endowments by all the force of education and habit. Laws, government, revenue, and arms, every branch of poli-

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tical and military knowledge, were the great objects of his ſtudy. In the courts of juſtice he ſucceſsfully diſplayed his abilities in defence of his private friends, or in accuſing the enemies of the ſtate. He was forward to give his opinion upon every matter of public deliberation; and his advice, founded in wiſdom, and ſupported by eloquence, commonly prevailed in the aſſembly. Yet with all theſe great qualities, his mind was leſs ſmit with the native charms of virtue, than captivated with her ſplendid ornaments. Glory was the idol which he adored. He could injure, without remorſe, the general cauſe of the confederacy, in order to promote the grandeur of Athens[24]; and hiſtory ſtill leaves it as doubtful, as did his own conduct, whether, had an opportunity offered, he would not have ſacrificed the happineſs of his country to his private intereſt and ambition.

Their rivalſhip.

The diſcernment of Ariſtides perceived the danger of allowing a man of ſuch equivocal merit to be entruſted with the ſole government of the republic; and on this account, rather than from any motives of perſonal animoſity, he oppoſed every meaſure that might contribute to his elevation. In this patriotic view, he frequently ſolicited the ſame honours which were ambitiouſly courted by Themiſtocles, eſpecially when no other candidate appeared capable of balancing the credit of the latter. A rivalſhip thus began, and long continued between them[25]; and the whole people of Athens could alone decide the much conteſted pre-eminence. The intereſt of Themiſtocles ſo far prevailed over the authority of his opponent, that he procured his own nomination to the command of the fleet; with which he effected the conqueſt of the ſmall iſlands in the Ægean, and thus completed the deſign undertaken by Miltiades. While *he* acquired fame and fortune abroad, Ariſtides increaſed his popularity at home. The oppoſition to his power,

[24] Plutarch. in Themiſtocle & Ariſtide. [25] Plutarch. ibid. Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxiv.

ariſing

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ariſing from the ſplendid eloquence and popular manners of his rival, was now fortunately removed, and he became the chief leader of the people. His opinion gave law to the courts of juſtice, or rather ſuch was the effect of his equity and diſcernment, he alone became ſovereign umpire in Athens. In all important differences he was choſen arbitrator, and the ordinary judges were deprived of the dignity and advantages formerly reſulting from their office. This conſequence of his authority, offending the pride of the Athenian magiſtrates, was ſufficient to excite their reſentment, which, of itſelf, might have effected the ruin of any individual.

Ariſtides baniſhed. Olymp. lxxiii. 3. A. C. 486.

But their views on this occaſion were powerfully promoted by the triumphant return of Themiſtocles from his naval expedition. The admiral had acquired conſiderable riches; but wealth he deſpiſed, except as an inſtrument of ambition. The ſpoils of the conquered iſlanders were profuſely laviſhed in ſhows, feſtivals, dances, and theatrical entertainments, exhibited for the public amuſement. His generous manners and flowing affability were contraſted with the ſtern dignity of his rival; and the reſult of the compariſon added great force to his inſinuation, that, ſince his own neceſſary abſence in the ſervice of the republic, Ariſtides had acquired a degree of influence inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, and, by arrogating to himſelf an univerſal and unexampled juriſdiction in the ſtate, had eſtabliſhed a ſilent tyranny, without pomp or guards, over the minds of his fellow-citizens. Ariſtides, truſting to the innocence and integrity of his own heart, diſdained to employ any unworthy means, either for gaining the favour, or for averting the reſentment, of the multitude. The conteſt, therefore, ended in his baniſhment for ten years, by a law entitled the Oſtraciſm (from the name of the materials[26] on which the votes were marked), by which the majority of the Athenian aſſembly might expel any citizen, however inoffen-

[26] Ὀστρακον, a ſhell.

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ſive or meritorious had been his paſt conduct, who, by his preſent power and greatneſs, ſeemed capable of diſturbing the equality of republican government. This ſingular inſtitution, which had been eſtabliſhed ſoon after the Athenians had delivered themſelves from the tyranny of Hippias, the ſon of Piſiſtratus, was evidently intended to prevent any perſon in future from attaining the ſame unlawful authority. At Athens, even virtue was proſcribed, when it ſeemed to endanger the public freedom; and only four years after the battle of Marathon, in which he had diſplayed equal valour and wiſdom, Ariſtides, the juſteſt and moſt reſpectable of the Greeks, became the victim of popular jealouſy[27]; an example of cruel rigour, which will for ever brand the ſpirit of democratical policy.

The great aſcendant acquired by Themiſtocles;

The baniſhment of Ariſtides expoſed the Athenians ſtill more than formerly to the danger which they hoped to avoid by this ſevere meaſure. The removal of ſuch a formidable opponent enabled Themiſtocles to govern without controul. Army, navy, and revenue, all were ſubmitted to his inſpection. It happened, indeed, moſt fortunately for the fame of this great man, as well as for the liberty of Athens, that his active ambition was called to the glorious taſk of ſubduing the enemies of his country. The ſmaller iſlands in the Ægean were already reduced to obedience, but the poſſeſſion of them was uncertain while the fleet of Ægina covered the ſea, and bid defiance to that of the Athenians. This ſmall iſland, or rather this rock, inhabited time immemorial by merchants and pirates, and ſituate in the Saronic Gulph, which divides the territories of Attica from the northern ſhores of Peloponneſus, was a formidable enemy to the republic; the jealouſy of commerce and naval power embittered their mutual hoſtility; and as the inhabitants of Ægina, who were governed by a few leading men, had entered into an alliance with the Perſians, there was every circumſtance united which

[27] Plutarch. & Herodot. ibid.

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could provoke, to the utmoſt, the hatred and reſentment of the Athenians.

who perſuades the Athenians to augment their navy.

A motive leſs powerful than the exceſs of republican antipathy could not probably have prevailed on them to embrace the meaſure which they now adopted by the advice of Themiſtocles. There was a conſiderable revenue ariſing from the ſilver mines of Mount Laurium, which had been hitherto employed in relieving the private wants of the citizens, or diſſipated in their public amuſements. This annual income Themiſtocles perſuaded them to deſtine to the uſeful purpoſe of building ſhips of war, by which they might ſeize or deſtroy the fleet of Ægina. The propoſal was approved; an hundred gallies were equipped; the naval ſtrength of Ægina was broken, and

They defeat the fleets of Ægina and Corcyra.

ſucceſs animated the Athenians to aſpire at obtaining the unrivalled empire of the ſea. Corcyra formed the only remaining obſtacle to their ambition. This iſland which, under the name of Phœacia, is celebrated by Homer for its amazing riches and fertility, had been ſtill further improved by a colony of Corinthians. It extends an hundred miles along the weſtern ſhores of Epirus; and the natural abundance of its productions, the convenience of its harbours, and the adventurous ſpirit of its new inhabitants, gave them an indiſputed advantage over their neighbours, in navigation and commerce. They became ſucceſſively the rivals, the enemies, and the ſuperiors of Corinth, their mother-country; and their ſucceſsful cruiſers infeſted the coaſts, and diſturbed the communication of the iſlands and continent of Greece. It belonged to Athens, who had ſo lately puniſhed the perfidy of Ægina, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the Corcyreans. The naval depredations of theſe iſlanders made them be regarded as common enemies; and Themiſtocles[28], when, by ſeizing part of their fleet, he broke the ſinews of their power, not only gratified the ambition of his republic, but performed a ſignal ſervice to the whole Grecian confederacy.

[28] Plutarch. in Themiſt. Thucydid. lib. i. Corn. Nepos, in Themiſt.

Victorious

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Strength and ſpirit of Athens.

Victorious by ſea and land againſt Greeks and Barbarians, Athens might now ſeem entitled to enjoy the fruits of a glorious ſecurity. It was generally believed in Greece, that the late diſaſter of the Perſians would deter them from invading, a ſecond time, the coaſts of Europe. But Themiſtocles, who, in the words of a moſt accompliſhed hiſtorian[29], was no leſs ſagacious in foreſeeing the future, than ſkilful in managing the preſent, regarded the battle of Marathon, not as the end of the war, but as the prelude to new and more glorious combats. He continually exhorted his fellow-citizens to keep themſelves in readineſs for action; above all, to increaſe, with unremitting aſſiduity, the ſtrength of their fleet; and, in conſequence of this judicious advice, the Athenians were enabled to oppoſe the immenſe armaments of Xerxes, of which the moſt formidable tidings ſoon arrived from every quarter, with two hundred gallies, of a ſuperior ſize and conſtruction to any hitherto known in Greece[30].

State of the other republics immediately preceding the invaſion of Xerxes.

This fleet proved the ſafety of Greece, and prevented a country, from which the knowledge of laws, learning, and civility was deſtined to flow over Europe, from becoming a province of the Perſian empire, and being confounded with the maſs of barbarous nations. While the Athenians were led, by the circumſtances which we have endeavoured to explain, to prepare this uſeful engine of defence, the other Grecian ſtates afford, in their unimportant tranſactions, few materials for hiſtory[31]. The Spartans had long preſerved an unrivalled aſcendant in Peloponneſus; and their pre-eminence was ſtill farther confirmed by the unequal and unfortunate oppoſition of the Argives. Many bloody and deſperate engagements had been fought between theſe warlike and high-ſpirited rivals: but, before the Perſian invaſion, the ſtrength of Argos was much exhauſted by repeated defeats, particularly by the deſtructive battle of Thyræa, in which

[29] Thucydides, ibid.
[30] Plato, l. iii. de Leg.
[31] Herodot. l. vii. Diodor. l. xi.

ſhe

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ſhe loſt ſix thouſand of her braveſt citizens. The Spartans alſo carried on occaſional hoſtilities againſt the Corinthians and Achæans, the inhabitants of Elis and Arcadia; and theſe ſeveral republics frequently decided their pretenſions in the field; but neither their conteſts with each other, nor their wars with Sparta, were attended with any conſiderable or permanent effects. Their perpetual hoſtilities with foreign ſtates ought to have given internal quiet to the Spartans; yet the jealouſy of power, or the oppoſition of character, occaſioned incurable diſſention between the two firſt magiſtrates of the republic, Cleomenes and Demaratus. By the intrigues of the former, his rival was unjuſtly depoſed from the royal dignity. Leotychides, his kinſman and ſucceſſor in the throne, inſulted his misfortunes; and Demaratus, unable to endure contempt in a country where he had enjoyed a crown, ſought for that protection which was denied him in Greece, from the power and reſentment of Perſia. Cleomenes ſoon afterwards died by his own hand, after vainly ſtruggling againſt the ſtings of remorſe, which perſecuted his ungenerous treatment of a worthy colleague [32]. He was ſucceeded by the heroic Leonidas, whoſe death (as ſhall be related) at Thermopylæ, was ſtill more illuſtrious and happy than that of Cleomenes was wretched and infamous. During the domeſtic diſturbances of Sparta, the other ſtates of Peloponneſus enjoyed a relaxation from the toils of war. The Arcadians and Argives tended their flocks, and cultivated their ſoil. Elis was contented with the ſuperintendence of the Olympic games, the Corinthians increaſed and abuſed the wealth which they had already acquired by their fortunate ſituation between two ſeas, and by long continuing the centre of the internal commerce of Greece. Of the republics beyond the iſthmus, the Phocians wiſhed to enjoy, in tranquillity, the ſplendour and riches which their whole territory derived from the celebrated temple of Delphi. They were

[32] Herodot. v. 75.

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frequently disturbed, however, by invasions from Thessaly; the inhabitants of which, though numerous and warlike, yet being situated at the extremity of Greece, still continued, like the Etolians, barbarous and uncultivated[33]. The Thebans maintained and extended their usurpations over the smaller cities of Bœotia, and rejoiced that the ambition of the Athenians, directed to the command of the sea and the conquest of distant islands, prevented that aspiring people from giving the same minute attention as usual to the affairs of the continent. The other republics were inconsiderable, and commonly followed the fortunes of their more powerful neighbours. The Asiatic colonies were reduced under the Persian yoke; the Greek establishments in Thrace and Macedon paid tribute to Xerxes; but the African Greeks bravely maintained their independence; and the flourishing settlements in Italy and Sicily were now acting a part which will be explained hereafter, and which rivalled, perhaps surpassed, the glory of Athens and Sparta in the Persian war[34].

Of the colonies.

The preparations of Xerxes for invading Greece. Olymp. lxxiv. 4. A. C. 481.

Meanwhile the reduction of revolted provinces had given employment and lustre to the Persian arms. Nine years after the battle of Marathon, and in the fourth year of his reign, Xerxes found himself uncontrouled master of the East, and in possession of such a fleet and army as flattered him with the hopes of universal empire. The three last years of Darius were spent in preparing for the Grecian expedition. Xerxes, who succeeded to his sceptre and to his revenge, dedicated four years more to the same hostile purpose. Amidst his various wars and pleasures, he took care that the artisans of Egypt and Phœnicia, as well as of all the maritime provinces of Lower Asia, should labour, with unremitting diligence, in fitting out an armament adequate to the extent of his ambition. Twelve hundred ships of war, and three thousand ships of burthen, were at length ready to receive his commands. The former were of a larger size and firmer construction than any hitherto seen in the

[33] Thucydid. l. i.

[34] Diodor. l. xi. c. xvi. & xvii.

ancient

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ancient world: they carried on board, at a medium, two hundred ſeamen, and thirty Perſians who ſerved as marines. The ſhips of burthen contained, in general, eighty men, fewer being found incapable of rowing them. The whole amounted to four thouſand two hundred ſhips, and about five hundred thouſand men, who were ordered to rendezvous in the moſt ſecure roads and harbours of Ionia. We are not exactly informed of the number of the land forces, which were aſſembled at Suſa. It is certain, however, that they were extremely numerous, and it is probable that they would continually increaſe on the march from Suſa to Sardis, by the confluence of many tributary nations, to the imperial ſtandard of Xerxes.

Their magnitude.

When the army had attained its perfect complement, we are told that it conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand infantry, and four hundred thouſand cavalry; which, joined to the fleet above-mentioned, made the whole forces amount to near two millions of fighting men. An immenſe crowd of women and eunuchs followed the camp of an effeminate people. Theſe inſtruments of pleaſure and luxury, together with the ſlaves neceſſary in tranſporting the baggage and proviſions, equalled, perhaps exceeded, the number of the ſoldiers, ſo that, according to the univerſal teſtimony of ancient hiſtorians, the army of Xerxes appears the greateſt that was ever collected [35].

But many circumſtances ſerve to prove that its ſtrength, by no means, correſponded to its magnitude. The various nations which compoſed it, were not divided into regular bodies, properly diſciplined and officered. Their muſter-roll was taken in a manner that is remarkable for its ſimplicity. Ten thouſand men were ſepa-

[35] Herodot. l. vii. c. lxxxix. & ſeq. enters into a circumſtantial detail of the Perſian forces. His account is confirmed, with leſs difference than uſual in ſuch caſes, by Lyſias Orat. Funeb. Iſocrat. Panegyr. Diodor. l. xi. p. 244. He repeatedly expreſſes his aſtoniſhment at the immenſity of the Barbarian hoſts. He appears fully ſenſible of the difficulties with which they had to ſtruggle, in order to procure proviſions. His account of the Grecian fleet and army is acknowledged to be faithful and exact in the higheſt degree; circumſtances which all ſtrongly confirm the credibility of his evidence.

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rated from the reſt, formed into a compact body, and ſurrounded by a palliſade. The whole army paſſed ſucceſſively into this incloſure, and were thus numbered, like cattle, without the formality of placing them in ranks, or of calling their names.

Xerxes paſſes the Helleſpont. Olymp. lxxv. 1. A. C. 480.

Xerxes, having wintered at Sardis, ſent ambaſſadors early in the ſpring to demand earth and water, as a mark of ſubmiſſion, from the ſeveral Grecian republics. With regard to Athens and Sparta, he thought it unneceſſary to obſerve this ceremony, as they had treated, with the moſt inhuman cruelty, and in direct contradiction to their own laws of war, the meſſengers intruſted with a ſimilar commiſſion by his father Darius. The ſlow march of his immenſe army, and, ſtill more, its tedious tranſportation acroſs the ſeas which ſeparate Europe from Aſia, ill ſuited the rapid violence of his revenge. Xerxes therefore ordered a bridge of boats to be raiſed on the Helleſpont, which, in the narroweſt part, is only ſeven ſtadia, or ſeven-eighths of a mile in breadth. Here the bridge was formed with great labour; but whether owing to the awkwardneſs of its conſtruction, or to the violence of a ſucceeding tempeſt, it was no ſooner built than deſtroyed. The great king ordered the directors of the work to be beheaded; and, proud of his tyrannic power over feeble man, diſplayed an impotent rage againſt the elements. In all the madneſs of deſpotiſm he commanded the Helleſpont to be puniſhed with three hundred ſtripes, and a pair of fetters to be dropped into the ſea, adding theſe frantic and ridiculous expreſſions: "It is thus, thou ſalt and bitter water, that thy maſter puniſhes thy unprovoked injury, and he is determined to paſs thy treacherous ſtreams notwithſtanding all the inſolence of thy malice[35]." After this abſurd ceremony, a new bridge was made of a double range of veſſels, fixed by ſtrong anchors on both ſides, and joined together by cables of hemp and reed, faſtened to immenſe beams driven into the oppoſite ſhores. The decks of the veſſels, which exceeded ſix hundred in number,

[35] Herodot. vii. 35.

were

were ſtrewed with trunks of trees and earth, and their ſurface was ſtill further ſmoothed by a covering of planks. The ſides were then railed with wicker work, to prevent the fear and impatience of the horſes; and upon this ſingular edifice the main ſtrength of the army paſſed in ſeven days and nights, from the Aſiatic city of Abydos to that of Seſtus in Europe [36].

Cuts a canal through the iſthmus of Sana.

But before this general tranſportation, a conſiderable part of the forces had been already ſent to the coaſt of Macedonia, in order to dig acroſs the iſthmus which joins to that coaſt the high promontory of Athos. The diſaſter which befel the fleet commanded by Mardonius, in doubling the cape of this celebrated peninſula, was ſtill preſent to the mind of Xerxes. The neck of land, only a mile and a half in breadth, was adorned by the Grecian city of Sana; and the promontory being rich and fertile, was well inhabited by both Greeks and Barbarians. The cutting of this narrow iſthmus, by a canal of ſufficient width to allow two gallies to ſail abreaſt, was a matter not beyond the power of a potentate who commanded the labour of ſo many myriads [37]; but it is obſerved by Herodotus, to have been a work of more oſtentation than utility, as the veſſels might, according to the cuſtom of the age, have been conveyed over land with greater expedition, and with leſs trouble and ex-

[36] Herodot. l. vii. c. lvi.

[37] Herodot. l. vii. c. xxi. & ſeqq. & Diodor. l. xi. c. ii. It is difficult to ſay, whether we ought moſt to condemn the ſwelling exaggeration with which Lyſias, Iſocrates, and other writers, ſpeak of theſe operations of Xerxes, which they call, "navigating the land, and walking the ſea," or the impudent incredulity of Juvenal:

—— creditur olim
Velificatus Athos, & quidquid Græcia mendax,
Audet in hiſtoria; conſtratum claſſibus iiſdem
Suppoſitumque rotis ſolidum mare. ——

Nothing is better fitted to perpetuate error than the ſmart ſentence of a ſatiriſt. A line of the ſame Juvenal has branded Cicero as a bad poet, though that univerſal literary genius left admirable verſes behind him, which have been tranſmitted to modern times. The digging of the canal of Athos is ſupported by the uniform teſtimony of all antiquity, and might be credited on the ſingle evidence of Thucydides (l. iv. c. cix.), the moſt faithful, accurate, and impartial of all hiſtorians, ancient or modern; and who himſelf lived long in the neighbourhood of Athos, where he had an eſtate, and was director of the Athenian mines in Thrace; as will appear hereafter.

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pence. The eaſtern workmen were in general ſo extremely unacquainted with operations of this kind, that they made the opening at the ſurface of the ground of the ſame breadth with that neceſſary at the bottom of the channel. In order to excite their diligence by national emulation, a particular portion of the ground was aſſigned to each diſtinction of people engaged in this undertaking. The Phœnicians alone, by giving a proper width at the top, avoided the inconvenience of ſubmitting to a double labour. In performing this, and every other taſk, the ſoldiers of Xerxes were kept to their work by ſtripes and blows; a circumſtance which gives us as mean an opinion of their ſpirit and activity, as all that has been already related, gives us of their ſkill and diſcipline.

Xerxes reviews his forces near Doriſcus.

The Perſian forces were now ſafely conducted into Europe; and the chief obſtacle to the eaſy navigation of their fleet along the coaſts of Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, to the center of the Grecian ſtates, was removed by the dividing of mount Athos. Through the fertile plains of Leſſer Aſia the whole army had kept in a body; but the difficulty of ſupplies obliged them to ſeparate into three diviſions in their march through the leſs cultivated countries of Europe. Before this ſeparation took place, the whole fleet and army were reviewed by Xerxes, near Doriſcus, a city of Thrace, at the mouth of the river Hebrus. Such an immenſe collection of men aſſembled in arms, and attended with every circumſtance of martial magnificence, gave an opportunity for ſeeing, or at leaſt for ſuppoſing, many affecting ſcenes. The ambition of the great king had torn him from his palace of Suſa, but it could not tear him from the objects of his affection, and the miniſters of his pleaſure. He was followed by his women, and by his flatterers[38], and all the effeminate pride of a court was blended with the pomp of war. While the great body of the army lay every night in the open air, Xerxes and his attendants were provided with magnificent tents. The ſplendour of

[38] Plato de Legibus, l. iii. p. 536.

his

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His ſplendour,

his chariots, the mettle of his horſes, which far excelled the ſwifteſt racers of Theſſaly, the unexampled number of his troops, and above all, the bravery of the immortal band, a body of ten thouſand Perſian cavalry, ſo named becauſe their number was conſtantly maintained from the flower of the whole army, ſeemed ſufficient, to the admiring crowd, to raiſe the glory of their ſovereign above the condition of humanity; eſpecially ſince, among ſo many thouſands of men as paſſed in review, none could be compared to Xerxes in ſtrength, in beauty, or in ſtature [39].

and miſery.

But amidſt this ſplendour of external greatneſs, Xerxes felt himſelf unhappy. Having aſcended an eminence to view his camp and fleet, his pride was humbled with the reflection, that no one of all the innumerable hoſt could ſurvive an hundred years. The haughty monarch of Aſia was melted into tears. The converſation of his kinſman and counſellor, Artabanus, was ill calculated to conſole his melancholy. That reſpectable old man, whoſe wiſdom had often moderated the youthful ardour of Xerxes, and who had been as aſſiduous to prevent, as Mardonius had been to promote, the Grecian war, took notice that the miſery of human life was an object far more lamentable than its ſhortneſs. "In the narrow ſpace allotted them, has not every one of theſe in our preſence, and indeed the whole human race, often wiſhed rather to die than to live. The tumult of paſſions diſturbs the beſt of our days; diſeaſes and weakneſs accompany old age; and death, ſo vainly dreaded, is the ſure and hoſpitable refuge of wretched mortals."

He converſes with Demaratus, the baniſhed king of Sparta.

Xerxes was not of a diſpoſition ſteadily to contemplate the dictates of experience, and the maxims of philoſophy. He endeavoured to divert thoſe gloomy reflections which he could not remove, by amuſing his fancy with horſe-races, mock-battles, and other favourite entertainments. In the intervals of theſe diverſions, he ſometimes converſed with Demaratus, the baniſhed king of Sparta, who, as we have already mentioned, had ſought refuge in the Perſian

[39] Herodot. l. vii. c. clxxxiv.

court,

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court, from the perſecution of his countrymen. A memorable interview between them is deſcribed by Herodotus. The Perſian, diſplaying oſtentatiouſly the magnitude of his power, aſked the royal fugitive, Whether he ſuſpected the Greeks would yet venture to take the field, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of his arms? Demaratus replied, that if he might ſpeak without giving offence, he was of opinion that the Perſians would meet with a very vigorous reſiſtance. "Greece had been trained in the ſevere, but uſeful, ſchool of neceſſity; poverty was her nurſe, and her mother; ſhe had acquired patience and valour by the early application of diſcipline; and ſhe was habituated to the practice of virtue by the watchful attention of the law. All the Greeks were warlike, but the Spartans were peculiarly brave. It was unneceſſary to aſk their number, for if they exceeded not a thouſand men, they would defend their country and their freedom againſt the aſſembled myriads of Aſia[40]."

Receives the ſubmiſſion of many Grecian communities.

Xerxes was rather amuſed than inſtructed by this diſcourſe. His hopes of ſucceſs ſeemed built on too ſolid principles to be ſhaken by the opinion of a prejudiced Greek. Every day meſſengers arrived with the ſubmiſſion of new nations. The inhabitants of the rocky country of Doris, many tribes of Theſſaly, the mountaineers of Pindus, Oſſa, Pelion and Olympus, which like a lofty rampart ſurround that country, offered the uſual preſent of earth and water, as the ſymbol of ſurrendering their territories to a power which it ſeemed vain to reſiſt. Theſe diſtricts formed only the northern frontier of Greece. But what gave peculiar pleaſure to Xerxes, the Thebans, who inhabited the central parts, and all the cities of Bœotia, except Theſpiæ and Platæa, privately ſent ambaſſadors to teſtify their good-will to his cauſe, and to requeſt the honour of his friendſhip.

Meaſures of the Athenians and their confederates.

Meanwhile thoſe Grecians, who, unmoved by the terrors of invaſion, obeyed the voice of liberty and their country, had ſent deputies to the iſthmus of Corinth, to deliberate about the common

[40] Herodot. l. vii. c. cii. & ſeqq.

intereſt.

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intereſt. They conſiſted of repreſentatives from the ſeveral ſtates of Pelopponneſus, and from the moſt conſiderable republics beyond that peninſula. By common conſent, they ſuſpended their domeſtic animoſities, recalled their fugitives, conſulted their oracles, and diſpatched ambaſſadors, in the name of united Greece, to demand aſſiſtance from the iſlands of Crete, Cyprus, and Corcyra, as well as from the Grecian colonies on the coaſts of Italy and Sicily. All their meaſures were carried on with great appearance of unanimity and concord. Even the Thebans, careful to conceal their treachery, had ſent repreſentatives to the common council. The general danger ſeemed to unite and harmonize the moſt diſcordant members; and although the perpetual diſſentions between rival ſtates, frequently weakened the authority of the Amphictyonic confederacy, it appeared on the preſent, as on many other occaſions, that the Greeks acknowledged the obligation of a tacit alliance to defend each other againſt domeſtic tyrants and foreign barbarians.

The Theſſalians crave their aſſiſtance.

Before they had an opportunity of learning the will of the gods, or of diſcovering the intentions of their diſtant allies, ambaſſadors arrived from thoſe communities of Theſſaly which ſtill adhered to the intereſt of Greece, praying a ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance to guard the narrow paſſes which lead into their country. There is a valley near the coaſt of the Ægean, between the lofty mountains of Oſſa and Olympus, which afforded the moſt convenient paſſage from Macedon into Theſſaly. This ſingular ſpot, commonly called the valley of Tempé, is about five miles in length, and, where narroweſt, ſcarcely an hundred paces in breadth; but is adorned by the hand of Nature with every object that can gratify the ſenſes or delight the fancy. The gently-flowing Peneus [39] interſects the middle of the plain. Its waters are increaſed by perennial caſcades from the

The valley of Tempé.

[39] I know not why Ovid ſays,

Peneus ab imo
Effuſus Pindo *ſpumoſis* volvitur *undis*.
Metam. l. i. ver. 570.

Ælian (from whom the deſcription in the text is taken) ſays, that the Peneus flows Δι.....λαιε, ſmooth as oil.

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green mountains, and thus rendered of ſufficient depth for veſſels of conſiderable burden. The rocks are every where planted with vines and olives, and the banks of the river, and even the river itſelf, are overſhadowed with lofty foreſt trees, which defend thoſe who ſail upon it from the ſun's meridian ardour. The innumerable grottoes and arbours careleſsly ſcattered over this delightful ſcene, and watered by fountains of peculiar freſhneſs and ſalubrity, invite the weary traveller to repoſe; while the muſical warbling of birds conſpires with the fragrant odour of plants to ſooth his ſenſes, and to heighten the pleaſure which the eye and fancy derive from viewing the charming variety of this enchanting landſcape; from examining the happy intermixture of hill and dale, wood and water; and from contemplating the diverſified beauty and majeſtic grandeur of Nature, under her moſt blooming and beneficent aſpects.

is occupied by the Greeks;

This delicious valley, which an ancient writer, by a bold figure of ſpeech, calls "a feſtival for the eyes," and which the bounty of the gods had formed for happy ſcenes of love, innocence, and tranquillity, the deſtructive ambition of man was ready to convert into a field of bloodſhed and horror. It was natural for the Theſſalians to expect that the troops of Xerxes would paſs by this inlet into their territories; and hither their ambaſſadors entreated the allied Greeks to ſend an army. The propoſal ſeemed juſt and uſeful; ſhips were prepared at the iſthmus; and a body of ten thouſand men were embarked under the command of Themiſtocles, with orders to ſail through the narrow Euripus, to land in the harbours of Tempé, and to remain there in order to guard that important paſs.

but ſoon abandoned.

They had not continued in thoſe parts many days, when a meſſenger arrived from Alexander, ſon of Amyntas, tributary prince of Macedonia, adviſing them to depart from that poſt, unleſs they meant to be trodden under foot by the Perſian cavalry. It is not probable, however, that this menace could have changed their reſolution. But they had already learned that there was another paſſage into

into Theſſaly, through the territory of the Peræbians, near the city Gonnus in Upper Macedonia. Their army was inſufficient to guard both, and the defending of one only could not be of eſſential advantage to themſelves, to the Theſſalians, or to the common cauſe.

The dangers which threaten Greece become more imminent and alarming.

Meantime, the dangers which thickened over their reſpective republics, rendered it neceſſary to return ſouthward. Their diſtant colonies, particularly thoſe of Sicily, which were the moſt numerous and powerful, could not afford them any aſſiſtance, being themſelves threatened with a formidable invaſion from the Carthaginians, the cauſe and conſequences of which we ſhall have occaſion fully to explain. The oracles were doubtful, or terrifying. To the Spartans they announced, as the only means of ſafety, the voluntary death of a king of the race of Hercules. The Athenians were commanded to ſeek refuge within their wooden walls. The reſponſes given to the other ſtates are not particularly recorded; but it appears in general, that all were dark, ambiguous, or frightful. The Grecian army returned therefore to their ſhips, repaſſed the Euripus, and arrived in ſafety at Corinth; while the Theſſalians, thus abandoned by their allies, reluctantly ſubmitted to the common enemy.

The Grecian fleet ſails to Artemiſium.

The terror inſpired by the critical ſituation of affairs, rendered the preſence of the leaders neceſſary in their reſpective communities. Themiſtocles found the Athenians divided about the meaning of the oracle, the greater part aſſerting, that by wooden walls was underſtood the incloſure of the citadel, which had been formerly ſurrounded by a paliſade. Others gave the words a different conſtruction, and each according to his fears or his intereſt; but Themiſtocles aſſerted that all of them had miſtaken the advice of the God, who deſired them to truſt for ſafety to their fleet. This opinion, ſupported by all the force of his eloquence, and the weight of his authority, at length prevailed in the aſſembly, although Epicides, a demagogue of great influence among the lower ranks of people, op-

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poſed it with the utmoſt vehemence; and ſeizing this opportunity to traduce the character of Themiſtocles, inſiſted that he himſelf ſhould be appointed general in his room. But the prudent Athenian knew the weakneſs of his adverſary; his great paſſion was avarice; and a reaſonable bribe immediately ſilenced his clamorous oppoſition. The Athenian gallies were fitted out with all convenient ſpeed, and being joined with thoſe of Eubœa, Ægina, Corinth, and the maritime allies of Peloponneſus, amounted to a fleet of three hundred ſail. They proceeded to the narrow ſea which divides the northern ſhore of Eubœa from the coaſt of Theſſaly, rendezvouled at the promontory of Artemiſium, and patiently expected the arrival of the Barbarians.

The Greeks aſſemble an army.

Beſides the force neceſſary for manning this fleet, the confederates could raiſe an army of about ſixty thouſand freemen, beſides a ſtill greater proportion of armed ſlaves. As the paſſes leading from Theſſaly to the territories of Phocis and Locris were ſtill narrower and more difficult of acceſs, than thoſe from Macedon into Theſſaly, it ſeems unaccountable why they did not immediately direct their whole military ſtrength towards that quarter: but this neglect may be explained by their ſuperſtitious veneration for oracles, the neceſſity of celebrating their accuſtomed feſtivals, and the dangerous delays and inactivity inherent in the nature of a republican confederacy.

Guard the Straits of Thermopylæ.

As they were acquainted with only one paſs, by which the Perſians could arrive from Theſſaly, they thought that a body of eight thouſand pike-men might be equally capable with a larger proportion of troops, to defend it againſt every invader. This narrow defile was called the Straits of Thermopylæ, in alluſion to the warm ſprings in that neighbourhood, and was deemed the gate or entrance into Greece. It was bounded on the weſt by high and inacceſſible precipices, which join the lofty ridge of mount Oeta; and on the eaſt terminated by an impracticable moraſs, bordered by the ſea. Near the plain of the Theſſalian city Trachis, the paſſage was fifty foot broad; but at Alpené, there was not room for one chariot

chariot to paſs another. Even theſe paſſages were defended by walls, formerly built by the Phocians to protect them againſt the incurſions of their enemies in Sicily, and ſtrengthened, on this occaſion, with as much care as time would allow. The troops ſent to Thermopylæ, which was only fifteen miles diſtant from the ſtation of the Grecian fleet at Artemiſium, conſiſted chiefly of Peloponneſians, commanded by Leonidas the Spartan king, who was prepared, in obedience to the oracle, to devote his life for the ſafety of his country.

The Perſian fleet arrive near Cape Sepias.

Before the Grecian confederates adopted theſe vigorous meaſures for their own defence, the Perſian army had marched, in three diviſions, from Thracian Doriſcus. They were accompanied by the fleet, which, coaſting about two hundred miles along the ſhores of Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, at length reached Cape Sepias, which is twenty miles north of Artemiſium. As they advanced ſouthward they laid under contribution Abdera [40], Thaſus, and Eion, the principal Grecian colonies in Thrace, as well as the cities of Torona, Olynthus, Potidæa, and other places of ſmaller note on the coaſt of Macedonia. The whole fleet anchored, after performing the moſt tedious and dangerous part of the voyage, near the entrance of the rivers Axius and Lydius, which flow into the Thermaic gulph; and, after quitting theſe harbours, ſpent eleven days in ſailing eighty miles, along a ſmooth unbroken coaſt, from the northern extremity of this gulph to the general rendezvous near Cape Sepias.

Their army marches to the plains of Trachis.

The fleet was commanded by Achæmines and Areabignes, ſons of Darius. Xerxes, in perſon, headed his army, which made a conſiderable halt during the march at the Macedonian towns of Therma and Pella, and encamped in the Thracian plains on each ſide of the

[40] The places on the road prepared not only vaſt magazines of corn and other proviſions for the troops, but ſumptuous entertainments for Xerxes and his attendants. A ſaying of Megacreon of Abdera expreſſed the devouring rapacity of the invaders: "That the Abderites ought to thank the gods, that Xerxes feaſted but once a day; it would ruin Abdera to furniſh him with both a dinner and a ſupper."

above-

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above-mentioned rivers Axius and Lydius. From hence they proceeded in three bodies; the diviſion neareſt the ſhore was commanded by Mardonius and Maſiſtes. Sergis, an experienced general, conducted the march through the higher parts of the country; and the great king, accompanied by Smerdones and Megabyzus, who occaſionally relieved him from the trouble of command, choſe the middle paſſage as the ſafeſt, the moſt convenient, and the moſt entertaining; for hitherto the Perſian expedition was rather a journey of pleaſure, than an undertaking of fatigue or danger. Xerxes examined at leiſure ſuch objects of nature or art as appeared moſt intereſting and curious. His fancy was amuſed, as he paſſed the various ſcenes of ſuperſtition, with the legendary tales carefully related by his conductors. He viewed, with pleaſure, the wide plains of Theſſaly, which bore indubitable marks of being once an extenſive lake; and contemplated with wonder, the lofty mountains which ſeparated that country from the reſt of Greece, and which evidently appear to be rent aſunder, and to have received their preſent form, from the terrible operation of volcanos and earthquakes. After fully ſatisfying his curioſity, he joined, with the diviſion more immediately under his command, the remainder of the army, aſſembled and encamped on the wide plains of Trachis, about forty miles in circumference, ſtretching along the ſhore of Theſſaly, oppoſite to the ſtation of the Perſian fleet, and adjacent to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ [41].

Circumſtances that rendered the Spartans reſpectable to Xerxes.

For more than twelve months, Xerxes had never ſeen the face of an enemy. He had traverſed without reſiſtance the wide regions of Aſia, and the countries which in ancient times were deemed moſt warlike in Europe. All the territories beyond Trachis acknowledged his power; and the diſtricts of Greece, which ſtill preſented a ſcene of action to his invincible arms, were leſs extenſive than the meaneſt of his provinces. Yet it is probable that

[41] Herodot. Diodor. Plutarch. ibid.

he

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he heard, not without emotion, that an army of Greeks, headed by the Spartan king, had taken poſt at Thermopylæ, in order to diſpute his paſſage. What he had been told by Demaratus concerning the character and principles of that heroic people, he might now, when the danger drew near, be the more inclined to believe, from the ſuggeſtions of his own memory and experience. In the warmth of generous indignation, the Spartans, as we have already obſerved, had put to death the Perſian heralds ſent to demand their ſubmiſſion; but upon cool reflection, they were prompted, chiefly indeed by ſuperſtitious motives, to make atonement for a violation of the ſacred law of nations. When proclamation was made in the aſſembly, "Who would die for Sparta?" two citizens of great rank and eminence offered themſelves as willing ſacrifices for the good of the community. Sperthies and Bulis (for theſe were their names) ſet out for Suſa on this ſingular errand. As they paſſed through Leſſer Aſia, they were entertained by Hydarnes, the governor of that province, who actually accompanied Xerxes, as commander of the Immortal Band, to which dignity he had been raiſed on account of his ſuperior merit. Hydarnes, among other diſcourſe with the Spartans, teſtified his ſurpriſe, that their republic ſhould be ſo averſe to the friendſhip of the king his maſter, who, he obſerved, as they might learn by his own example, well underſtood the value of brave men.—That if they complied with the deſires of Xerxes, he would appoint them governors over the other cities of Greece. The Spartans coolly replied, "That he talked of a matter of which he was not a competent judge.—With the condition and rewards of ſervitude he was indeed ſufficiently acquainted, but as to the enjoyments of liberty, he had never proved how ſweet they were; for if he had once made that experiment, he would adviſe them to defend their freedom not only with lances, but with hatchets [y]."

[y] Herodot l. vii. c. cxxxv.

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The ſame magnanimity diſtinguiſhed their behaviour at Suſa. The guards told them, that, when admitted into the preſence of Xerxes, they muſt obſerve the uſual ceremony of proſtrating themſelves on the ground. But the Spartans declared, "That no degree of violence could make them ſubmit to ſuch mean adulation: that they were not accuſtomed to adore a man, and came not thither for ſuch an impious purpoſe." They approached Xerxes, therefore, in an erect poſture, and told him with firmneſs, they were ſent to ſubmit to any puniſhment which he might think proper to inflict on them, as an atonement for the death of his heralds. Xerxes admiring their virtue, replied, "That he certainly ſhould not repeat the error of the Greeks, nor, by ſacrificing individuals, deliver the ſtate from the guilt of murder and impiety." The Spartans having received this anſwer, returned home, perſuaded that they had done their duty in offering private ſatisfaction; which, though not accepted, ought ſufficiently to atone for the public crime [42].

He ſends meſſengers to treat with them.

The example of theſe diſtinguiſhed patriots probably gave Xerxes a very favourable idea of the general character of their community. As he had not any particular quarrel with the Spartans, whoſe oppoſition, though it could not prevent, would certainly retard, his intended puniſhment of Athens, he ſent meſſengers to deſire them to lay down their arms; to which they replied, "Let him come, and take them." The meſſengers then offered them lands, on condition of their becoming allies to the great king; but they anſwered, "That it was the cuſtom of their republic to conquer lands by valour, not to acquire them by treachery." Except making theſe ſmart replies, they took not the ſmalleſt notice of the Perſians; but continued to employ themſelves as before their arrival, contending in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, entertaining themſelves with muſic and converſation, or adjuſting their long hair to appear more terrible to their enemies. The meſſengers of Xerxes, equally aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw and heard, returned

Magnanimity of the Spartans.

[42] Herodot. l. vii. c. cxxxiv. & ſeqq.

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to the Perſian camp, and deſcribed the unexpected event of their commiſſion, as well as the extraordinary behaviour of the Spartans; of which Xerxes deſired an explanation from their countryman Demaratus[43]. The latter declared in general, that their whole carriage and demeanour announced a determined reſolution to fight to the laſt extremity; but he found it difficult to make the Perſian conceive the motives of men, who fought, at the certain price of their own lives, to purchaſe immortal renown for their country.—That a few individuals ſhould be animated on ſome extraordinary occaſions with this patriotic magnanimity, may eaſily be underſtood. Of this, hiſtory in all ages furniſhes illuſtrious examples; but that a whole nation ſhould be habitually impreſſed with the ſame generoſity of character, cannot readily be believed, without reflecting on the inſtitutions and manners of the Spartans. The laws of that celebrated people prohibiting, as it has been already obſerved[44], the introduction of wealth and luxury, and rigidly confining each individual to the rank in which he was born, had extinguiſhed the great motives of private ambition, and left ſcarcely any other ſcope to the active principles of men, but the glory of promoting the intereſts of their republic. Their extraordinary military ſucceſs, the natural fruit of their temperance and activity, had given them a permanent ſenſe of their ſuperiority in war, which it became their chief point of honour to maintain and to confirm; and as the law which commanded them to die, rather than break their ranks, or abandon their poſts in battle, was, like all the ordinances of Lycurgus, conceived to be of divine authority, the influence of ſuperſtition happily conſpired with the ardour of patriotiſm and the enthuſiaſm of valour, in preparing them to meet certain death in the ſervice of the public.

Xerxes could not be made to enter into theſe motives, or to believe, as Herodotus obſerves with inimitable ſimplicity, "that the Grecians were come to Thermopylæ, only as men deſirous to die, and

Xerxes waits four days, in hopes of changing their reſolution.

[43] Herodot. l. vii. c. ccix. & ſeq. [44] See above, c. iii. p. 97.

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to deſtroy as many of their enemies as they could, though nothing was more true." He therefore waited four days, continually expecting they would either retreat into their own country, or ſurrender their arms, agreeably to his meſſage. But as they ſtill continued to guard the paſſage, he aſcribed this conduct to obſtinacy or folly; and on the fifth day determined to chaſtiſe their inſolent oppoſition.

Gives orders to attack them, and their confederates.

The Medes and Ciſſians, who, next to the Sacæ and Perſians, formed the braveſt part of his army, were commanded to attack theſe obſtinate Greeks, and to bring them alive into his preſence. The Barbarians marched with confidence to the engagement, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter. The places of thoſe who fell, were inceſſantly ſupplied with freſh troops, but they could not make the ſmalleſt impreſſion on the firm battalions of the Greeks; and the great loſs which they ſuſtained in the attempt, proved to all, and particularly to the king, that he had indeed many men, but few ſoldiers. The Sacæ, armed with their hatchets, next marched to the attack, but without better ſucceſs; and laſt of all, the choſen band of Perſians headed by Hydarnes, deigned to diſplay their valour in what appeared to them a very unequal conteſt. But they ſoon changed their opinion when they came to cloſe with the enemy; for, ſays Herodotus, their numbers were uſeleſs, as they fought in a narrow paſs, and their ſhort pointed weapons were ill calculated to contend with the length of the Grecian ſpear. The Greeks had the advantage ſtill more in the ſuperiority of their diſcipline, than in the excellence of their armour. Tired with deſtroying, they retreated in cloſe order, and, when purſued unguardedly by the Barbarians, they faced about on a ſudden, and killed an incredible number of the Perſians, with ſcarcely any loſs to themſelves. Xerxes, who was ſeated on an eminence to behold the battle, frequently ſtarted in wild emotion from his throne; and fearing leſt he ſhould be deprived of the flower of his army, he ordered them to be drawn off from the attack.

His troops are repelled.

But

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But as the Grecian numbers were ſo extremely inconſiderable, and as it ſeemed probable that the greateſt part of them muſt have ſuffered much injury in theſe repeated aſſaults, he determined next day to renew the engagement. Next day he fought without better ſucceſs than before; and after vainly endeavouring to force the paſs, both in ſeparate bodies, and with the collected vigour of their troops, the Perſians were compelled to abandon the enterpriſe, and diſgracefully to retire to their camp.

The Greeks betrayed by Epialtes;

It was a ſpectacle which the world had never ſeen before, and which it was never again to behold, the perſevering intrepidity of eight thouſand men reſiſting the impetuous fury of an army compoſed of millions. The pertinacious valour of Leonidas, and of his little troop, oppoſed, and might have long retarded, the progreſs of the Barbarians. But it was the fate of Greece, always to be conquered rather by the treachery of falſe friends, than by the force of open enemies. When Xerxes knew not what meaſures to purſue in order to effect his purpoſe, and felt the inconvenience of remaining long in the ſame quarters with ſuch an immenſe number of men, a perfidious Greek, induced by the hopes of reward, offered to remove his difficulties [45]. The name of the traitor was Epialtes, and he was a native of the obſcure diſtrict of Mœlis, which ſeparates the frontiers of Theſſaly and Phocis. His experience of the country made him acquainted with a paſſage through the mountains of Oeta, ſeveral miles to the weſt of that guarded by Leonidas. Over this unfrequented path he undertook to conduct a body of twenty thouſand Perſians, who might aſſault the enemy in rear, while the main body attacked them in front. By this means, whatever prodigies of valour the Greeks might perform, they muſt be finally compelled to ſurrender, as they would be incloſed on all ſides among barren rocks, and inhoſpitable deſarts.

[45] Herodot. l. vii. c. ccxii. & ſeq.

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who conducts a Perſian detachment over the mountains.

The plan ſo judiciouſly concerted, was carried into immediate execution. On the evening of the ſeventh day after Xerxes arrived at the Straits, twenty thouſand choſen men left the Perſian camp, commanded by Hydarnes, and conducted by Epialtes. All night they marched through the thick foreſts of oak which abound in thoſe parts; and by day-break they had advanced near to the top of the hill. But how much were they ſurpriſed to ſee the firſt rays of the morning reflected by the glittering ſurfaces of Grecian ſpears and helmets! Hydarnes was afraid that this guard, which ſeemed at no great diſtance, had been alſo compoſed of Lacedæmonians; but a nearer approach ſhewed that they conſiſted of a thouſand Phocians, whom the foreſight of Leonidas had ſent to defend this important but unknown paſs, which chance or treachery might diſcover to the Perſians. The thick ſhade of the trees long concealed the enemy from the Greeks; at length the ruſtling of the leaves, and other noiſe occaſioned by the motion of twenty thouſand men, diſcovered the imminence of danger; the Phocians with great intrepidity flew to their arms, and prepared, if they ſhould not conquer, at leaſt to die gallantly. The compact firmneſs of their ranks, which might have reſiſted the regular onſet of the enemy, expoſed them to ſuffer much from the immenſe ſhower of darts which the Perſians poured upon them. To avoid this danger, they too raſhly abandoned the paſs which they had been ſent to guard, and retired to the higheſt part of the mountain, not doubting that the enemy, whoſe ſtrength ſo much exceeded their own, would follow them thither. But in this they were diſappointed; for the Perſians prudently omitting the purſuit of this inconſiderable party, whom to defeat they conſidered as a matter of little moment, immediately ſeized the paſſage, and marched down the mountain with the utmoſt expedition, in order to accompliſh the deſign ſuggeſted by Epialtes.

Alarm in the Grecian camp.

Meanwhile obſcure intimations from the gods had darkly announced ſome dreadful calamity impending on the Greeks at Thermopylæ.

mopylæ. The appearance of the entrails, which were carefully inſpected by the Augur Magiſtias, threatened the Spartans with death; but when, or by what means, it did not clearly appear, until a Grecian deſerter, a native of the city Cymé in Ionia, named Tyraſtiades, arrived with information of the intended march of the Perſians acroſs the mountain. Animated by the love of his country, this generous fugitive had no ſooner diſcovered the treacherous deſign of Epialtes, than he determined, at the riſk of his life, and ſtill more at the riſk of being ſubjected to the moſt excruciating tortures, to communicate his diſcovery to the Spartan king[46]. Zeal for the ſafety of Greece gave ſwiftneſs to his ſteps, and he appeared in the Grecian camp a few hours after the Perſians, conducted by Epialtes, had left the plains of Trachis. Leonidas immediately called a council of war, to deliberate upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken in conſequence of this information, equally important and alarming. All the confederates of Peloponneſus, except the Spartans, declared their opinion, that it was neceſſary to abandon a poſt, which, after the double attack announced to them ſhould take place, it would be impoſſible with any hopes of ſucceſs to maintain. As their exertions could not be of any avail to the public cauſe, it was prudent to conſult their private ſafety; and while time was yet allowed them, to retire to the iſthmus of Corinth, where joining the reſt of the auxiliaries, they might be ready to defend the Grecian peninſula againſt the fury of the barbarians. It belonged to Leonidas to explain the ſentiments of the Spartans. The other inhabitants of Peloponneſus, he obſerved, might follow the dictates of expediency, and return to the Iſthmus, in order to defend their reſpective territories; but glory was the only voice which the Spartans had learned to obey. Placed in the firſt rank by the general conſent of their country, they would rather die than abandon that poſt of honour; and they were determined, therefore, at the price of their

Magnanimity of Leonidas.

[46] Herodot. l. vii. c. ccxix. & ſeq.

lives,

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lives, to purchaſe immortal renown, to confirm the pre-eminence of Sparta, and to give an example of patriotiſm, worthy of being admired, if it ſhould not be imitated, by poſterity.

Seven hundred Theſpians determine to remain with Leonidas;

The dread of unavoidable and immediate death deterred the other allies from concurring with this magnanimous reſolution. The Theſpians alone, amounting to ſeven hundred men, declared they would never forſake Leonidas. They were conducted by the aged wiſdom of Demophilus, and the youthful valour of Dithyrambus. Their republic was united in the ſtricteſt alliance with Sparta, by which they had often been defended againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of the Thebans. Theſe circumſtances added force to their natural generoſity of ſentiment, and determined them, on this occaſion, to adhere with ſtedfaſt intrepidity to the meaſures of their Spartan allies. As the Theſpians remained at Thermopylæ from inclination, and from principles of diſtinguiſhed bravery, the Thebans were detained by the particular deſire of Leonidas, who was not unacquainted with the intended treachery of their republic. The four hundred men whom that perfidious community had ſent to accompany his expedition, he regarded rather as hoſtages than auxiliaries; nor was he unwilling to employ their doubtful fidelity in a deſperate ſervice. He thought that they might be compelled by force, or ſtimulated by a ſenſe of ſhame, to encounter the ſame dangers to which the Spartans and Theſpians voluntarily ſubmitted; and without diſcovering his ſuſpicion of their treachery, he had a ſufficient pretence for retaining them, while he diſmiſſed his allies of Peloponneſus, becauſe the Theban territories, lying on the north ſide of the iſthmus of Corinth, would neceſſarily be expoſed to hoſtility and devaſtation, whenever the barbarians ſhould paſs the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Beſides the Theſpians [47] and Thebans, the troops who remained with Leonidas conſiſted

who detains the perfidious Thebans.

[47] From the narrative of Herodotus, it would ſeem that the Theſpians alone voluntarily remained with Leonidas and the Spartans. Yet the inſcription which he cites makes

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consisted of three hundred Spartans, all chosen men, and fathers of sons. This valiant band, with unanimous consent, solicited their general to dedicate to the glory of Greece, and their own, the important interval yet allowed them, before they were surrounded by the Persians. The ardour of Leonidas happily conspired with the ready zeal of the soldiers. He therefore commanded them to prepare the last meal of their lives, and to sup like men who should to-morrow dine in Elysium. His own example confirmed the propriety of the command, for he took an abundant repast, in order to furnish strength and spirits for a long continuance of toil and danger.

The Greeks surprise the Persian camp in the night.

It was now the dead of night, when the Spartans, headed by Leonidas, marched in a close battalion towards the Persian camp, with resentment heightened by despair[48]. Their fury was terrible; and rendered still more destructive through the defect of Barbarian discipline; for the Persians having neither advanced guards, nor a watch-word, nor confidence in each other, were incapable of adopting such measures for defence as the sudden emergency required. Many fell by the Grecian spear, but much greater multitudes by the mistaken rage of their own troops, by whom, in the midst of this blind confusion, they could not be distinguished from enemies. The Greeks, wearied with slaughter, penetrated to the royal pavilion; but there the first alarm of noise had been readily perceived, amidst the profound silence and tranquillity which usually reigned in the tent of Xerxes; the great king had immediately escaped, with his favourite

makes the whole number who fought at Thermopylæ amount to four thousand.

Μυριοι παντες [illegible] ξυν τοισι πρωτοισι
[illegible]

Isocrates likewise (p. 164.) says, that some Peloponnesians remained to fight.

[48] Diodor. l. xi. p. 247. The nocturnal assault, omitted by Herodotus, is mentioned not only by Diodorus, but by Plutarch, Justin, and most other writers. The general panegyric of Plato (in Menex), of Lysias (Orat. Funeb.), and of Isocrates (Panegyr.), required not their descending into such particulars. Yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, I should have omitted this incident, if it had appeared inconsistent with the honest narrative of Herodotus.

attendants,

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attendants, to the farther extremity of the encampment. Even there, all was tumult, and horror, and deſpair; the obſcurity of night increaſing the terror of the Perſians, who no longer doubted that the detachment conducted by Epialtes had been betrayed by that perfidious Greek; and that the enemy, reinforced by new numbers, now co-operated with the traitor, and ſeized the opportunity of aſſailing their camp, after it had been deprived of the diviſion of Hydarnes, its principal ornament and defence.

Battle of Thermopylæ.

The approach of day diſcovered to the Perſians a dreadful ſcene of carnage; but it alſo diſcovered to them that their fears had multiplied the number of the enemy, who now retreated in cloſe order to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Xerxes, ſtimulated by the fury of revenge, gave orders to purſue them; and his terrified troops were rather driven than led to the attack, by the officers who marched behind the ſeveral diviſions, and compelled them to advance by menaces, ſtripes, and blows. The Grecians, animated by their late ſucceſs, and perſuaded that they could not poſſibly eſcape death on the arrival of thoſe who approached by way of the mountain, bravely halted in the wideſt part of the paſs, to receive the charge of the enemy. The ſhock was dreadful, and the battle was maintained on the ſide of the Greeks with the moſt perſevering intrepidity, and the moſt deſperate valour. After their ſpears were blunted or broken, they attacked ſword in hand, and their ſhort, but maſſy and well-tempered weapons, made an incredible havoc. Their progreſs was marked by a line of blood, when a Barbarian dart pierced the heart of Leonidas. The conteſt was no longer for victory and glory, but for the ſacred remains of their king. Four times they diſpelled the thickeſt globes of Perſians; but as their unexampled valour was carrying off the ineſtimable prize, the hoſtile battalions were ſeen deſcending the hill, under the conduct of Epialtes. It was now time to prepare for the laſt effort of generous deſpair. With cloſe order and reſolute minds, the Greeks, all collected in themſelves, retired

to

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to the narroweſt part of the ſtrait, and took poſt behind the Phocian wall, on a riſing ground, where a lion of ſtone was afterwards erected in honour of Leonidas. As they performed this movement, fortune, willing to afford every occaſion to diſplay their illuſtrious merit, obliged them to contend at once againſt open force and ſecret treachery. The Thebans, whom fear had hitherto reſtrained from defection, ſeized the preſent opportunity to revolt; and approaching the Perſians with outſtretched arms, declared that they had always been their friends; that their republic had ſent earth and water, as an acknowledgment of their ſubmiſſion to Xerxes; and that it was with the utmoſt reluctance they had been compelled by neceſſity to reſiſt the progreſs of his arms. As they approached to ſurrender themſelves, many periſhed by the darts of the Barbarians; the remainder ſaved a periſhing life, by ſubmitting to eternal infamy. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians and Theſpians were aſſaulted on all ſides. The neareſt of the enemy beat down the wall, and entered by the breaches. Their temerity was puniſhed by inſtant death. In this laſt ſtruggle every Grecian ſhewed the moſt heroic courage; yet if we believe the unanimous report of ſome Theſſalians, and others who ſurvived the engagement, the Spartan Dioneces deſerved the prize of valour. When it was obſerved to him, that the Perſian arrows were ſo numerous, that they intercepted the light of the ſun, he ſaid it was a favourable circumſtance, becauſe the Greeks now fought in the ſhade. The brothers Alpheus and Maron are likewiſe particularized for their generous contempt of death, and for their diſtinguiſhed valour and activity in the ſervice of their country. What theſe, and other virtues, could accompliſh, the Greeks, both as individuals, and in a body, had already performed; but it became impoſſible for them longer to reſiſt the impetuoſity and weight of the darts, and arrows, and other miſſile weapons, which were continually poured upon them; and they were finally not deſtroyed or conquered,

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but buried under a trophy of Perſian arms. Two mónuments were afterwards erected near the ſpot where they fell; the inſcription of the firſt announced the valour of an handful of Greeks[49], who had reſiſted three millions of Barbarians: the ſecond was peculiar to the Spartans, and contained theſe memorable words: "Go, ſtranger, and declare to the Lacedæmonians, that we died here in obedience to their divine laws[50]."

[49] Iſocrates, p. 164. makes the Spartans who fought at Thermopylæ amount to one thouſand. Diodorus, l. xi. p. 410. agrees with Herodotus, whoſe narrative is followed in the text. The Theſpians, therefore, were, according to the moſt probable accounts, twice as numerous as the Spartans; although the latter have carried away all the glory of this ſingular exploit.

[50] Ω ξειν' αγγειλον Λακεδαιμονιοις ὁτι τηδε
Κειμεθα τοις κεινων ρημασι πειθομενοι.
Herodot. c. cxxviii.

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Sea Fight off Artemiſium.—Xerxes ravages Phocis.—Enters Attica.—Magnanimity of the Athenians.—Sea Fight off Salamis.—Xerxes leaves Greece.—His miſerable Retreat.—Campaign of Mardonius.—Battles of Platæa and Mycalé.—Iſſue of the Perſian Invaſion.

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Diſaſter of the Perſian fleet on the coaſt of Theſſaly.

DURING the military operations at Thermopylæ, the Grecian fleet were ſtationed in the harbour of Artemiſium, the northern promontory of Euboœa. That of the Perſians, too numerous for any harbour to contain, had anchored in the road that extends between the city of Caſtanæa and the promontory of Sepias, on the coaſt of Theſſaly. Here this formidable armada ſuffered the calamities foretold by the wiſdom of Artabanus. In a converſation with Xerxes, that prudent old man had warned him againſt two enemies, the ſea and the land, from whom his own raſh inexperience ſeemed not to apprehend any danger. Yet both theſe enemies occaſioned dreadful misfortunes to the Perſians, whoſe numbers firſt expoſed them to be deſtroyed at ſea by a tempeſt, and afterwards to periſh on land by a famine. The firſt line of their fleet was ſheltered by the coaſt of Theſſaly; but the other lines, to the number of ſeven, rode at anchor, at ſmall intervals, with the prows of the veſſels turned to the ſea. When they adopted this arrangement, the waters were ſmooth, the ſky clear, the weather calm and ſerene; but on the morning of the ſecond day after their arrival on the coaſt, the ſky began to lour, and the appearance of the heavens grew threatening and terrible. A

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dreadful ſtorm of rain and thunder ſucceeded; and, what was more alarming, the billows began to riſe to an amazing height, occaſioned by a violent Helleſpontin, or north-eaſt wind, which, when it once begins to blow in thoſe ſeas with any conſiderable force, ſeldom ceaſes for ſeveral days. The neareſt veſſels were ſaved by hauling under the ſhore: of the more remote many were driven from their anchors; ſome foundered at ſea, others ſplit on the promontory of Sepias, and ſeveral bulged on the ſhallows of Melibæa. Three days the tempeſt raged with unabating fury. Four hundred gallies were deſtroyed by its violence, beſide ſuch a number of ſtoreſhips and tranſports, that the Perſian commanders, ſuſpecting that this diſaſter might occaſion the revolt of the Theſſalians, fortified themſelves with a rampart of conſiderable height, entirely compoſed of the ſhattered fragments of the wreck [a].

The Perſians fail to the Pegaſian bay.

This bulwark was ſufficient to protect them againſt the irruptions of the Greeks; but it could not defend them againſt the more dangerous fury of the waves. In a ſhort time, therefore, they quitted their inſecure ſtation at Sepias, and with eight hundred ſhips of war, beſides innumerable veſſels of burthen, ſailed into the Pegaſean bay, and anchored in the road of Apheté, which, at the diſtance of a few miles, lies directly oppoſite to the harbour of Artemiſium.

The commanders of the Grecian fleet think of retiring ſouthward;

The Grecians had poſted centinels on the heights of Eubœa to obſerve the conſequences of the ſtorm, and to watch the motions of the enemy. When informed of the dreadful diſaſter which had befallen them, they poured out a joyous libation, and ſacrificed, with pious gratitude, to "Neptune the Deliverer;" but the near approach of ſuch a ſuperior force ſoon damped their tranſports of religious feſtivity. Neptune had favoured them in the ſtorm, yet he might aſſiſt their enemies in the engagement. In the council of war, called to deliberate on this important ſubject, it was the gene-

[a] Herodot. l. vii. c. clxxxviii. & ſeq. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. c. xii.

ral

ral opinion of the commanders, that they ought immediately to retire ſouthward. The Eubœans, whoſe coaſts muſt have thus been abandoned to the fury of invaders, were peculiarly intereſted in oppoſing this puſillanimous reſolution. The paſſage into the continent of Greece, they obſerved, was ſtill guarded by the magnanimity of Leonidas, and the bravery of the Spartans. Following this generous example, the Grecian fleet, however inferior in ſtrength, ought to reſiſt the Perſians, and to protect the eſtates and families of a rich and populous iſland [z]. This remonſtrance had not any effect on the determined purpoſe of Euribiades the Spartan, who, on account of the ancient pre-eminence of his republic, was entruſted with the command of the fleet; an honour rather due to the perſonal merit of Themiſtocles, and the naval ſuperiority of Athens.

but are prevailed on to remain at Artemiſium, by the addreſs of Themiſtocles.

To the Athenian commander the Eubœans ſecretly applied, and, by a preſent of thirty talents, engaged him to uſe his influence to retain the Grecian armament for the defence of their coaſts. Themiſtocles was well pleaſed at being bribed into a meaſure which his good ſenſe and diſcernment approved. By a proper diſtribution of only eight talents, he brought over the other captains to his opinion, and thus effectually promoted the intereſt, and ſecured the good-will, of the Eubœans, while he retained for himſelf an immenſe ſum of money, which might be uſefully employed, on many future occaſions, in fixing, by largeſſes and expenſive exhibitions, the fluctuating favour of his fellow-citizens.

Both ſides prepare for battle.

Meanwhile the Perſians, having recovered from the terrors of the ſtorm, prepared for the engagement. As they entertained not the ſmalleſt doubt of victory, they determined, not to begin the attack, until they had ſent two hundred of their beſt ſailing veſſels around the iſle of Eubœa, to intercept the expected flight of the enemy through the narrow Euripus. In order to conceal this deſign they

[z] Herodot. l. viii. c. ii. & ſeq.

ordered

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ordered the detached ſhips to ſtand out to ſea until they loſt ſight of the eaſtern coaſt of Eubœa, ſailing behind the little iſland of Sciathus, and afterwards ſhaping their courſe by the promontories of Caphaneus and Gereſtus. The ſtratagem, concerted with more than uſual prudence, was, however, diſcovered to the Greeks by Scyllias, a native of Scioné, now ſerving in the Perſian fleet, but who had long languiſhed for an opportunity of deſerting to his countrymen. While the attention of the Barbarians was employed in the preparations neceſſary for their new arrangement, Scyllias availed himſelf of his dexterity in diving, to ſwim, unperceived, to a boat which had been prepared at a ſufficient diſtance, in which he fortunately eſcaped to Artemiſium. He immediately gained admittance to the Grecian council, where the boldneſs of his enterpriſe gave perſuaſion to his words. In conſequence of his ſeaſonable and important information, the Greeks determined to continue till midnight in the harbour, and then weighing anchor, to ſail in queſt of the fleet which had been ſent out to prevent their eſcape. But this ſtratagem, by which they would have met the art of the enemy with ſimilar addreſs, was not carried into execution. The advice-boats, which had been immediately diſpatched to obſerve the progreſs of the Perſians, returned before evening, without having ſeen any ſhips approaching in that direction.

The firſt ſea fight at Artemiſium.

This intelligence was welcome to the Greeks, who were unwilling, without evident neceſſity, to abandon their preſent ſituation. The enemy, who had lately ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the ſtorm, were now further weakened by a conſiderable diminution of their fleet. The ſtrength of the adverſe parties being thus reduced nearer to an equality, the weaker ſeized the opportunity to diſplay their courage in fight, and their ſuperior ſkill in naval action. About ſun-ſet they approached in a line, and offered battle to the Perſians. The latter did not decline the engagement, as their ſhips were ſtill ſufficiently numerous to ſurround thoſe of their opponents. At the firſt

ſignal the Greeks formed into a circle, at the ſecond they began the fight. Though crowded into a narrow compaſs, and having the enemy on every ſide, they ſoon took thirty of their ſhips, and ſunk many more. Night came on, accompanied with an impetuous ſtorm of rain and thunder; the Greeks retired into the harbour of Artemiſium; the enemy were driven to the coaſt of Theſſaly. As the wind blew from the ſouth, the dead bodies and wrecks daſhed with violence againſt the ſides of their ſhips, and diſturbed the motion of their oars. The Barbarians were ſeized with conſternation and deſpair; for ſcarcely had they time to breathe, after the former ſtorm and ſhipwreck near Mount Pelion, when they were compelled to a dangerous ſea-fight; after darkneſs put an end to the battle, they were again involved in the gloom and horrors of a nocturnal tempeſt. By good fortune, rather than by deſign, the greateſt part of the fleet eſcaped immediate deſtruction, and gained the Pegaſean Bay. *Their* calamities were great, and unexpected; but the ſhips ordered to ſail round Eubœa met with a ſtill more dreadful diſaſter. They were overtaken by the ſtorm, after they had adventured further from the ſhore than was uſual with the wary mariners of antiquity. Clouds ſoon intercepted the ſtars, by which alone they directed their courſe. They were driven they knew not whither, by the force of the winds, or impelled by the impetuoſity of currents. In addition to theſe misfortunes, they were terrified by the thunder, and overwhelmed by the deluge; and after continuing during the greateſt part of the night the ſport of the elements, they all periſhed [3] miſerably, amidſt the ſhoals and rocks of an unknown coaſt.

The morning aroſe with different proſpects and hopes to the Perſians and Greeks. To the former it diſcovered the extent of their misfortunes; to the latter it brought a reinforcement of fifty-three

[3] Herodot. l. viii. c. xiii. Diodor. l. xi. c. xiii.

Athenian

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Athenian ſhips. Encouraged by this favourable circumſtance, they determined again to attack the enemy, at the ſame hour as on the preceding day, becauſe their knowledge of the coaſt, and their ſkill in fighting their ſhips, rendered the duſk peculiarly propitious to their deſigns. At the appointed time, they ſailed towards the road of Apheté, and having cut off the Cilician ſquadron from the reſt, totally deſtroyed it, and returned at night to Artemiſium.

The ſecond ſea-fight at Artemiſium.

The Perſian commanders being deeply affected with their repeated diſaſters, but ſtill more alarmed at the much dreaded reſentment of their king, they determined to make one vigorous effort, for reſtoring the glory of their arms. By art and ſtratagem, and under favour of the night, the Greeks had hitherto gained many important advantages. It now belonged to the Perſians to chooſe the time for action. On the third day, at noon, they ſailed forth in the form of a creſcent, which was ſtill ſufficiently extenſive to infold the Grecian line. The Greeks, animated by former ſucceſs, were averſe to decline any offer of battle; yet it is probable that their admirals, and particularly Themiſtocles, would much rather have delayed it to a more favourable opportunity. Rage, reſentment, and indignation, ſupplied the defect of the Barbarians in ſkill and courage. The battle was longer, and more doubtful, than on any former occaſion; many Grecian veſſels were deſtroyed, five were taken by the Egyptians, who particularly ſignalized themſelves on the ſide of the Barbarians, as the Athenians did on that of the Greeks. The perſevering valour of the latter at length prevailed, the enemy retired, and acknowledging their ſuperiority, by leaving them in poſſeſſion of the dead and the wreck. But the victory coſt them dear; ſince their veſſels, particularly thoſe of the Athenians, were reduced to a very ſhattered condition; and their great inferiority in the number and ſize of their ſhips, made them feel more ſenſibly every diminution of ſtrength.

This

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The Greeks fail to the Saronic Gulph.

This circumſtance was ſufficient to make them think of retiring (while they might yet retire in ſafety) to the ſhores of the Corinthian Iſthmus. The inclination to this meaſure received additional force from conſidering, that the Perſians, however unfortunate by ſea, had ſtill an immenſe army; whereas the principal hope of Greece centered in its fleet. While the commanders were occupied with theſe reflections, Abronychus, an Athenian, who had been entruſted with a galley of thirty oars, to cruiſe in the Malian bay, and to watch the event of the battle of Thermopylæ, arrived with an account of the glorious death of Leonidas. The engagements by ſea and land had been fought on the ſame day. In both the Greeks defended a narrow paſs, againſt a ſuperior power; and in both the Perſians had, with very different ſucceſs, attempted, by ſurrounding, to conquer them. The intelligence brought by Abronychus confirmed their reſolution of ſailing ſouthward; for it ſeemed of very little importance to defend the ſhores, after the enemy had obtained poſſeſſion of the centre of the northern territories. Having paſſed the narrow Euripus, they coaſted along the ſhore of Attica, and anchored in the ſtrait of the Saronic Gulph, which ſeparates the iſland of Salamis from the harbours of Athens[4].

Themiſtocles's ſtratagem for making the Ionians deſert their allies.

Before they left Artemiſium, Themiſtocles, ever watchful to promote the intereſt of his country, endeavoured to alienate[5] from the great king the affections of his braveſt auxiliaries. Contrary to the advice of the prudent Artabanus, Xerxes had conducted the Aſiatic Greeks to an unnatural expedition againſt their mother-country. His wife kinſman in vain perſuaded him to ſend them back, becauſe it appeared equally diſhonourable and dangerous to depend on the ſervice of men, which could only be employed in his favour at the expence of every principle of duty, and of every ſentiment of virtue. By hope and fear, by threats and promiſes, and chiefly by honouring them with marks of diſtinguiſhed preference, Xerxes

[4] Herodot. l. viii. c. xxi. [5] Ibid. l. viii. c. xxii.

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had hitherto preſerved their reluctant fidelity. In order at once to deſtroy a connection which of its own accord ſeemed ready to diſſolve, Themiſtocles engraved on the rocks near the watering-place of Artemiſium the following words: "Men of Ionia, your conduct is moſt unjuſt in fighting againſt your anceſtors, and in attempting to enſlave Greece; reſolve, therefore, while it is yet in your power, to repair the injury.—If you cannot immediately deſert from the Perſian fleet, yet it will be eaſy for you to accompliſh this deſign when we come to an engagement. You ought to remember, that yourſelves gave occaſion to the quarrel between us and the Barbarians; and farther, that the ſame duties which children owe to their parents, colonies owe to their mother-country[6]."

Xerxes advances with his army towards Attica.

When news arrived that the Grecian fleet had abandoned Artemiſium, Xerxes regarded this retreat of the enemy as equal to a victory. He therefore iſſued orders, that his naval force, after ravaging the coaſts of Eubœa, ſhould proceed to take poſſeſſion of the harbours of Athens; while at the head of his irreſiſtible army, he intended to make a victorious proceſſion, rather than a march, into the Attic territory. The road thither from Thermopylæ paſſed through the countries of Phocis and Bœotia, the latter of which had already acknowledged his authority. The Phocians adhered to the cauſe of Greece; and were ſtill farther confirmed in their allegiance, after the Theſſalians, their inveterate enemies, had embraced the party of Xerxes. Such were the violent animoſities, which divided theſe hoſtile ſtates, that, in the opinion of Herodotus, whichever ſide the Theſſalians had taken, the Phocians would ſtill have oppoſed them. He might, perhaps, have extended the obſervation to the other principal republics. The enthuſiaſm of Athens and Sparta in defending the cauſe of Greece, rendered the rival ſtates of Thebes and Argos zealous in the ſervice of Perſia; and it is to be remembered, to the immortal

[6] This ſentiment is the dictate of nature, and occurs often in the Roman as well as the Greek writers. "Quæ liberi parentibus ea coloni antiquæ patriæ debent." T. Livius.

glory

glory of the friends of liberty and their country, that they had to ſtruggle with domeſtic ſedition, while they oppoſed and defeated a foreign invaſion.

Ravages Phocis.

Having entered the territory of Phocis, the Perſian army ſeparated into two diviſions, with a view to obtain more plentiful ſupplies of the neceſſaries of life, and to deſtroy more completely the poſſeſſions of their enemies. The moſt numerous diviſion followed the courſe of the river Cephiſſus, which flows from the Theſſalian mountains, to the lake Copais in Bœotia. The fertile banks of the Cephiſſus were adorned by Charadra, Neon, Elatæa, and other populous cities, all of which were burned or demoliſhed by the fury of Xerxes, and the reſentment of the Theſſalians. Hiſtorians particularly regret the deſtruction of the ſacred walls of Abé, a city held in peculiar reſpect on account of the temple of Apollo, famed for its unerring oracles, and enriched from the earlieſt times by the pious donations of ſuperſtition. The inhabitants had in general abandoned their towns, and taken refuge in the moſt inacceſſible retreats of Mount Parnaſſus. But the natives of Abé, vainly confiding for ſafety in the ſanctity of the place, became a prey to an undiſtinguiſhing rage, which equally diſregarded things ſacred and profane. The men periſhed by the ſword, the women by the brutal luſt of the Barbarians.

Extraordinary adventure of a detachment that attacked Delphi.

After committing theſe dreadful ravages, the principal diviſion of the army marched into Bœotia, by the way of Orchomenus. The ſmaller part (if either portion of ſuch an immenſe hoſt can be called ſmall) ſtretched to the right, along the weſtern ſkirts of Mount Parnaſſus, and traced a line of devaſtation from the banks of the Cephiſſus to the temple of Delphi. Such was the fame of the immenſe riches collected in this ſacred edifice, that Xerxes is ſaid to have been as well acquainted with their amount as with that of his own treaſury; and, to believe the adulation of his followers, he alone was worthy to poſſeſs that invaluable depoſitory. The Delphians having

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learned by the unhappy fate of Abé, that their religious employment could not afford protection, either to their property or to their perſons, conſulted the oracle, "Whether they ſhould hide their treaſures under-ground, or tranſport them to ſome neighbouring country?" The Pythia replied, "That the arms of Apollo were ſufficient for the defence of his ſhrine." The Delphians, therefore, confined themſelves to taking proper meaſures for ſaving their lives. The women and children were tranſported by ſea to Achaia; the men climbed to the craggy tops of Mount Cirphis, or deſcended to the deep caverns of Parnaſſus. Only ſixty perſons, the immediate miniſters of Apollo, kept poſſeſſion of the ſacred city. But, could we credit the teſtimony of ancient hiſtorians, it ſoon appeared that the gods had not abandoned Delphi: ſcarcely had the Perſians reached the temple of Minerva the Provident, ſituated at a little diſtance from the town, when the air thickened into an unuſual darkneſs. A violent ſtorm aroſe; the thunder and lightning were terrible. At length the tempeſt burſt on Mount Parnaſſus, and ſeparated from its ſides two immenſe rocks, which rolling down with increaſed violence, overwhelmed the neareſt ranks of the Perſians. The ſhattered fragments of the mountain, which long remained in the grove of Minerva, were regarded by the credulity of the Greeks as a ſtanding proof of the miracle. But without ſuppoſing any ſupernatural intervention, we may believe, that an extraordinary event, happening on an extraordinary occaſion, would produce great terror and conſternation in the Barbarian army, ſince many of the nations which compoſed it acknowledged the divinity of Apollo, and muſt therefore have been ſenſible of their intended impiety, in deſpoiling his temple. The awful ſolemnity of the place, conſpired with the horrors of the tempeſt, and the guilty feelings of their own conſciences. Theſe united terrors were ſufficient to diſturb all the rational principles of their minds, and even to confound the cleareſt perceptions of their ſenſes. They imagined, that they heard many

many ſounds, which they did not hear; and that they ſaw many phantoms, which they did not ſee. An univerſal panic ſeized them; at firſt they remained motionleſs, in ſilent amazement; they afterwards fled with diſordered ſteps, and wild deſpair. The Delphians, who perceived their confuſion, and who believed that the gods, by the moſt manifeſt ſigns, defended their favourite abode, ruſhed impetuouſly from their faſtneſſes, and deſtroyed great numbers of the terrified and unreſiſting enemy [7]. The remainder took the road of Bœotia, in order to join the main body under Xerxes, which having already deſtroyed the hoſtile cities of Theſpiæ and Platæa, was marching with full expectation to inflict complete vengeance on the Athenians.

The united army arrived in the Attic territory three months after their paſſage over the Helleſpont. They laid waſte the country, burned the cities, and levelled the temples with the ground. At length they took poſſeſſion of the capital; but the inhabitants, by a retreat no leſs prudent than magnanimous, had withdrawn from the fury of their reſentment.

Xerxes invades Attica;

It was impoſſible for the Athenians at once to oppoſe the Perſian army, which marched from Bœotia, and to defend the weſtern coaſts of Greece againſt the ravages of the fleet. The inhabitants of Peloponneſus, deſpairing of being able to reſiſt the enemy in the open field, had begun to build a wall acroſs the iſthmus of Corinth, as their only ſecurity on the ſide of the land againſt the Barbaric invaſion. In theſe circumſtances the Athenians, by the advice of Themiſtocles, embraced a reſolution which eclipſed the glory of all their former exploits. They abandoned to the Perſian rage their villages, their territory, their walls, their city itſelf, with the revered tombs of their anceſtors; their wives and children, and aged parents, were tranſported to the iſles of Salamis and Ægina, and to the generous city of Træzoné, on the Argolic coaſt, which, notwithſtanding the defection of Argos, the capital of that province, ſtedfaſtly adhered

which the Athenians had evacuated,

[7] Herodot. l. viii. c. xxxvii. & ſeqq. & Diodor. l. xi. p. 250.

to

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to the maxims of patriotiſm, and the dictates of virtue. The embarkation was made with ſuch haſte, that the inhabitants were obliged to leave behind them their houſehold furniture, their ſtatues and pictures, and in general the moſt valuable part of their property. But they were willing to relinquiſh all for the ſake of their country, which, they well knew, conſiſted not in their houſes, lands, and effects[7], but in that equal conſtitution of government, which they had received from their anceſtors, and which it was their duty to tranſmit unimpaired to poſterity. This conſtitution it was impoſſible for them to defend, unleſs they were determined, at the riſk of their lives and of every thing dear to them, to maintain the general independence of the Grecian confederacy; the intereſt of which became doubly precious, by being thus inſeparably connected with their own.

and embarked in the fleet at Salamis.

The Athenians capable of bearing arms, or of handling an oar, embarked on board the fleet, ſtationed at Salamis. The ſhips equipped and manned by them alone, exceeded in number thoſe of all their allies together, although the combined force was conſiderably augmented by the naval ſtrength of Epirus and Acarnania, which, formerly doubtful and irreſolute, had been determined to the ſide of Greece by the event of the engagements at Artemiſium. The whole Grecian armament, thus increaſed, amounted to three hundred and eighty veſſels. That of the Perſians, which now took poſſeſſion of the Athenian harbours, lying to the ſouth of the ſtrait occupied by the Greeks, had alſo received a powerful reinforcement. The Locrians, Bœotians, and in general every people who had ſubmitted to their arms, readily ſupplying them with ſhips; and ſeveral of the Ægean iſlands having at length prepared the quota which they had formerly been commanded to furniſh. We are not exactly in-

[7] [illegible]
[illegible]
ΑΛΛ' ὅπλα περ ἀνδρῶν ΑΝΔΡΕΣ

Αἰσχύνη, σὺν τῶν νῦν;
Ἐσταύρωται τοῖχοι καὶ πόλις.
ΔΙΟΚΑΙΟΣ, apud Ariſtid.

formed

formed of the number or ſtrength of the additional ſquadron; but it was ſuppoſed fully to compenſate the loſs occaſioned by ſtorms and ſea-fights, and to reſtore the Perſian fleet to its original compliment of twelve hundred ſail [8].

Xerxes determines to fight again at ſea.

Truſting to the immenſe ſuperiority of his armament, Xerxes was ſtill deſirous to make trial of his fortune at ſea, notwithſtanding his former diſaſters on that element. But before he came to a final reſolution, he ſummoned a council of war, in order to hear the opinion of his maritime ſubjects or allies. The tributary kings of Tyre and Sidon, the leaders of the Egyptians, Cyprians, and Cilicians, ever ready to flatter the paſſions of their ſovereign, offered many frivolous reaſons in favour of the alternative to which they perceived him inclined. But in the fleet of Xerxes there was a Grecian queen named Artemiſia, widow of the prince of Halicarnaſſus, and who had aſſumed the government of that city and territory for the benefit of her infant ſon. Compelled by the order of Xerxes, or perhaps irritated againſt the Athenians for ſome reaſons which hiſtory does not record, ſhe not only fitted out five ſhips to attend the Perſian expedition, but took upon herſelf the command of her little ſquadron, and on every occaſion conducted it with equal ſkill and bravery. Such vigour of mind, united with ſo delicate a form, deſerved to excite admiration in every part of the world; but the manly ſpirit of Artemiſia becomes ſtill more admirable, when we conſider the ſevere reſtraints which have been in all ages impoſed on the female ſex, by the manners and climate of Aſia. Her ſuperior genius recommended her to the peculiar favour of Xerxes, who was obliged to eſteem in a woman the virtues which he himſelf wanted ſpirit to practiſe. Truſting to his advantageous opinion of her courage and fidelity, Artemiſia diſſented from the general voice of the allies, and even oppoſed the inclination of the prince. "Her former exploits on the coaſt of Eubœa afforded ſufficient proof that her preſent advice was not the child of timidity.

Is powerfully diſſuaded from that meaſure by Artemiſia.

[8] Herodot. Diodor. ubi ſupra. & Plut. in Themiſtocle.

She

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She had been ever forward to expoſe her perſon and her fame in the ſervice of the great king; but it was impoſſible to diſſemble the manifeſt ſuperiority of the Greeks in naval affairs. Yet were the two armaments as much on a foot of equality in point of bravery and experience, as they were unequal in numbers, what motive could induce Xerxes to venture another engagement at ſea? Was he not already in poſſeſſion of Athens, the great object of the war? The Spartans who had oppoſed his progreſs at Thermopylæ had reaped the juſt fruits of their temerity: thoſe aſſembled at the iſthmus of Corinth might eaſily be involved in a ſimilar fate. The Peloponneſus might then be laid waſte by fire and ſword, which would complete the deſtruction of Greece. Inſtead of proceeding immediately to that peninſula, ſhould Xerxes chooſe to continue only a few weeks in the Attic territory, four hundred Grecian ſhips could not long be ſupplied with proviſions from the barren rocks of Salamis. Neceſſity muſt compel them to ſurrender, or drive them to their reſpective cities, where they would become an eaſy prey to the Perſian arms." Theſe judicious obſervations were heard without approbation; the worſt opinion prevailed, being the beſt adapted to flatter the vanity of Xerxes.

Deliberations of the Greeks.

When the Grecian commanders obſerved that the enemy prepared to venture another engagement at ſea, they likewiſe aſſembled, to deliberate whether they ſhould continue in the ſtrait between Salamis and Attica, or proceed further up the gulph, towards the Corinthian Iſthmus. The latter propoſal was generally approved by the confederates of Peloponneſus, who anxiouſly deſired, in the preſent emergency, to approach as near as poſſible to their reſpective cities. Some haſtened to their ſhips, and hoiſted ſail, in order to depart; and it ſeemed likely that their example would be ſoon followed by the whole fleet. On board the ſhip of Themiſtocles was Mneſiphilus, formerly mentioned as the inſtructor of his youth, and who now accompanied him as his counſellor and friend. The experienced wiſdom of Mneſiphilus readily diſcerned, that

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that if the Greeks ſhould ſail from Salamis, it would be impoſſible to prevent the general diſperſion of their armament. He therefore exhorted Themiſtocles to endeavour, by all means poſſible, to prevent this fatal meaſure; and particularly to perſuade the Spartan admiral, Euribiades, to alter his preſent intention.

Guided by the abilities of Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles readily embraced the opinion of his friend. Having waited on Euribiades, he obtained his conſent to call a ſecond aſſembly of the confederates. After they were fully convened, the Athenian called their attention to the ſtate of their affairs, when his diſcourſe was inſolently interrupted by Adimantus, the commander of the Corinthians, who had conſtantly diſcovered a particular ſolicitude for returning to the Iſthmus. Themiſtocles, no leſs prudent than brave, anſwered his reproaches with calmneſs, and then addreſſing himſelf to Euribiades, "The fate of Greece," ſaid he, "depends on the deciſion of the preſent moment, and that deciſion on you; if you reſolve to ſail to the Iſthmus, we muſt abandon Salamis, Megara, and Ægina; we ſhall be compelled to fight in an open ſea, where the enemy may fully avail themſelves of their ſuperior numbers; and as the Perſian army will certainly attend the motions of their fleet, we ſhall draw their combined ſtrength towards the Grecian peninſula, our laſt and only retreat. But if you determine to retain the ſhips in their preſent ſtation, the Perſians will find it impoſſible, in a narrow channel, to attack us at once with their whole force: we ſhall preſerve Megara and Salamis, and we ſhall effectually defend Peloponneſus; for the Barbarians being, as I firmly truſt, defeated in a naval engagement, will not penetrate further than Attica, but return home with diſgrace." He had ſcarcely ended his words, when Adimantus broke forth into new invectives, affecting ſurpriſe that Euribiades ſhould liſten to a man who, ſince the taking of Athens, had not any city to defend: that the Athenians ought *then* to have a voice in the council, when they could ſay they had a home. Themiſtocles replied, "that the Athenians had indeed undervalued their private eſtates and poſſeſſions, in compariſon

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of their political independence, and the general ſafety of Gree e, and glorioufly abandoned their city in defence of their country. But notwithſtanding this ſacrifice for the public good, they had ſtill an home far more valuable than Corinth, two hundred ſhips of war wel' armed and manned, which no nation of Greece could reſiſt. That ſhould the confederates perſiſt in their preſent dangerous reſolution, the Athenians would in theſe ſhips embark their wives and families; deſert a country, which had firſt forſaken itſelf; and repair to the coaſt of Italy, where it was foretold by ancient oracles, that Athens ſhould, in ſome future time, form a great and flouriſhing ſettlement. That the Greeks would then remember and regret the advice of Themiſtocles, when, abandoned by the moſt conſiderable part of their allies, they became an eaſy prey to the Barbarian invader." The firmneſs of this diſcourſe ſhook the reſolution of the confederates; and it was determined by the majority to continue at Salamis.

Between this important reſolve and the engagement, there intervened a moment of the moſt anxious ſolicitude. The minds of men, impreſſed with the awful idea of the events about to be tranſacted, were thrown off their ordinary bias; and as the operations of nature, and the agency of inviſible beings, are always fondly connected in the imagination with the momentous concerns of human life, the Greeks felt, or believed they felt, extraordinary convulſions of the elements; they ſaw, or fancied they ſaw, hideous ſpectres in the air; and heard, or imagined they heard, the moſt terrible and threatening voices [p]. But all theſe ſtrange and ſupernatural appearances, which would otherwiſe have been doubtful or alarming, were proved, by a clear and explicit oracle, to foretel the deſtruction of the Barbarians.

ready to change their opinion;

Notwithſtanding this favourable intimation of the divine will, which was carefully improved by the wiſdom and eloquence of Themiſtocles, the Peloponneſians were ready to return to their firſt determination. A veſſel arriving from the Iſthmus, brought advice

[p] Lyſias Fun. Orat. Herodot. ibid.

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that the fortifications there were almoſt completed; if the fleet retired to the neighbouring ſhore, the ſailors might, even after a defeat at ſea, take refuge behind their walls; but if conquered near the coaſts of Salamis, they would be for ever ſeparated from their families and friends, and confined, without hope or reſource, within the narrow limits of a barren iſland. In important alternatives, when the arguments on each ſide are almoſt equally perſuaſive, the party which we have embraced often appears the worſt, merely becauſe we have embraced it. Any new circumſtance or conſideration is always capable of changing the balance, and we haſtily approve what we rejected after much deliberation. Leſt this propenſity ſhould, as there was much reaſon to fear, again diſconcert his meaſures, Themiſtocles determined to prevent the Greeks from the poſſibility of gratifying it. There commonly lived in his family a man named Sicinus, who at preſent accompanied him. He was originally a ſlave, and employed in the education of his children; but by the generoſity of his patron, he acquired the rank of citizen, with conſiderable riches. The firmneſs and fidelity of this man rendered him a proper inſtrument for executing a ſtratagem, which concealed, under the maſk of treachery, the enthuſiaſm of public virtue. Having received his inſtructions from Themiſtocles, he privately ſailed to the Perſian fleet, and obtaining admiſſion into the preſence of Xerxes, declared, "That he had been ſent by the captain of the Athenians, who could no longer endure the inſolence of his countrymen, to acquaint the great king, that the Grecians, ſeized with conſternation at the near approach of danger, had determined to make their eſcape under cover of the night: that now was the time for the Perſians to atchieve the moſt glorious of all their exploits, and, by intercepting the flight of their enemies, accompliſh their deſtruction at once[10]." The deceit was believed; all day, and the greateſt

prevented by a daring meaſure of Themiſtocles.

[10] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxv.

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part of the ſucceeding night, the Perſians were employed in ſecuring the ſeveral paſſages between the iſlands and the adjacent coaſt; and that nothing might be neglected that could contribute to their ſucceſs, they filled the little iſle, or rather rock, of Pſyttalea, lying between Salamis and the continent, with the flower of the Perſian infantry, who might be prepared to receive the miſerable remnant of the Greeks, who, after the expected defeat, would fly thither for refuge.

His interview with Ariſtides.

The firſt intelligence of theſe operations was brought to the Grecian fleet by Ariſtides the Athenian, who ſeems not to have availed himſelf of the general act of indemnity to return from baniſhment, but who readily embraced every opportunity to ſerve his country. Having with difficulty eſcaped in a ſmall veſſel from the iſle of Ægina, the generous patriot immediately communicated an account of what he had ſeen there to his rival and enemy, Themiſtocles, who, meeting his generoſity with equal frankneſs, made him the confidant of his ſecret. Their interview was as memorable as the occaſion; and, after a continued life of oppoſition and hatred, they now firſt agreed to ſuſpend their private animoſities, in order to promote the common intereſt of their country. As the Peloponneſian commanders were either wavering and irreſolute, or had determined to ſet ſail, Ariſtides was deſired to inform them of the arrangement which he had ſeen; but the conſideration of his country rendered his evidence ſuſpected, and it was imagined that he meant to ſacrifice the general intereſt of the confederates to the ſafety of the Athenian families in Salamis. But the arrival of a veſſel belonging to the iſle of Tenos confirmed the veracity of his report, and the Peloponneſians reſolved to fight, becauſe it was impoſſible to fly [10].

Sea-fight off the iſle of Salamis.

Before the dawn of day the Grecian ſhips were drawn up in order of battle; and the Perſians, who had been ſurpriſed at not finding them attempt to eſcape during night, were ſtill more ſurpriſed when morning diſcovered their cloſe and regular arrangement. The

[10] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxix. & ſeqq.

Greeks

Greeks began with the light their ſacred hymns and pœans—then broke at once from a thouſand voices their triumphant ſongs of war, accompanied as uſual by the animating ſound of the trumpet. The ſhores of Attica re-echoed to the rocks of Salamis and Pſyttalea. The Grecian acclamations filled the ſky. Neither their appearance nor their words betokened flight or fear, but rather determined intrepidity, and daring courage—yet was their valour tempered with wiſdom. Themiſtocles delayed the attack until the ordinary breeze ſhould ſpring up, which was no leſs favourable to the experience of the Grecian mariners, than dangerous to the lofty unwieldineſs of the Perſian ſhips [11]. The ſignal was then given for the Athenian line to bear down againſt that of the Phœnicians, which rode on the weſt, off the coaſt of Eleuſis; while the Peloponneſians advanced againſt the enemy's left wing placed on the eaſt, near the harbour of the Piræus. The Perſians, confiding in their number, and ſecure of victory, did not decline the fight. A Phœnician galley, of uncommon ſize and ſtrength, was diſtinguiſhed in the front of their line by every circumſtance of naval pomp. In the eagerneſs to engage, ſhe far outſtripped her companions; but her career was checked midway between the two fleets by an Athenian galley which had ſailed forth to meet her. The firſt ſhock ſhattered her ſculptured prow, the ſecond buried her in the waves. The Athenians, encouraged by this glorious prelude, proceeded with their whole force, animating each other to the combat by a martial ſong: "Advance, ye ſons of Athens, ſave your country, defend your wives and children, deliver the temples of your gods, regain the ſacred tombs of your renowned forefathers; this day the common cauſe of Greece demands your valour." The battle was bloody and deſtructive, and diſputed on the ſide of the Perſians with more obſtinate reſiſtance than on any former occaſion; for, from the Attic coaſt, ſeated on a lofty throne on the top of Mount Ægialos, Xerxes obſerved the ſcene of action, and attentively remarked, with a view to reward and puniſh, the various

[11] Id. ibid.

behaviour

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behaviour of his ſubjects. The preſence of their prince operated on their hopes, and ſtill more powerfully on their fears. But neither the hope of acquiring the favour, nor the fear of incurring the diſpleaſure of a deſpot, could furniſh principles of action worthy of being compared with the patriotiſm and love of liberty which actuated the Greeks. To the dignity of their motives, as much as to the ſuperiority of their ſkill, the latter owed their unexampled ſucceſs in this memorable engagement. The foremoſt ſhips of the Phœnicians were diſperſed or ſunk. Amidſt the terror and confuſion occaſioned by their repulſe, they ran foul of thoſe which had been drawn up in two lines behind them. The Athenians ſkilfully encircled them around, compreſſed them into a narrower ſpace, and increaſed their diſorder; they were at length entangled in each other, deprived of all power of action, and, to uſe the expreſſive figure of an eye-witneſs, "caught and deſtroyed like fiſh in a net[11]." Such was the fate of the right wing; while the Ionians, who, on the left, oppoſed the fleets of Peloponneſus and Ægina, furniſhed them with an opportunity to complete the victory. Many of the Aſiatic Greeks, mindful of the advice given by Themiſtocles, abandoned the intereſt of the great king, and openly declared for their countrymen; others declined the engagement; the remainder were ſunk and put to flight. Among thoſe which eſcaped was the ſhip of queen Artemiſia, who in the battle of Salamis diſplayed ſuperior courage and conduct: ſhe was cloſely purſued by an Athenian galley, commanded by Amenias, brother of the poet Æſchylus. In this extremity ſhe employed a very unwarrantable ſtratagem. The neareſt Perſian veſſel was commanded by Damaſithymus, a tributary prince of Calynda in Lycia, a man with whom Artemiſia was at variance. With great dexterity ſhe darted the beak of her galley againſt the Lycian veſſel. Damaſithymus was buried in the waves; and Amenias, deceived by this meaſure, equally artful and audacious, believed the veſſel of Ar-

The Perſians totally defeated.

[11] Æſchylus Perſæ.

temiſia

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ſemiſia one of thoſe which had deſerted the Perſian intereſt. The Phœnician and Ionian ſquadrons (for that of the Egyptians had been exceedingly weakened by the action on the coaſt of Eubœa) formed the main ſtrength of the Perſian armament; after theſe were defeated, the ſhips at a diſtance ventured not to advance, but haſtily changing ſail, meaſured back their courſe to the Athenian and other neighbouring harbours. The victors, diſdaining to purſue them, dragged the moſt valuable part of the wreck to the coaſts of Pſyttalea and Salamis. The narrow ſeas were covered with the floating carcaſes of the dead, among whom were few Greeks, as even thoſe who loſt their ſhips in the engagement, ſaved their lives by ſwimming, an art which they univerſally learned as a neceſſary branch of education, and with which the Barbarians were totally unacquainted [12].

Xerxes had ſcarcely time to conſider and deplore the deſtruction and diſgrace of his fleet, when a new ſpectacle, not leſs mournful, offered itſelf to his ſight. The flower of the Perſian infantry had taken poſt, as we have already obſerved, on the rocky iſle of Pſyttalea, in order to receive the ſhattered remains of the Grecian armament, which, after its expected defeat, would naturally take refuge on that barren coaſt. But equally falſe and fatal was their conjecture concerning the event of the battle. The Greeks, diſembarking from their ſhips, attacked, in the enthuſiaſm of victory, thoſe aſtoniſhed troops, who, unable to reſiſt, and finding it impoſſible to fly, were cut down to a man. As Xerxes beheld this dreadful havoc, he ſtarted in wild agitation from his ſilver throne, rent his royal robes, and, in the firſt moment of his returning tranquillity, commanded the main body of his forces, poſted along the Athenian coaſt, to return to their reſpective camps.

[12] Before this period it was a law at Athens and other ſtates, τὴν παιδα Ξέρξῃ πρωτον νῦν τε και γραμματα; that boys firſt learn reading and ſwimming. Sam. Petit. de Leg. Att. p. 11.

From

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Xerxes determines to leave Greece.

From that moment he reſolved to return with all poſſible expedition into Aſia. Yet did his fears and his policy conceal, for a few days, the deſign, not only from the Grecian but from the Perſian generals. Mardonius alone was too well acquainted with the genius of his maſter, to believe that his concern for the ſafety of his illuſtrious perſon would allow him to remain longer than neceſſary in a country, which had been the ſcene of ſo many calamities. The artful courtier availed himſelf of the important ſecret, to divert the ſtorm of royal reſentment which threatened the principal author of this inglorious undertaking. In his firſt interview with Xerxes, he exhorted him, "not to be too deeply affected by the defeat of his fleet: that he had come to fight againſt the Greeks, not with rafts of wood, but with ſoldiers and horſes: that the valour of the Perſians had oppoſed all reſiſtance, and their invincible ſovereign was now maſter of Athens, the main object of his ambition: that having accompliſhed the principal end of the enterpriſe, it was time for the great king to return from the fatigues of war to the cares of government, for with three hundred thouſand choſen men he would undertake to proſecute his deſigns, and to complete his victory." Such is the language of adulation, too often held to princes. The other courtiers confirmed, by their approbation, the advice of Mardonius; and the Perſian monarch, while he obeyed the dictates of his own puſillanimity, ſeemed to leave Greece in reluctant compliance with the anxious ſolicitude of his ſubjects.

Mardonius remains there with 300,000 men.

The miſerable retreat of his army.

The remains of the Perſian fleet, frightened from the coaſt of Greece, returned to the harbours of Aſia Minor, and afterwards aſſembled and rendezvouſed, during the enſuing winter, in the port of Cymé. The tranſports were ordered to the Helleſpont, on the banks of which Xerxes arrived with his troops in forty-five days, after intolerable hardſhips and fatigue. Famine and peſtilence filled up the meaſure of their calamities; and, excepting the three hundred thouſand choſen men committed to Mardonius, a detachment of whom

whom guarded the royal perſon to the coaſt, ſcarcely a remnant was left of ſo many millions [13]. The bridge oſtentatiouſly erected on the Helleſpont, would have preſented, had it remained intire, a mortifying monument of loſt greatneſs. But this magnificent fabric had been deſtroyed by a tempeſt: and ſuch is the obſcurity with which Xerxes returned from Greece, compared with the blaze of grandeur in which he arrived there, that it is uncertain whether he croſſed the channel in a Phœnician ſhip of war, or only in a fiſhing boat [14]. Having returned to Sardis, he endeavoured to compenſate for the diſappointment of ambition by the gratification of ſenſuality, and buried himſelf in pleaſures more infamous and degrading, and not leſs frightfully criminal, than all the diſgrace which his pride had incurred, and all the calamities which his ſubjects had either inflicted or ſuffered [15].

Meaſures taken by the Greeks after their victory.

When the Greeks had leiſure to examine the extent and completeneſs of their ſucceſs, they determined, in the firſt emotions of triumph and reſentment, to purſue the ſhattered remains of the enemy. That no Barbarian might eſcape, they purpoſed immediately to ſail northward, to deſtroy the Perſian bridge over the Helleſpont, and thus to intercept their return. This deſign was recommended, and chiefly ſupported by the Athenians, who having experienced the greateſt ſhare of the danger, felt moſt ſenſibly the joys of deliverance. But, upon more mature deliberation, it occurred that the Perſians were ſtill ſufficiently numerous to afford juſt grounds of terror. To their cowardice and inexperience, not to their want of ſtrength, the Greeks owed all their advantages over them; but if to their former calamities was added the impoſſibility of retreat, they might derive courage from deſpair, and, by efforts hitherto unexerted, repair the conſequences of their paſt errors and misfortunes. Theſe conſiderations, firſt ſuggeſted, it is ſaid, by Euribiades the Spartan,

[13] Ουδεν μερος ω, ουτω, ſays Herodotus, emphatically.

[14] Confer. Herod. Juſtin. Corn. Nepos.

[15] Herodot. & Diodor. ibid.

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were adopted by Themiſtocles, who convinced his countrymen that the jealouſy of the Grecian gods, unwilling that one man ſhould be lord of Europe and Aſia, rather than their own proweſs, had given them the victory over Xerxes; a prince of ſuch folly and madneſs, that he had treated with equal irreverence things human and divine, deſtroyed the ſacred temples, overthrown the venerable altars and images, and impiouſly inſulted the gods of the Helleſpont with ſtripes and fetters. That it was the duty of the Athenians, after having glorioufly repelled the common enemy, to provide for the ſubſiſtence of their wives and families, to ſow their lands, rebuild their houſes, and thus to repair, by the moſt induſtrious activity, the dreadful ravages committed in their territories[11].

Bold ſtratagem of Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles had no ſooner perſuaded the Athenians to embrace his opinion, than he ſecretly diſpatched his confidant Sicinus to acquaint the great king with the danger which he had ſo nearly eſcaped, and to adviſe him to purſue his journey with all poſſible expedition. Xerxes readily believed a piece of information, which agreed with the ſuggeſtions of his own timidity. The rapidity of his march conſpired with other circumſtances above-mentioned in proving fatal to the lives of his followers; and the crafty Athenian, who knowing the unſtable affections of the multitude, wiſhed to deſerve the gratitude of a king, gained the double advantage of diſpelling ſooner than could otherwiſe have happened, that deſtructive cloud of Barbarians which hovered over his country, and of convincing their leader, that he was in part indebted for his ſafety to that very man whoſe counſels, rather than the arms of Greece, had occaſioned all his affliction and diſgrace.

The victory at Salamis terminated the ſecond act of the Perſian expedition, which has, with much propriety, been compared to a tragedy. The Greeks ſoon underſtood that, notwithſtanding the return of Xerxes, three hundred thouſand men, commanded by Mar-

[11] Herodot. l. viii. c. cviii. & ſeqq.

donius,

donius, were cantoned for the winter in Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, with a deſign to take the field early in the ſpring, and again to try the fortune of war. This intelligence deterred the Athenians from bringing home their wives and children, as they originally intended, from Trœzené, Salamis, and Ægina, becauſe they had reaſon to dread that their country would experience new effects of Barbarian reſentment. It appears, however, that a few citizens, more ſanguine in their hopes than the reſt, returned to their ancient habitations; while the greater part continued on board the fleet, or went to reſide with their friends in the Peloponneſus.

Employment of the Greeks during the winter.

According to modern ideas, it would be natural to expect, that, under the apprehenſion of another formidable invaſion, the Greeks ſhould have employed the winter in raiſing contributions, levying and diſciplining troops, and concerting proper meaſures for the public defence. But ſuch preparations were in ſome degree unneceſſary, becauſe in the Grecian republics almoſt every citizen was a ſoldier; and the different ſtates were at all times too weakly united, to agree in any uniform plan of operations. Beſides, the cuſtoms and prejudices of that early age obliged them to obſerve many forms and ceremonies, which interfered with employments ſeemingly more uſeful, on ſuch an important emergency. We find, accordingly, that inſtead of increaſing or improving their military eſtabliſhment, the Greeks ſpent the winter[16] in dividing the ſpoil; aſſigning to the different commanders the prizes of conduct and valour; performing the laſt offices to the dead; celebrating their games and feſtivals; and diſplaying, both in the multitude of their prayers, and in the magnificence of their offerings, the warmeſt gratitude to their protecting divinities. The dedications to the gods were intrinſically valuable. The rewards beſtowed on their generals were ſimple tokens of public eſteem. The firſt conſiſted in vaſes, ſtatues, and other ornaments of gold and ſilver; the ſecond

[16] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxxi. & ſeqq.

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in a wreath of pine, laurel, or olive: a circumſtance which made Tigranes the Perſian exclaim, "Heavens! againſt what men have we come to contend? inſenſible to intereſt, they fight only for glory!"

Of the Athenians and Themiſtocles.

It is not ſurpriſing, that the inſtitutions of Greece ſhould have deceived an untutored Barbarian, when we conſider that even the modern philoſopher and hiſtorian have been too often dazzled by their ſplendour. Yet notwithſtanding what Tigranes believed, and what, from the fond admiration of antiquity, many modern writers have aſſerted, the indiſcriminate praiſe of diſintereſtedneſs by no means belonged to the Grecians. When the commanders of their ſeveral ſhips and ſquadrons aſſembled to regulate the diſtribution of naval and military rewards, each captain, with a ſelfiſhneſs equally indelicate and unjuſt, arrogated to himſelf the firſt prize of merit; though moſt of them acknowledged the deſert of Themiſtocles as ſecond to their own [16]. This general aſſignment of the ſecond, while all alike aſſumed the firſt place, was equivalent to a public declaration in favour of the Athenian: and the honours which were conferred on him, both in his own country and in Sparta, ſufficiently confirmed the deciſion. The uſual marks of the public eſteem were not indeed attended with any immediate profit; but their conſequences were extremely beneficial. Supported by the favourable opinion of his countrymen, a commander by ſea or land frequently attained an authority, the exerciſe of which was equally adapted to flatter pride, and to gratify avarice. The behaviour of Themiſtocles, after he had acquired ſufficient merit with the public to juſtify his rapacity, affords one memorable example of this kind; and we ſhall meet with many more, in examining the ſubſequent events of the Grecian hiſtory. Inſtead of remaining at home, in order to concert a plan for repelling the danger which threatened his country, the Athenian commander ſailed with a little ſquadron to the Cyclades, laid theſe unfortunate iſlands

[16] Herodot. l. viii. c. xxiii.

under

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under an heavy contribution, and without the participation, or even knowledge of his colleagues in command, enriched himſelf and his favourites [17].

Mardonius prepares to open the campaign.

On the approach of ſpring, Mardonius prepared to take the field. His army conſiſted of the Medes, Perſians, Scythians, and Indians; and though reduced from the millions which followed Xerxes to about three hundred thouſand men, it was thereby rather delivered from an uſeleſs incumbrance, than deprived of any real ſtrength. Before marching from Theſſaly, his ſuperſtition engaged him to conſult the Grecian oracles, and moved probably by an erroneous explanation of their ambiguous reſponſes, he determined to try the effect of negociation, before he had recourſe to arms. He might treat either with individuals, or with communities. By the former method, the Thebans aſſured him, that he might become maſter of Greece, without hazarding a battle. "You have only," ſaid they, "to ſend money to the leading men in the ſeveral republics. In this manner you will divide each ſtate into factions; engage them in a civil war; and, when exhauſted by mutual hoſtilities, they will readily ſubmit to your demands." Mardonius, inſtead of purſuing this judicious ſyſtem, which would probably have been ſucceſsful, ſent Alexander, king of Macedon, to treat with ſuch Athenians as had returned to their city. This illuſtrious ambaſſador, who boaſted an Argive extraction, was the tributary prince of a barbarous country; but of a country deſtined, in a future age, to attain empire and renown by the arts of Philip, and the arms of his immortal ſon. The firſt Alexander was peculiarly well qualified for executing the office with which Mardonius had entruſted him, becauſe his family had long been connected with the republic of Athens, by the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. But his commiſſion was as unwelcome as his viſit was acceptable. The Athenians, therefore, delayed calling an aſſembly to hear and anſwer his diſcourſe, until the Spartans (who were appriſed of the intention of Mardonius) ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to

Endeavours to detach the Athenians from their allies;

[17] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxv.

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assist at the deliberation. When all parties were convened, Alexander declared, "That he was sent on the part of Mardonius, who had received a message from the great king, intimating his will to forgive their past injuries, to reinstate them in their possessions, to rebuild their houses and temples, and to receive them into the number of his friends and confederates." Mardonius then spoke for himself: "What madness, O Athenians, can impel you to maintain war against a monarch whom you cannot expect *ever* to conquer, nor hope *always* to resist. You are acquainted with the number and prowess of the troops under my command, which, formidable as they are, make but a small part of the unbounded resources of Xerxes. Every year he can invade you with an increasing superiority of strength; submit, therefore, to a power which it is impossible to oppose; profit, ere it be too late, of the disposition of the great king, and accept the offer of an alliance which folly alone, not fortitude and firmness, can engage you to decline." Alexander endeavoured to add weight to these considerations, by observing, "That his past conduct had uniformly proved the sincerity of his attachment to the Athenians; and that he was firmly convinced of the expediency, and even necessity of the measures now in agitation, otherwise he should not have undertaken to propose them. He therefore exhorted them to reflect on the advantages which would accrue to them from being alone, of all the Greeks, admitted into the alliance of Xerxes; to reflect also on the dreadful consequences which would attend their refusal, since their country, placed as a prize between the contending parties, would thereby be exposed to inevitable destruction[18]."

Sur without success.

As soon as Alexander had ended his discourse, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors represented to the assembly, "That they had been sent on the part of their republic, to thwart the measures of the Barbarians; with whom, in order to relent the quarrel of her Athenian allies, Sparta had engaged in a bloody and destructive war. Could

[18] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxl.

the

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the Athenians then, for whoſe ſake alone the war which now extended over all Greece was originally undertaken, abandon their friends and confederates, whoſe ſervices they had every reaſon to approve? Could they aſſociate with Barbarians, whoſe hoſtilities they had every reaſon to reſent? Sparta affectionately ſympathiſed with their ſufferings, in the loſs of their houſes, and their harveſts; yet the confederates in general had endeavoured to prevent or repair the unhappy conſequences of their loſs: they had maintained their wives and families, ſupported and educated their helpleſs children, cheriſhed and ſuſtained the declining years of their parents. Their generoſity was not yet exhauſted; if the Athenians ſhould be compelled again to abandon their country, they would again find the ſame hoſpitable reception in Peloponneſus; and their families, if it became neceſſary, would be maintained at the common expence, during the continuance of the war. Let them not, therefore, be deceived by the ſpecious words of the tyrant Alexander, who, at the expence of truth, endeavoured to promote the intereſt of a tyrant like himſelf. The Athenians ought to remember, that neither juſtice, nor honour, nor fidelity, can be expected from tyrants and Barbarians [19]." Having thus ſpoken, the Lacedæmonians, as well as Alexander, withdrew; and the Athenians, after a ſhort deliberation, anſwered both parties by the voice of Ariſtides, who, as archon, or chief magiſtrate, preſided in the aſſembly: firſt, to the Macedonian they replied, "That as they were ſufficiently acquainted with the ſtrength of Xerxes, he might have ſpared them the inſult of deſcribing its vaſt ſuperiority to their own. Yet, in defence of liberty, there was no power too great to oppoſe. Return, then, and tell Mardonius, that the Athenians will never make peace with Xerxes, while the ſun performs his annual courſe in the heavens; but that, truſting to the aſſiſtance of the gods and heroes, whoſe temples and images the tyrant has impiouſly deſtroyed, we will reſiſt him to the laſt extremity. To conclude: Come not a

[19] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxlii.

ſecond

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ſecond time to Athens with ſuch meſſages, the inſolence of which may make us forget that you are our friend, and connected with us by the ſacred ties of reciprocal hoſpitality." The anſwer given to the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors was delivered in a ſtill higher ſtrain of patriotiſm: "That the Barbarians, or even the peaſants of Laconia, ſhould ſuppoſe us capable of coming to an accommodation with the Perſians, does not ſurpriſe us; but it is indeed ſurpriſing, that you, citizens of Sparta, ſhould entertain the ſame groundleſs fears; you, who have ſo often heard by report, and who, on ſo many occaſions, have yourſelves witneſſed the diſintereſted magnanimity of our republic. Know then, that the richeſt poſſeſſions on earth, that all the treaſures of the great king, are not ſufficient to ſeduce our unalterable attachment from Greece. The laws of God and man equally forbid our ingratitude; or if all ties of *duty* were diſſolved, our *reſentment* againſt the Perſians would reſtrain us. We muſt avenge our plundered altars, our proſtrate images, our deſolated temples. We muſt avenge the cauſe of our allies, and our own; for all the Greeks have the ſame religion, language, lineage, and manners, and, while an Athenian ſurvives, will never, with his conſent, make peace with the Barbarians. We acknowledge with gratitude your proffered kindneſs to our families; but henceforth we hope to provide for them, without giving the confederates any trouble on their account. What we requeſt of you is, that your army march with all poſſible expedition towards Bœotia, that our united reſiſtance may ſtop the progreſs of the Barbarian, who, as ſoon as he is appriſed of our determined hoſtility, will not fail to proceed ſouthward, to invade Attica a ſecond time [17]."

The Peloponnesians defert the common cauſe.

This conjecture was juſtified by the event. The Perſians within a few weeks marched into Bœotia, but the Athenians looked in vain for the expected arrival of their Spartan auxiliaries. To have witneſſed the proceedings juſt deſcribed in the Athenian aſſembly, we ſhould have

[17] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxl. & ſeqq.

imagined

imagined that there was a generous conteſt of patriotiſm between the two republics; and that the happineſs and glory of Greece, not the intereſt of their particular communities, was the great object of their ambition. But the Greeks had often much patriotiſm in their ſpeeches, when there was little in their hearts; and the Spartans, who had lately employed ſuch powerful arguments to engage Athens in defence of the common cauſe, totally abandoned their principles whenever it ſuited their convenience[17]. Inſtead of iſſuing forth in order to ſupport their allies in Bœotia, they remained within the Iſthmus, and endeavoured to fortify that inlet into their territory with ſuch additional walls and bulwarks as might render it impenetrable. The work was now complete; and the Peloponneſians, ſecure as they imagined behind this ſolid rampart, equally diſregarded the ſafety, and deſpiſed the reſentment, of their northern allies.

Magnanimity of the Athenians.

The Athenians, a ſecond time forſaken by their confederates, were obliged again to deſert their country. They had ſcarcely ſailed to their families in Salamis, when Attica was invaded by the Perſians. While the fugitives continued in that iſland, they received another embaſſy from Mardonius, offering them the ſame terms which they had formerly rejected. They ſtill perſiſted in rejecting them; in conſequence of which, they beheld, without apparent uneaſineſs, from the ſhores of Salamis, their territories[18] again laid waſte, their cities, and villas, and temples, devoured by the flames, and every thing that had eſcaped the fury of the firſt invaſion, deſtroyed or conſumed by the ſecond. After committing theſe ravages, which, as he had already obtained complete poſſeſſion of the country, deſerve to be conſidered only as the effect of a childiſh reſentment, Mardonius returned into Bœotia, that his troops might be ſupplied with proviſions, and that, ſhould the enemy offer them battle, they might engage in a country better adapted than Attica to the operations of cavalry.

[17] Lyſias, Orat. Funeb.

[18] Herodot. l. ix. c. i. & ſeqq.

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They remonſtrate with their confederates.

The Athenians, who had been ſent from Salamis to remonſtrate with the Spartan council againſt the delays or deſertion of the Peloponneſians, were accompanied by the ambaſſadors of Platæa and Megara, who confirmed their arguments and complaints. With the indignation of diſappointed confidence, they upbraided the indifference and lukewarmneſs of the Spartans in the common cauſe; ſentiments which ill correſponded with their own generous ardour. They contraſted the baſe treachery of Sparta, formerly the honour, now the diſgrace, of Greece, with the patriotic magnanimity of Athens. The latter, they obſerved, compelled by neceſſity, or urged by reſentment of the ſhameful dereliction on the part of her allies, would doubtleſs accept the terms offered by Mardonius, and then the Peloponneſians muſt become ſenſible, when it was too late, that the wall acroſs the Iſthmus formed but a partial and feeble defence; and however it might ſecure them from inroads on the ſide of the land, would ill protect their coaſts againſt the deſcents of the Perſian, reinforced by the Athenian, fleet [18].

Perſuade them to take the field.

Whether the eloquence of the ambaſſadors, or the returning ſenſe of public utility, overcame the puſillanimous reſolutions formerly embraced by the Spartans, it is certain that they now firſt determined to take the field. Five thouſand Spartan pike-men were accompanied by thirty-five thouſand Helots. Their Peloponneſian allies ſent their reſpective contingents; ſo that the heavy-armed men raiſed in the Peninſula exceeded twenty thouſand, commanded by Pauſanias, the guardian and kinſman of Pliſtarchus, ſon of Leonidas. Having marched beyond the Iſthmus, they were joined by Ariſtides, at the head of eight thouſand Athenians, and by a ſuperior number of their allies of Megara, Theſpiæ, Platæa, Salamis, Eubœa, and Ægina. The whole heavy-armed troops amounted to nearly forty thouſand; the light-armed were the thirty-five thouſand Helots, attendants on

[18] Lyſias, ibid.

the

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the Spartans, and about as many more, one to each ſoldier, attended the other diviſions of the army [19].

Mardonius encamps on the Æſopus, in Bœotia;

Mardonius having marched into Bœotia, encamped on the banks of the Æſopus. His army of three hundred thouſand men, while they waited the enemy's approach, of which they were ſecretly informed by the Argives, were employed in building a ſquare fortification, about five quarters of a mile in front; a work of little utility, ſince it could only defend a ſmall portion of a camp which extended many miles, from the Theban town of Erythræa, to the territory of the Platæans. The Greeks having arrived in thoſe parts, took poſt at the foot of mount Citheron, directly oppoſite to the enemy.

the Greeks, on the oppoſite bank.

Incidents preceding the battle of Platæa.

The hoſtile armies remained eleven days in their encampments, during which ſeveral incidents happened, which tend to diſplay the manners and character of thoſe great bodies of men, who were ſoon to attempt the deſtruction of each other. Of the Grecians inhabiting the countries north of Attica, the Phocians, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, were the leaſt diſpoſed to embrace the cauſe of Mardonius. Yet as all their neighbours had ſubmitted to his arms, they reluctantly ſent to his camp a thouſand ſoldiers, well armed, and commanded by Harmocydes, a citizen of great influence and authority. They had not continued many days in the Perſian army, when an order came from Mardonius (the reaſon was unknown), for the Phocians to be detached from the reſt, and encamped in a ſeparate body on the plain. They had no ſooner obeyed his command, than the whole Perſian cavalry appeared in ſight, and ſoon formed themſelves in hoſtile array. It immediately occurred to the Phocians, and particularly to their prudent commander, that Mardonius, ſuſpecting their fidelity, or yielding to the ſolicitations of their inveterate enemies the Theſſalians, had determined their deſtruction. Harmocydes, therefore, pointing

[19] Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. & Plut. in Ariſtid.

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to the cavalry, called to his companions, "You ſee thoſe men, who come with an evident intention to deſtroy us: but let us die like Grecians, and exert ourſelves with all the fury of a deſperate defence, rather than tamely ſubmit to a diſhonourable fate." While he yet ſpoke, the Phocians ſeized their arms, arranged themſelves in order of battle, and ſupporting each other in redoubled ranks, preſented on every ſide a firm circle of portended lances. Their warlike appearance ſtruck terror into the ſurrounding cloud of Barbarians, who advanced brandiſhing, and a few of the neareſt throwing, their javelins: but farther they ventured not to proceed; the determined countenance of the Greeks ſufficed to repel them; they retired in haſte to the Perſian camp. A herald was then ſent by Mardonius, "deſiring the Phocians to take courage, nor to dread farther hoſtilities; that they had ſhewn themſelves to be brave men, contrary to the account which he had received of them; and, if they diſplayed their valour in the Perſian cauſe, they ſhould find it impoſſible to conquer either Xerxes or himſelf in good offices [20]."

The above relation tends to prove, that none of the Greeks, not even thoſe who joined the enemy, were deficient in courage. Another incident related by the ſame hiſtorian proves, that notwithſtanding the extreme folly of their commanders, the Perſians were not univerſally deficient in wiſdom. While they were encamped on the Æſopus, a wealthy Theban, named Attaginus, invited Mardonius, with fifty of his moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, to a magnificent entertainment. The feaſt was given at Thebes, and an equal number of Bœotians were called to it. Among theſe was Therſander, a native of Orchomenus, and a perſon of the higheſt diſtinction in that city. Two of the gueſts were placed on each couch; and, as Therſander himſelf related to Herodotus, his Perſian companion, after ſupper, entering into converſation in the Greek tongue, teſtified, under the ſeal of ſecrecy, his gloomy apprehenſions concerning the

[20] Herodot. ibid.

event

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event of the preſent war. He did not even heſitate to declare his firm perſuaſion, that few Perſians would ſurvive an engagement. When aſked by the Theban, Why he did not communicate his opinion to his general? he ſaid, that men of plain ſenſe and honeſty had ſeldom much influence with the great. It appeared from the whole tenor of his diſcourſe, that there were many people in the Perſian army, who, like himſelf, lamented the mad ambition of Xerxes, and the fatal raſhneſs of Mardonius; and who, while they reſpected their ſtations and dreaded their power, deſpiſed their character and condemned their conduct[21]. This obſervation it is proper to make for the honour of human nature. In abſolute governments, it is ſaid, that men obey, like a flock of ſheep, the voice of a deſpot; yet it may be ſaid with equal truth, that amidſt the obedience extorted by fear, they often ſee and regret the folly of their ſhepherd.

Skirmiſhes between the Greeks and the Perſian cavalry.

In this ſituation, it was ſcarcely to be expected that the hoſtile camps ſhould continue without frequent ſkirmiſhes. Theſe preludes to the general engagement ended favourably for the Grecians. Three thouſand ſoldiers, furniſhed by the rocky diſtrict of Megara, were poſted on the ſide moſt expoſed to the enemy's cavalry, by whoſe incurſions they had been ſo much haraſſed, that they determined to abandon that difficult ſtation. Before executing their deſign, they ſent a herald to the Grecian generals, intimating the reſolution they had taken from neceſſity, and at the ſame time hinting the injuſtice of detaining them, from the time of the firſt encampment, in a poſt of peculiar danger, which though they had hitherto indeed maintained with ſingular conſtancy and fortitude, they now found themſelves unable longer to defend. Pauſanias addreſſed himſelf ſucceſſively to the whole army, to know whether any diviſion was willing to change poſts with the Megarians. All were ſilent, or declined the propoſal on frivolous pretences. The Athenians alone, actuated by that love of pre-eminence which they did not

[21] Herodot. l. ix. c. xv.

more

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more ardently desire, than they justly deserved, voluntarily offered their services on this trying occasion. They had not long occupied the important post, when the enemy's cavalry began to assault them. The assault they repelled with vigour, and Masistius the Persian general fell in the action. A terrible conflict ensued, according to ancient custom, around the body of the dead. The Athenians at length gained possession of it; though they began to give way before the general attack of the horse, yet upon being supported by a reinforcement from the main body, they again recovered their ground, and compelled the Persians to retire. When the first unwelcome messengers arrived in the camp with an account of their own defeat, and the death of the general, Mardonius and his attendants burst into tears; their lamentations were soon communicated to the troops, and diffused over the army, whose plaintive cries filled the whole land of Bœotia. The Persians tore their hair, disfigured their faces, and displayed every symptom of intolerable woe; for they had lost Masistius, who in comeliness and stature was the first of their generals, and in military courage and address only second to Mardonius[22].

The Grecians having thus bravely delivered themselves from the incursions of the Persian cavalry, were now exposed to a still greater inconvenience, the scarcity of fresh water, which soon obliged them to decamp. Their late success afforded a favourable moment for executing this dangerous measure. They proceeded in arms along the foot of mount Citheron, prepared to repel the attack of the enemy, by converting the column of march into an order of battle. They arrived without opposition at the place appointed. This was a plain near the village of Hysia, in the territory of Platæa, interspersed with many gentle eminences, adorned with a grove and temple sacred to the genius of the place, and enriched by the copious fountain Gargaphia; a necessary resource to the Greeks,

The Greeks move to Hysia, in the territory of Platæa.

[22] Herodot. l. ix. c. ccxxiv.

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as the enemy, by means of their cavalry and archers, commanded both ſides of the Æſopus.

Diſſentions in the allied army,

It might be expected, that men prepared to defend every thing moſt dear to them, ſhould have preſerved in the field perfect agreement and unanimity; eſpecially as the Greeks, on ſome occaſions at leaſt, ſeemed ſenſible that mutual union was neceſſary for the general ſafety. When the allies on both ſides the Iſthmus had aſſembled in Attica, they vowed with common conſent to the gods, and bound themſelves by the moſt tremendous oaths, to maintain with ſtedfaſt adherence an unſhaken fidelity to Greece, to prefer liberty to life, to obey the command of their leaders, and to bury their companions ſlain in battle. Should fortune render them victorious (which to their preſent ardour ſeemed ſcarcely a matter of doubt), they ſwore never to demoliſh any city whoſe inhabitants had concurred with the general voice on this important occaſion, and never to rebuild the temples defaced by the Barbarians, but to leave them to the moſt diſtant poſterity, as a monument of ſacrilegious rage, and an incitement to honourable revenge. They ſwore alſo to inſtitute an annual feſtival, denominated the Common Liberty [23], and to conſecrate public games and ſacrifices to the goddeſs, the great author of their union, and the venerable object of their worſhip. But theſe public-ſpirited ſentiments continued not long to actuate them. We have already had occaſion to remark ſeveral ſymptoms of approaching animoſity. Their diſſentions ſoon broke out into an open rupture, and prevailed, even on the eve of a battle, not only between rival republics, but in the boſom of almoſt every community.

between the Athenians and Tegeans.

The firſt conteſt aroſe between the Athenians and Tegeans, about the command of the left wing. Both parties yielded the right, as the place of greateſt honour, to the Spartans. But the citizens of Tegea, in number three thouſand, had been long deemed the beſt

[23] Herodot. l. ix. c. viii. & ſeqq.

ſoldiers

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ſoldiers in Arcadia; and in all the conjunct expeditions of the Peloponneſians, they had always obtained, unrivalled, the ſecond honours of the field. Theſe they profeſſed themſelves unwilling to relinquiſh, alleging the heroic exploits of their ancient kings; and aſſerting, "That the actions of the Athenians, performed either during their royal or democratical government, could not bear a compariſon with their own: they appealed on this ſubject to the Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with whom they had often fought and conquered, and whoſe deciſion in their favour they rather claimed, than requeſted." This bold pretenſion the Athenians eaſily repelled, by the luſtre of their uſual eloquence. "We know," ſaid they, "that the Greeks are here aſſembled, not to diſpute about precedency, but to fight the Barbarian. Yet, as the Tegeans have mentioned *their* anceſtors, it becomes us to maintain the immortal renown of our own. Need we mention their ancient victories over the impious Thebans; their chaſtiſement of the inſolent Euryſtheus; their generous protection of the unfortunate ſons of Hercules? When Greece was invaded by the warlike 'Amazons, and afterwards by the fiercer ſavages of Scythia and Thrace, the Athenians reſiſted and overcame the common enemy. What people fought with more bravery than they in the war of Troy? But perhaps *we*, who now addreſs you, have degenerated from the glory of our anceſtors. Let the battle of Marathon efface the foul ſuſpicion. There, unaided and alone, we defended the general ſafety, maintained the glory of Greece, and raiſed, by the proweſs of our ſingle republic, a trophy over forty nations. This exploit, had we no other to allege, entitles us to the rank claimed by the Tegeans, and to far higher honours. But the preſent is not a time for ſuch conteſts; place us, therefore, O Spartans! in whatever ſtation you think fit; there we will behave like brave men." Their words were ſcarcely ended, when the whole army of the Lacedæmonians cried out with one conſent, "That the Athenians were far

more

more worthy than the Tegeans, or any nation of Arcadia, to ſtand at the head of the left wing;" and accordingly they aſſumed that important poſt [21].

The Perſians encamp near the enemy.

Meantime the Barbarian army approached. The Medes and Perſians encamped on the plain, fronting the Spartans: the Grecian auxiliaries were placed in direct oppoſition to the Athenians. It is eaſy to perceive, even at this diſtance of time, the reaſon of ſuch an arrangement. The Perſians avoided to encounter the Athenian bravery, which they had already fatally experienced in the field of Marathon; and as the Thebans were the moſt powerful and the warmeſt of their foreign allies, as well as the inveterate enemies of Athens, it was thought proper to oppoſe them to that ſide on which the Athenians were poſted. Ambiguous oracles, attended by unfavourable omens and prophecies, had hitherto deterred Mardonius from venturing a general engagement; and he was at length determined to this meaſure, not from any auſpicious [22] change in the admonitions of heaven, but from the apparent timidity, occaſioned by the real diſſentions, of the Greeks.

The Greeks decamp a ſecond time.

The ſame reaſons which made Mardonius deſire to preſerve, made Pauſanias wiſh to alter, the relative diſpoſition of their reſpective camps. Excepting in the glorious conteſt at Thermopylæ, in which they devoted themſelves to death for the ſafety of their country, the Spartans had never contended with the Medes; but they had often fought and conquered the Bœotians. Pauſanias therefore deſired (for, though dignified with the title of General, he could not command) the Athenians to change places with his countrymen. This requeſt was cheerfully complied with; but other circumſtances ſowed

[21] Herodot. l. ix. c. xxvi. & ſeqq. Plut. regarding their predictions. Alexander of Macedon came in the night to the Grecian camp, to give intimation of that reſolution; yet Mardonius ſeems to have been immediately determined to attack, by the circumſtances mentioned in the text.

in Ariſtid.

[22] The prophets conſulted were Greeks, who perhaps ſecretly ſerved the cauſe of their country. Mardonius reſolved to engage the enemy, as we learn from Herodotus, without

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diſſention in the Athenian camp [23]. The quiet likewiſe of the Lacedæmonians was diſturbed by the quarrels between Pauſanias and Anompharetus, the Spartan next in command; and conſpiring with theſe internal animoſities, the Perſian horſe beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and, by an unexpected incurſion, deſtroyed their watering-place. It thus became neceſſary again to decamp. The obſcurity of midnight was choſen as the moſt convenient time for effecting this purpoſe; and the deſtined place of retreat was a narrow ſlip of ground lying towards the ſource of the Æſopus, and confined between that river and Mount Citheron. This poſt was at leaſt preferred by the majority; for the Grecks were by no means unanimous: ſo that when the march was ordered, many of the allies abandoned their leaders; others took refuge in the neighbouring temples, to elude the purſuit of the horſe; while Anompharetus the Spartan declared, "That neither he, nor the diviſion under his command, ſhould ever fly from the enemy:" and in conſequence of its diſperſion in ſo many different directions, the Grecian army preſented next morning the appearance, not of a regular march, but of a flight, or rout.

Mardonius attacks them.

Mardonius received intelligence when the Greeks changed their order of battle. He was now informed, that they had abandoned their camp. Not doubting that fear had precipitated their retreat, he ordered his ſoldiers to purſue the fugitives, and to complete the victory. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians were ſtill within his reach; the former near the foot of the mountain, the latter in the middle of the plain. Having ſent his Grecian auxiliaries, amounting to fifty thouſand, againſt the Athenians, he advanced with the braveſt of the Perſian troops againſt that portion of the enemy which had ſhewn an anxious ſolicitude to avoid his arms. Never did the contraſt appear greater, than in the oppoſite appearance and behaviour of the hoſtile armies on this occaſion. The Barbarians, ill

[23] Plutarch. in Ariſtid.

armed,

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armed, and totally ignorant of diſcipline, advanced without order, and with a loud inſulting noiſe. The Lacedæmonians, carefully covered with their ſhields, obſerved in ſilence the reſult of their ſacrifices. While the heavenly admonitions were unfavourable, they patiently received the darts and javelins which the enemy threw upon them. But as ſoon as Pauſanias, caſting his eyes towards a neighbouring temple of Juno, and devoutly entreating the protection of the goddeſs, had obtained, in the changing aſpect of the victims, a propitious anſwer to his prayer, they proceeded with intrepidity to cloſe with their opponents[24]. The Perſians, reinforced with the Sacæ, a Scythian tribe, ſuſtained the attack with great bravery. Immenſe numbers were ſlain; but new numbers ſucceeded, crowding together in tumultuous diſorder, and making an hideous outcry, as if they had intended to tear in pieces and to devour the enemy. Mardonius, mounted on a white ſteed of uncommon ſtrength and ſwiftneſs, was diſtinguiſhed in every part of the battle by the ſplendor of his appearance, but ſtill more by deeds of ſignal valour. He was attended by a thouſand horſemen, conſiſting of the flower of the Perſian nobility, all alike ambitious to imitate the example, and to emulate the fame, of their leader. Had their ſkill been equal to their courage, or had they previouſly beſtowed as much pains in diſciplining their troops, as in improving their own agility and addreſs, either the Greeks muſt have been conquered, or the battle muſt have remained doubtful. But the Barbarians acted without union or concert; and as they fought ſingly, were ſucceſſively defeated. It is the nature, and the greateſt diſadvantage of cavalry, not to increaſe in force in proportion to the reduplication of their ranks. The Grecian phalanx, on the other hand, received an acceſſion of ſtrength from every addition to its depth; the ranks behind ſupported thoſe before; no power was miſ-ſpent, or unexerted; and the effect might be continually augmented, till it became irreſiſtible. Availing themſelves of this circumſtance, the Lacedæmonians

The battle of Platæa.

[24] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxii. & ſeqq.

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Death of Mardonius, and defeat of the Barbarians.

thickened their ranks, extended their ſpears, attacked and penetrated the brave Perſian ſquadron. Mardonius fell by the fortunate arm of the Spartan Aieimneſtus. The death of the General was immediately followed by the defeat of the Perſians, and the defeat of the Perſians by the flight of the Barbarian army. Artabazus, the Parthian chief, had from the beginning condemned the raſh meaſures of Mardonius. He commanded forty thouſand men, who were prepared on every occaſion to follow the example of their leader. As ſoon as he perceived the confuſion of the Perſians, he made the ſignal for his troops to quit the field. He conducted them through the territory of the Phocians, and arriving by haſty marches at the Helleſpont, before the news of the defeat and death of Mardonius, returned in ſafety to the Aſiatic coaſt, with the forces entruſted to his care[25].

Defeat of their auxiliaries.

The remainder of the diſcomfited Barbarians ſought refuge in their camp, which, as we have already mentioned, had been ſtrengthened by a conſiderable fortification. The Spartans purſued them with great ardor, but were unable to force their encampment. The Tegeans and other troops ſeconded the attack, but no impreſſion could be made on the wall, till the arrival of the Athenians. Theſe generous defenders of the cauſe of liberty had repulſed the Grecian auxiliaries, who impiouſly aſſiſted the enemies of their country. The behaviour of the greater part of the traitors furniſhed the occaſion of an eaſy victory; for, unable to meet the juſt reproaches and indignant looks of their countrymen, they ſoon betook themſelves to flight, which, in the preſent caſe, ſeemed more honourable than reſiſtance. The Thebans alone oppoſed with great perſeverance the Athenian valour; they did not deſiſt from hoſtility, till ſeveral hundreds were ſlain; and when compelled to quit the field, they fled towards Bœotia, and ſhut themſelves up within the ſtrong walls of their city. Inſtead of purſuing theſe fugitives, though their domeſtic and inveterate foes, the Athenians, with a laudable modera-

[25] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxv.

tion and prudence, probably inſpired by Ariſtides, then one of their generals, directed their march towards the Lacedæmonian forces, which had already engaged and put to flight the main ſtrength of the enemy. The Athenians, however, came in time to complete the glory of that memorable day. They attacked with redoubled vigour the fortification, which had been in vain aſſailed by their allies; and having effected a breach in the wall, entered the Perſian camp. They were followed by the brave ſoldiers of Tegea, and afterwards by the Spartans. The Barbarians were ſeized with conſternation at ſeeing ſo many myriads confined within a narrow ſpace. The means of their expected ſafety became the principal cauſe of their deſtruction. Fear hindered them to fight; the wall hindered them to fly: the great number of the enemy made it dangerous for the victors to give quarter; reſentment of paſt injuries prompted them to revenge; of near two hundred thouſand Barbarians, not two thouſand eſcaped the fury of the Grecian ſpear [26].

The Perſians maſſacred in their camp.

The event of this bloody engagement not only delivered the Greeks from the danger of ſervitude, but gave them poſſeſſion of greater wealth than they could ever have expected to poſſeſs. In his precipitate retreat from Greece, Xerxes left behind him all his riches and magnificence. His moſt valuable effects were beſtowed on Mardonius, the flatterer of his inclinations, and the unfortunate miniſter of his revenge. The reſt was divided among his inferior favourites; and independent of the bounty of the prince, the tents of the Perſian nobles furniſhed a wide profuſion of elegance and ſplendor. Couches magnificently embroidered; tables of gold and ſilver; bowls and goblets of gold; ſtalls and mangers of braſs, curiouſly wrought and ornamented; chains, bracelets, ſcymitars, ſome of ſolid gold, others adorned with precious ſtones; and, to crown all, many cheſts of Perſian money, which began at that time, and continued long afterwards, to be current in Greece. Among the common maſs of ſpoil, Herodotus reckons a great many Perſian

The valuable booty found there.

[26] Herodot. l. ix. cap. c.

women,

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How applied.

women, beſides innumerable horſes and camels. The whole being collected into one place, the tenth was conſecrated to the gods. A tenth of the remainder was beſtowed on the general. Peculiar preſents were offered to the temples of Olympian Jove, Iſthmian Neptune, and Delphian Apollo, the favourite divinities of the whole Grecian name; nor did the Athenians forget to ſhew particular gratitude to their adored Minerva. Prizes were afterwards diſtributed among the braveſt of the ſurviving warriors; for though the victory had been obtained with little blood, yet ſeveral hundreds had fallen, eſpecially of the moſt generous and daring; among whom were ninety-one Spartans, fifty-two Athenians, and ſixteen men of Tegea. Callicrattides, a Spartan, the braveſt and moſt beautiful of the Greeks, was ſlain by an arrow, before Pauſanias, who had not yet finiſhed the ſacrifice, had given the ſignal of engagement. As he fell, he ſaid to thoſe around him, that he was contented to die for Greece, but regretted dying ingloriouſly, having performed nothing worthy of himſelf or the common cauſe. But in the battle itſelf none of the warriors behaved with ſuch diſtinguiſhed bravery as Ariſtodemus, who alone of three hundred Spartans ſurvived the action at Thermopylæ. This circumſtance had rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his countrymen. He was continually upbraided with the baſe deſertion of his companions. The moſt heroic deeds could not reſtore him to the good opinion of the public; and it was aſſerted by the Spartans, that even on the preſent occaſion, as he had determined to ſeek a voluntary death in order to efface the ſtain of his former infamy, he was not entitled to any of thoſe honours which are deſervedly beſtowed on the genuine efforts of ſpontaneous valour [37].

The confederate Greeks challenge the perpetuity of the Thebans.

The Greeks buried their dead with every circumſtance of funeral pomp, erected in the field of battle conſpicuous trophies of their renown, and appropriated about twenty thouſand pounds for dedicating temples and ſtatues to the tutelary deities of Platæa, the illuſtrious ſcene of victory. A few days were ſpent in theſe tranſactions,

[37] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxx.

after

after which it was determined, by univerſal conſent, to march into Bœotia, in order to chaſtiſe the perfidy of the Thebans. On the eleventh day after the battle they arrived in the neighbourhood of Thebes, ravaged the territory, and made approaches to the walls. The citizens, who were not all equally guilty or equally obnoxious, eſcaped general deſtruction by ſurrendering the leaders of the faction which abetted the intereſt of the Medes. The traitors were carried to Corinth, condemned without trial, and ſacrificed to the manes of their countrymen who had died at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, in defence of political liberty and national independence [28].

Battle of Mycalé in Ionia.

The battle of Platæa was fought the twenty-ſecond of September; and on the ſame day another battle, not leſs glorious or leſs deciſive, was fought between the ſame nations at the promontory of Mycalé in Ionia, oppoſite to the iſle of Samos. The ſhattered remnant of the Perſian fleet, which had eſcaped deſtruction on the fatal twentieth of October of the preceding year, took refuge in the friendly ports of Aſia Minor. The victorious armament had ſuffered too much in repeated ſhocks with a ſuperior force, to engage at that late ſeaſon in the purſuit of an enemy, whoſe ſtrength, amounting to above four hundred veſſels, was ſtill nearly the double of their own. The little ſquadron of Themiſtocles, averſe to inactivity, found occupation, as we already had occaſion to notice, in laying the iſlands of the Ægean under contribution. The great body of the fleet rendezvouſed in the harbours of Ægina. There the Grecians continued during the winter, and before the ſeaſon for action approached, the command was beſtowed on Xantippus the Athenian, and on Leotychides the Spartan king. To theſe commanders, whoſe abilities and influence in their reſpective republics we formerly had an opportunity to mention, there arrived early in the ſpring a ſecret deputation from ſeveral cities of Ionia, intreating that the valour of the European Greeks, which had been ſo ſucceſsfully employed in their own defence, might

[28] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxxxv.

be

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be ſtill farther exerted in delivering from bondage their brethren in Aſia. In conſequence of this invitation the fleet ſailed eaſtward, and had ſcarcely reached the coaſt of Delos, when a ſecond embaſſy came from the Samians, propoſing the ſame meaſures as the firſt, and farther adding, that the Perſian fleet, now lying in the harbour of Samos, might be attacked and defeated without danger or difficulty. The Grecians ſeized with eagerneſs the favourable opportunity of terminating the war; but before they arrived at Samos, the enemy ſuſpecting their motions, and unwilling to hazard another engagement at ſea, had retired to the Ionic coaſt, and according to the cuſtom of that age, not only drawn their ſhips on ſhore, but ſurrounded them with a ditch and paliſade, and even a ſtone wall of conſiderable ſtrength. The veſſels thus ſecured, the ſailors amounting to forty thouſand, commanded by Artayndes, formed a camp along the ſhore. They were reinforced by the Perſian army under Tigranes, computed at ſixty thouſand. It appears not whether this powerful body of men made any attempt to diſturb the landing of the Greeks, who at the higheſt computation could not amount to a fourth part of their number. It ſeems moſt probable that they diſdained this meaſure, and though they acknowledged their inferiority at ſea, determined to hazard at land a general engagement, in which the iſles and Helleſpont, as well as the flouriſhing cities of the Aſiatic coaſt, ſhould be the glorious prize of victory.

The Greeks did not decline the battle. Xantippus is ſaid to have made uſe of a ſimilar contrivance with that employed by Themiſtocles at Artemiſium, for depriving the enemy of their Grecian auxiliaries[29]. A more probable ſtratagem is aſcribed to Leotychides, who, in order to encourage his troops, is ſaid to have induſtriouſly ſpread a report that their countrymen had obtained a ſignal victory at Platæa. This report, by whatever means[30] it was raiſed and circulated, had doubt-

[29] The ſtory is improbable, becauſe the Aſiatic Greeks had already declared their intention to revolt. It was not the intereſt of Xantippus, therefore, to make the Perſians ſuſpect their fidelity, ſince treacherous friends are always more dangerous than open enemies.

[30] Herodotus, (l. ix. c. c.), and Diodorus (l. xi. c. xxxv.), differ in their accounts.

leſs

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leſs a conſiderable effect in deciding the fortune of the day. Other circumſtances, not leſs powerful, were the general revolt of the Aſiatic Greeks, and the ſilent conteſt of honour between the Spartans and Athenians. Among the Barbarian troops the Perſians behaved with uncommon bravery; and on the ſide of the Grecians, the battle of Mycalé was more bloody than any other fought in the courſe of the preſent war. It deſerves attention, that, in all theſe memorable actions, the Greeks had no reſource but in victory. But the Barbarians had provided probable means of ſafety, even in caſe of a defeat. On the preſent occaſion they had endeavoured not only to ſecure a retreat within a ſtrongly fortified camp, but to acquire an undiſturbed paſſage through the narrow defiles of Mycalé. Yet all their precautions were ineffectual againſt the valour and fortune of the Greeks. The Mileſians, poſted by the enemy to guard the paſſes of the mountain, prevented, inſtead of promoting, their eſcape. The Spartans purſued them with great ſlaughter in that direction; while the Athenians, aſſiſted by the allies of Corinth, Sicyon, and Træzené, advanced with undaunted bravery to attack their camp. The Aſiatic Greeks, who at all times acknowledged the warlike pre-eminence of their European brethren, emulated, in the preſent engagement alone, in which they fought for every thing dear to them, the admired valour of their anceſtors. Above forty thouſand Perſians periſhed in the field; many fell in the purſuit, or in defending their entrenchments; the remainder fled in diſorder, nor thought themſelves ſecure till they had reached the walls of Sardis. Their ſhips, their camp, the freedom of Ionia, and the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the Aſiatic coaſt, were the ineſtimable prize of the victors; and thus the expedition of Xerxes, undertaken with a view to enſlave Europe, reſtored liberty to the faireſt portion of Aſia[61].

Concluſion and conſequences of the Perſian invaſion.

[61] Herodot. l. ix. c. xc.—c. cxiv. Diodorus Siculus, l. xi. c. xxxiv.—c. xxxviii.

CHAP. XI.

Military Glory of Greece.—Enemies to whom that Country was expoſed.—Foundation and Growth of Carthage.—The flouriſhing Condition of Magna Græcia.—Excites the Jealouſy of the Carthaginians—Who enter into a League with Xerxes.—The Object of this Alliance.—Cauſes of the ſingular Proſperity of Magna Græcia.—Hiſtory of Pythagoras, and of his Philoſophy.—The Carthaginians invade Sicily.—Their Diſaſters.—Glory of Gelon.—His Treaty with the Carthaginians.—Cauſes of the Decay of Magna Græcia.

CHAP. XI.

State of Greece. Olymp. lxxv. 1. A. C. 480.

THE beginning of the fifth century before Chriſt forms the moſt glorious æra in the hiſtory of Greece. While the republics of Athens and Sparta humbled the pride of Aſia, the flouriſhing ſettlements on the Helleſpont and the Hadriatic overawed the fierce Barbarians of Europe [1]; and the ſouthern colony of Cyrené reſtrained, within their native limits, the ſavage ferocity of the Libyans [2]. The north, ſouth, and eaſt thus acknowledging the aſcendant of the Grecian valour and genius, Rome ſtill contended, in the weſt, with the obſtinacy of the Volſci [3], for the rude villages of Latium: yet on this ſide, from which the ſtream of conqueſt was deſtined, in a future age, to flow over the world, the Greeks had already moſt danger to apprehend, and moſt laurels to acquire; not

[1] Herodot. l. vi. Thucydid. l. i.
[2] Strabo, l. xvii.
[3] Diodor. l. xi.

however

however from Rome, but from the implacable[4] enemy of the Roman name. CHAP. XI.

The foundation and growth of Carthage, which have been ſo ſucceſsfully adorned by poetical fiction, are very imperfectly explained in hiſtory. It is known that at leaſt eight hundred and ninety years[5] before the Chriſtian æra, a Phœnician colony ſettled on that fertile projecture of the African coaſt, which boldly advances into the Mediterranean, to meet, and, as it were, to defy, the ſhores of Sicily and Italy, planted in the following century by Greeks, with whom the republic of Carthage, long before the age of her great Hannibal, waged many cruel and bloody wars. For three centuries after their eſtabliſhment, the Carthaginians ſeem to have ſilently but ſucceſsfully availed themſelves of the natural fertility of their ſoil, the conveniency of their harbours, the ſkill and dexterity of their artiſans, the adventurous ſpirit of their mariners; above all, of the profound wiſdom of their government, which had been eſtabliſhed on ſuch admirable principles, that, from the foundation of their city till the age of the philoſopher Ariſtotle[6], no tyrant had oppreſſed the freedom, no ſedition had diſturbed the tranquillity of Carthage[7]. The foundation and growth of Carthage.

From this peaceful and happy obſcurity the Carthaginians firſt emerged into notice in conſequence of their oppoſition to the naval enterpriſes of the Aſiatic Greeks, who, about the middle of the which oppoſes the naval enterpriſes of the Greeks.

[4] With what energy does Virgil expreſs the eternal enmity between Rome and Carthage?

Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas,
Imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipſique nepotes. Æneid. l. iv.

[5] B. C. 891. Petav. de Doctr. Temporum. Yet, as there is a gap in the Carthaginian hiſtory of ſeveral centuries, every man of taſte will be deſirous of extending the duration of this dark and unknown period, to have the pleaſure of believing that Æneas and Dido were contemporaries: an opinion not altogether improbable, ſince it is adopted by Sir Iſaac Newton in his Chronology.

[6] Ariſtot. de Repub. l. ii. c. xi.

[7] If Dido laid the foundation of ſo much proſperity and happineſs, ſhe might boaſt, with becoming dignity, of having ſecured immortal fame:

Vixi, & quem dederat curſum fortuna peregi,
Urbem præclaram ſtatui, mea mœnia vidi:
Et nunc magna mei ſub terris ibit imago.

VIRGIL, ibid.

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fixth century before Chriſt, flying the oppreſſive domination of Perſia, threw themſelves on the weſtern ſhores and iſlands of the Mediterranean. As a maritime and enterpriſing nation the Greeks were naturally the rivals of the Carthaginians; and the Phocæans, who had left the coaſt of Ionia to avoid the cruel tyranny of the Satrap Harpalus, had landed at, or perhaps founded, Aleria in the iſle of Corſica, before they finally ſettled at Velia[8] in Italy, and Marſeilles in Gaul[9]. The Carthaginians, who had already formed eſtabliſhments in Corſica, regarded the whole iſland as a dependency of their republic, and ſet themſelves to oppoſe with vigour the Grecian invaders. From a ſimilar motive the Tuſcans embraced the ſame deſign; and the moſt ancient naval engagement, diſtinctly recorded in hiſtory, was fought in the Sardinian ſea, between the Phocæans with ſixty ſail on the one ſide, againſt the Tuſcans and Carthaginians with double that number on the other[10]. The Greeks had the whole glory of the battle; they deſtroyed forty of the enemy's ſhips, and compelled the reſt to fly. But the ſmallneſs of their numbers, greatly diminiſhed by their deſperate efforts in defence of the honour of their nation againſt a ſuperior force, obliged them to abandon the project of ſettling in Corſica.

Hinders them from ſettling in Corſica.

Though the iſſue of this memorable ſea-fight tends to diſpel the cloud of fiction concerning the remote voyages and ancient naval power of the Carthaginians, yet it cannot be doubted, that in the beginning of the following century, and before the invaſion of Xerxes, they were the moſt powerful commercial nation in the world. The proud centre of their empire was ſurrounded by a cluſter of colonies and tributary cities, which extended above a thouſand miles[11] along the coaſt of Africa. They were maſters of Sardinia and the northern

Power and ſplendour of Carthage. Olymp. lxx. 1. A. C. 500.

[8] Diodor. l. v. and Cluverius Sicil. Ant. p. 507.

[9] Thucydid. l. i.

[10] Thucydid. l. i. & Herodot. l. vi.

[11] From the weſtern boundary of Cyrenaica to the Straits of Gibraltar, Shaw reckons 1420 geographical miles; but this was the extent of the Carthaginian dominion in the greateſt ſplendour of the republic. SHAW's Travels, p. 150.

coaſt

coaſt of Sicily [12]. They had eſtabliſhed colonies not only in Corſica but in Malta and the Belearian iſles. They often viſited the Caſſeterides. They probably firſt diſcovered the Canaries, whoſe equable and happy temperature entitled them to the epithet of Fortunate. They had appropriated the gold mines of Spain, the Peru and Mexico of the ancient world [13]; and all theſe advantages being directed by the prudent enterpriſe of the magiſtrates, conſiſting chiefly of merchants [14], and improved by the patient induſtry of the people, who knew that by gaining wealth they muſt attain reſpect, rendered Carthage the centre of general commerce. From Egypt they imported linen and the papyrus; the coaſts of the Red Sea furniſhed them with ſpices, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious ſtones [15]. The rich carpets of Perſia adorned the palaces of the Carthaginian magiſtrates. From Spain they drew the precious metals neceſſary to facilitate their commerce; and from Britain and other provinces of the north they derived iron, lead, tin, and copper, equally neceſſary to ſecond all the efforts of their induſtry. The Carthaginian

[12] Polyb. l. iii. c. xxii.

[13] Auctor. apud Hendreich Reſpub. Carthag. l. i.

[14] In this reſpect the government of Carthage was very different from that of Crete, and particularly of Sparta, with both which Ariſtotle compares it. Iſocrates (ad Nicoclem) ſays, that in civil affairs the Carthaginian government was ariſtocratical; in military, royal: this probably was the caſe in the earlieſt times. The chief magiſtrates were called Suffetes, which, in the Hebrew language, ſignifies judges (Bochart. Canaan), and might therefore be naturally tranſlated by the word βασιλεις, in Greek. But it appears from Ariſtotle that theſe judges or kings, who were two in number, were nothing more than annual magiſtrates, who convoked the ſenate, and preſided in that aſſembly. When the ſenate and the ſuffetes were of one mind the people had no vote in the management of public affairs; but when their opinions were different, it belonged to the people to decide. Ariſtotle regards this as an imperfection in their conſtitution; and time juſtified his opinion. In a commercial republic, where the people gradually become more rich and more licentious, ſuch a regulation naturally tended to throw too much power into their hands. During the century which elapſed from Ariſtotle to Hannibal, the people of Carthage became more powerful than the ſenate: at Rome the ſenate were more powerful than the people: and to theſe circumſtances, chiefly, the moſt judicious author of antiquity aſcribes the very different fortune of the two nations in the ever memorable wars waged between them. Polyb. l. vi.

[15] Pliny, l. xxxviii. c. vii. tells us, that carbuncles were ſo common in Carthage, that they were generally known by the name of Carthaginian.

exports

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exports conſiſted partly in the produce of their fertile ſoil, but chiefly in the ingenious labours of their artificers. Grains, fruits, honey, leather, and flax of a ſuperior kind[16]; naval ſtores, particularly ropes made of a ſpecies of broom called ſpartum; houſehold furnitue, toys, and the materials of the highly valued *Punicean* colour. Their mechanic arts had attained a degree of perfection which was acknowledged and admired by their enemies[17]; but the liberal arts, and particularly poetry and eloquence[18], ſeem never to have flouriſhed or taken root in their republic; a circumſtance more fatal to the renown of Carthage than all the deſtructive ravages of the Romans, whoſe immortal hate would have found it more difficult to aboliſh the elegant inventions of genius, than to extinguiſh the moſt ſplendid monuments of wealth and grandeur.

The ambitious and jealous ſpirit of that republic.

Few individuals are capable to enjoy, without abuſing, the gifts of fortune; and no nation ever poſſeſſed power, without aſpiring at conqueſt. But the commercial ambition of the Carthaginians was diſtinguiſhed by an excluſive and jealous ſpirit, which ſought to ſtifle the activity and improvements of every people that might ever become their rival. In the end of the ſixth century before Chriſt, and twenty-eight years before the invaſion of Xerxes, they concluded a treaty with Rome, recently delivered from the tyranny of its kings, which marks the utmoſt ſolicitude to prevent the new republic from ever entering into correſpondence, or ever gaining acquaintance

[16] Xenophon. de Venatione.

[17] Cato de Re Ruſtica, & Valerius Maximus, l. vii.

[18] The great Hannibal was a lover of Greek learning, and compoſed ſeveral books in that language. Cornelius Nepos in Hannibal. Silenus, another Carthaginian, wrote hiſtory in Greek. CICER. de Divinat. Salluſt ſpeaks of *Punic books* in his hiſtory of the Jugurthine war; and we know that Mago's Treatiſe of Rural Oeconomy, in 28 books, was tranſlated by order of the Roman ſenate, although the elder Cato had previouſly handled that important ſubject. I mention not the ſpurious voyage of Hanno, ſince better proofs of the Carthaginian literature may be found in the ſecond and eighteenth books of Pliny. But two obſervations naturally preſent themſelves, which juſtify what is ſaid in the text; firſt, that the Carthaginians wrote rather on the uſeful than ornamental arts; and ſecondly, that their greateſt writers preferred the Greek to the Punic language.

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quaintance [19] with the dependencies of Carthage. The Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily, which, within the courſe of ſixty years, had (for reaſons that will immediately be explained) received ſuch acceſſions of ſtrength and ſplendour, as entitled thoſe countries to the appellation of Magna Græca [20], more juſtly alarmed the jealouſy, and provoked the envious reſentment, of the Carthaginian magiſtrates. The Greeks were already maſters of the eaſtern iſles and ſhores of the Mediterranean. They were not only a warlike but an ingenious and commercial nation. The naval force of the Phocæans alone had defied and diſgraced the united fleets of the Tuſcans and Carthaginians. The latter, therefore, beheld with the utmoſt ſatisfaction the continual ſparks of hoſtility that broke out between the Greeks and Perſians. They learned, with admiration and delight, the mighty preparations of Xerxes; but were ſtill more delighted when the great king, who had been accuſtomed to receive the preſents and the adulation of the tributary princes of Aſia, condeſcended to demand an equal alliance with their republic; probably granted them ſubſidies to raiſe troops in Spain, Gaul, and the northern parts of Italy; and only required them to join their efforts with his own to puniſh, and, if poſſible, to extirpate the natural enemies of both. The crafty Africans greedily accepted propoſitions, ſeemingly ſo favourable to their intereſt; and, after three years preparations, had collected an armament of two thouſand ſhips of war, and three thouſand tranſports, to convey an army of three hundred thouſand men into Magna Græcia [21]. It was determined between the confederates, that while Xerxes poured his millions into the centre of Greece, and rooted out the original ſtock of the devoted nation, the Carthaginians ſhould cut off its flouriſhing branches in Italy and Sicily. The terms of the agreement were carefully obſerved; the combined attack was made at the time appointed;

The proſperity of Greece alarms the Carthaginians, who enter into an alliance with Xerxes.

Their views in adopting this meaſure.

[19] Polyb. l. iii. c. xxii.
[20] Strabo, l. viii. p. 389.
[21] Herodot. l. vii. & Diodor. l. xi.

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pointed; and Europe is intereſted in knowing to what particular cauſes muſt be aſcribed the failure of expeditions, which, if ſucceſsful, would probably have inverted her deſtiny, and deprived her of the boaſted ſuperiority which ſhe thenceforth maintained over the other quarters of the world.

The flouriſhing condition of Magna Græcia.

Whoever has obſerved the deſolate barbarity of Calabria, or reflected on the narrow extent, and preſent weakneſs of Sicily, cannot hear without a mixture of ſurpriſe and incredulity, that five centuries before Chriſt, thoſe countries contained above twenty warlike communities, ſeveral of whom could ſend into the field an hundred thouſand fighting men. The haſty glance of impatient ignorance will confidently reject, on this ſubject, the evidence of antiquity, as contrary to probability and experience; the contemplative viſionary will admit the fact, and deduce from it many gloomy reflections on the old age and decay of the world; but the more practical philoſopher will attempt to diſcover the cauſes of the ancient and actual ſtate of Magna Græcia, in the hiſtory and inſtitutions of that country during the reſpective periods of time which are the objects of his reſearch.

Hiſtory of the coloniza-tion of that country.

The eſtabliſhment of Eubœan Cumæ, the mother of Parthenopé, or Naples, and the foundation of a few other Grecian cities in Italy and Sicily, remounts, as already mentioned, to the heroic ages; but by far the greater number of Greek colonies in thoſe parts were planted during the eighth century before the Chriſtian æra[aa], and chiefly, 1. by the Eubœans, whoſe principal city, Chalcis, uſually furniſhing the conductor of the colony, gave the epithet of Chalcidian to the new ſettlements; 2. by the Achæans of Peloponneſus, who were of the Eolian tongue and lineage; and, 3. by the Dorian ſtates of that peninſula, eſpecially Corinth; to which city may be applied the obſervation of ancient republicans concerning the fathers of Cato and Brutus, that as children often de-

[aa] Between the 10th and 30th Olympiads, and the years 737 and 777 B. C.

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The Dorian colonies moſt powerful in Sicily.

rived luſtre from the merit of their parents, ſo Corinth acquired renown from the ſplendour and proſperity of its children. Beſides their powerful colonies in Corcyra, Leucas, Anactorium, Ambracia, whoſe tranſactions form ſuch an important part of the hiſtory of ancient Greece, the Corinthians founded Syracuſe, which ſoon became, and long continued, the capital of Sicily. Seventy years after their eſtabliſhment there, the inhabitants of Syracuſe built Acras, and afterwards, at an equal diſtance of time, Camerina. Many other cities of leſs note owed their birth to the ſame metropolis; ſo that in the ſixth century before Chriſt, the Syracuſans had extended their ſettlements over all the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland [23]. We had already an opportunity to mention, on what occaſion the Lacedæmonians founded the city of Tarentum in Italy; thirty-nine years afterwards, Rhegium was built by the Meſſenians and Chalcidians, the former of whom (as we have related above) had already ſettled at Meſſene, on the oppoſite ſhore of Sicily. The citizens of Tarentum founded Heraclea, ſituated on the Tarentine gulph, and perhaps gave an acceſſion of inhabitants to Locri, which, though originally planted by the Eolians, ſeems early to have uſed the Doric dialect. The Rhodians, who were alſo of the Doric race, built the city of Gela in Sicily, forty-five years after the foundation of Syracuſe [24]; and Gela planted the flouriſhing colony of Agrigentum, which ſoon ſurpaſſed the ſplendour of its metropolis, and became the ſecond city in the iſland.

Olymp. xi. 2. A. C. 729.

Olymp. viii. 2. A. C. 707.

Olymp. xlix. 3. A. C. 582.

The Eolian, in Italy.

By means of theſe powerful eſtabliſhments, the *Dorians* acquired, and always maintained, an aſcendant in Sicily; but the Achæan colonies, who were of the *Eolian* blood and language [25], commanded the Italian ſhore. Crotona, the moſt conſiderable city of the Achæans, and of all Italy in ancient times, was built ſeven hundred and

[23] Scymnus, v. 293. Thucyd. l. vi. & Herodot. l. vii

[24] Thucyd. l. vi.

[25] Strabo, l. viii. p. 513, aſſures us of the latter circumſtance, which is of more importance than the uncertain genealogy of the ancient Grecian tribes.

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ten years before Chriſt [26]. Sybaris, its rival, was founded about the ſame time, and by the ſame nation. The former ſent colonies to Tirina, Caulonia, and Pandoſia; the latter built Laus, Metapontum, and Poſidonia, or Pæſtum [27], whoſe admired ruins atteſt the ancient wealth and grandeur of the Greek cities of Italy.

The Ionian the weakeſt in both countries.

In this deduction, had we followed the order of time, we ought to have mentioned, firſt of all, the Ionian colonies, who came from the iſle of Eubœa. The inhabitants of that iſland built Naxus in Sicily, a year before the foundation of Syracuſe [28]; but neither that, nor their ſettlements at Catana, Egeſta, Leontium, ever attained conſiderable populouſneſs or ſplendour. And it deſerves to be particularly remarked, that, for reaſons which will appear in the ſequel of this work, the Ionians, who ſettled chiefly near the eaſtern ſhore of Sicily, never rivalled the power and fame of their Dorian and Eolian neighbours, but fell ſhort of thoſe nations in Magna Græcia, as much as they ſurpaſſed them in the ſhores and iſlands of Aſia.

General cauſes of the wealth and populouſneſs of all theſe colonies. Olymp. lxx. 1. A. C. 500.

Inſtead of fatiguing the memory of our readers with the names of leſs conſiderable ſtates or cities, which had little influence on the general affairs of the whole country [29], it is of more importance to examine the circumſtances to which the inhabitants of Magna Græcia owed their flouriſhing ſituation at the period of time of which we write, when (it may be boldly affirmed) theſe colonies equalled, and exceeded, the wealth and power of the mother-country. We ſhall not inſiſt on the well-known phyſical and moral cauſes which uſually contribute to the rapid growth of newly eſtabliſhed colonies.

[26] Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. ii.

[27] Scymnus, v. 245.

[28] Thucyd. l. vi.

[29] The Magna Græcia, which I always uſe in the ſenſe of Strabo, cited above, to denote the Greek ſettlements in Sicily as well as Italy, being the moſt acceſſible part of the Grecian dominions, has been more fully deſcribed by the moderns than any other. The immenſe collection of the Theſaurus Siculus, and particularly vols i. iv. vii. viii. and xiii. afford uſeful materials, as well as Cluverii Sicil. Antiqua, and Fazellus de Rebus Siculis, and the excellent work of Gio. Balt. Caruſo, Memorie iſtoriche di quanto e accaduto in Sicilia dal tempo dé ſuoi primi habitanti fino ai Normanni.

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It is evident, that amidſt the equality of fortune, and ſimplicity of manners, which commonly prevail in ſuch communities, men who have a wide country before them muſt naturally multiply far beyond the proportion of nations corrupted and weakened by the vices of wealth, luxury, and above all, of vanity, which perhaps is the greateſt enemy to the increaſe of the human ſpecies. It is ſufficient barely to mention the natural fertility of Magna Græcia, and particularly of Sicily, which in many places produced an hundred fold [30]. The Greeks who ſailed thither from Peloponneſus, carried with them the knowledge and practice of agriculture, which had early attained an high degree of perfection in their peninſula; and the exuberant ſoil of Sicily, improved by cultivation, ſoon exhibited a picture of that rich abundance, which, in later times, made that beautiful iſland be entitled the granary of Rome [31].

Particular cauſes. The Achæan laws.

The peculiar ſituation of the Achæans and Dorians, from whom, chiefly, the colonies in Magna Græcia derived their origin, had a conſiderable influence in accelerating the population and grandeur of theſe new eſtabliſhments. The Achæans, whoſe republic became ſo famous in later times, and that in conſequence of circumſtances which it is neceſſary at preſent to deſcribe, originally inhabited a long, but narrow ſtrip of ground, not more fertile than extenſive, along the Corinthian gulph, whoſe rocky ſhores were deſtitute of good harbours [32]. But the impartial and generous ſpirit of the Achæan laws early compenſated the natural defects of their territory. They were the firſt, and long the only republic of Greece, who admitted ſtrangers into their community on equal terms with the ancient citizens [33]. In *their* truly free country, no powerful capital, like Thebes in Bœotia, or Athens in Attica, domineered over the inferior towns and villages. Twelve cities, which had common laws and inſtitutions, and afterwards common weights and

[30] Strabo, l. viii.
[31] Diodorus, l. xvi.
[32] Plutarch, in Arato, p. 1031.
[33] Polybius, l. ii. p. 178.

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measures [34], sent deputies to Helicé, which is distinguished by Homer [35] as the most considerable town of Achaia. That place being destroyed by an earthquake [36] three hundred and seventy-three years before Christ, Ægæ became the seat of the general congress, which regulated public affairs, and appointed annual magistrates and generals to execute their resolutions, who were accountable to the congress, or council, as the members of the council themselves were to the cities by which they had been named and constituted [37]. This excellent system of government, which checked the ambition, while it maintained the independence, of Achaia [38], defended that fortunate country against the convulsions which shook and overwhelmed
A. C. 281. the most powerful republics of Greece. It was then that the Achæans, who during many ages had enjoyed their equitable laws in silence, emerged from obscurity; and communicating their government on equal terms to the neighbouring cities of Peloponnesus, preserved the feeble spark of liberty, every where extinguished around them, for one hundred and thirty-six years, till they finally yielded to the power and policy of Rome [39]. This short period of war and tumult has been minutely described in history, while the many happy centuries that preceded it are but occasionally glanced at by ancient writers: and were it not for the defeats and calamities which the Achæans suffered in later times, we should, perhaps, be ignorant that their ancestors anciently possessed an equitable and generous policy, which being transported with them into Magna Græcia, could not fail to promote the happiness and prosperity of that delightful country [40].

[34] Polybius, ibid. mentions this circumstance, to shew how desirous they were to have every thing common and equal among them.

[35] Il. ii. in the catalogue.

[36] Strabo, l. viii. p. 589, says, the earthquake happened two years before the battle of Leuctra, which was fought 371 years before Christ.

[37] Polybius, ibid.

[38] Schook. Achaia, apud Gronov. Thes. t. v.

[39] Polyb. Excerp. Legat. & Titus Livius, l. xxxviii. & xxxix.

[40] Xenophon, in his Greek history, speaks of the excellence of the Achæan laws, in treating a passage of history which will be related in the sequel. Polybius was evidently engaged to enter deeper into this subject, by the reason assigned in the text.

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The ſtate of the Dorians at the time of their emigration to Magna Græcia.

The condition of the Dorians, at the time when they planted colonies in Italy and Sicily, is not leſs worthy of remark. The Dorian ſtates of Peloponneſus were then univerſally ſubject to the gentle government of limited, but hereditary princes, or to magiſtrates choſen from the deſcendants of their ancient royal families [41], and who, thus adorned by birth, were ſometimes ſtill more ennobled by wiſdom and virtue [42]. It is the nature of colonies to preſerve with affectionate reſpect the inſtitutions of the mother-country, which often improve by tranſplantation, and thrive and flouriſh in foreign lands, when they have withered and periſhed in the ſoil which originally produced and propagated them. Time and accident, and the various cauſes which have been explained in the courſe of this hiſtory, tended to change the ancient conſtitution, and to diminiſh the ſtrength of the Grecian ſtates on both ſides the Corinthian Iſthmus. While fierce and frequent wars exhauſted their population, the excluſive ſpirit of republican jealouſy, which ſternly refuſed ſtrangers any participation in their government, or any protection from their laws, naturally repreſſed their vigour, and ſtunted their growth. The colonies in Magna Græcia, enjoying a wide territory before them, had not the ſame interference of intereſt, and found ſufficient employment in ſubduing the original inhabitants of that country, without commencing hoſtilities againſt each other. Nor were they more ambitious to ſubdue the barbarous natives, than ſolicitous to incorporate them into their own communities. The kings, or nobility, of Magna Græcia, ſecure of their own pre-eminence, felt [43] nothing of the republican jealouſies which prevailed in the mother-country. They received with pleaſure new citizens,

Circumſtances favourable to the new ſettlers in that country.

[41] Theſe were properly the only nobility in Greece; they were called ευπατριδαι, and long held ſway in all the Grecian ſtates. S. Petitus has collected the moſt important paſſages concerning them in his commentary on the ancient Athenian law, "Ην, ευπατριδας γινωσκειν τα θεια, και παρεχειν αρχοντας, και νομων διδασκαλους ειναι, και οσιων και ιερων εξηγητας." That the Eupatridæ, or nobility, adminiſter the rites of religion, fill the offices of magiſtracy, interpret the laws, and explain all ſacred and divine matters."

[42] Thucyd. l. i.

[43] The ſame policy was practiſed by Macedon; and, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate, was the primary cauſe of the Macedonian greatneſs.

or

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or rather ſubjects, from whatever quarter they might come. The Barbarians adopted the language and manners of the nation to whom they were aſſociated; their children received a Grecian education; and the ſtates of Italy and Sicily thus increaſing by degrees, could ſoon boaſt, the former of Crotona, Tarentum, Sybaris, Rhegium; the latter of Syracuſe, Agrigentum, Meſſene, Himera, and ſeveral other cities, which rivalled or ſurpaſſed the wealth of Athens or Corinth, and the populouſneſs of Thebes, Argos, or Sparta.

The oppreſſion of the Aſiatic Greeks brought new inhabitants to Italy and Sicily;

The wars, conqueſts, or oppreſſions, but above all the civil diſſentions, which in the ſixth century before Chriſt diſturbed and deformed the coaſt of Ionia, and the other Grecian colonies in the iſlands and continent of Aſia, brought frequent acceſſions of inhabitants to the ſhores of Magna Græcia. In that age the Aſiatic Greeks had attained greater proficiency, both in the uſeful and in the agreeable arts, than any other portion of the Grecian name; but they had alſo ſunk deeper in voluptuouſneſs and luxury. Their poetry, which ſtill remains, alike atteſts the refinement of their taſte,

who improved arts, and corrupted manners;

and the corruption of their morals. The effeminate vices, for which the Ionians were thenceforth in all ages infamous[44], ſeem to have taken deep root in that century; and it is probable, that along with their poetry, muſic, and painting, they communicated alſo their diſſolute and artificial appetites to the Greeks of Italy and Sicily.

But whether this be admitted, or whether we ſuppoſe that, according to the ordinary courſe of events, the inhabitants of Magna Græcia having attained opulence by induſtry, diſſipated it in idleneſs and licentiouſneſs, it is acknowledged by all writers on this part of hiſtory, that the Greek cities of Italy, and particularly Sybaris and Cortona, had degenerated from their ancient maxims, and fallen a prey to the moſt dangerous errors and vices, when Pytha-

[44] Motus doceri gaudet *Ionicos*
Matura virgo, & fingitur artibus,
Jam nunc, & inceſtos amores
De tenero meditatur ungue. HORACE.

goras

goras came to their relief, about five hundred and fifty years before the Chriſtian æra.

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The philoſophy of Pythagoras forms an important object in the hiſtory of the human mind: and if we admit the concurring teſtimony of ancient authors[45], the philoſophy, or rather the legiſlation, of this extraordinary man, reformed and improved the manners and policy of Magna Græcia, and contributed in an eminent degree, not only to the quiet and happineſs, but to the induſtry, power, and ſplendour, of that celebrated country. Leſt this influence ſhould appear too great, and even incredible, in a ſtranger, who is known to have ſtudiouſly declined all public offices and authority, the occaſion requires that we ſhould explain the means by which ſuch extraordinary effects were produced.

which are reformed by Pythagoras.

Pythagoras was born at Samos[46], when Samos was the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing of all the Grecian iſles. His father, Mneſarchus, being a perſon of diſtinction in his country[47], the promiſing youth was carefully inſtructed in the learning known or valued in that early age. Muſic, poetry, and the gymnaſtic exerciſes, formed the principal part of his education; but the young philoſopher, if we may anticipate that name, was not indifferent[48] to the diſcoveries of Thales, the firſt Grecian who nearly calculated an eclipſe of the ſun; and he early ſet himſelf to rival the Mileſian ſage in his favourite ſtudies. It is recorded, that he learned eloquence from Pherecydes of Syros[49], who reſided a conſiderable time in the iſle of Samos, and who is famous in the literary hiſtory of Greece, as the firſt

Hiſtory of that philoſopher. Olymp. xlv. 1. A. C. 600.

His education.

[45] Particularly Ariſtoxenus, the learned diſciple of Ariſtotle (apud Stobæum, Serm. 41.); various ancient authors cited by Jamblicus and Porphyry, as well as by Diogenes Laertius, l. viii.; to which add Juſtin, l. xx. and Cicero, Tuſc. Quæſt. de Amicitia, & de Oratore. "Pythagoras exornavit eam Græciam quæ Magna dicta eſt, & privatim & publice, præſtantiſſimis & inſtitutis & artibus." Cicero de Amicitia.

[46] Iſocrates in Buſiri. Titus Livius, l. i. c. xviii. Lucian. Lexiphanes. To theſe authorities we may add, that Pythagoras is repreſented on ſeveral Samian coins. Fabric. Bibl. Græca, t. i. p. 455.

[47] Mneſarchus was ſent from Samos to conſult the oracle of Delphi, probably on ſome public occaſion. Jamb. in Vit. Pythag.

[48] Apollon. apud Jamblichum.

[49] Diogenes apud Porph.

author

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author in profe [50]. Pittacus of Leſbos, Bias of Priené, and the other ſophiſts, or wiſe men (as they were emphatically ſtyled by their contemporaries) who then flouriſhed in Aſiatic Greece, and whoſe abilities and virtue had raiſed them, in troubled times, to the head of the ſeveral communities of which they were reſpectively members, excited the kindred ambition of Pythagoras, who appears to have been early animated with the deſire of acquiring juſt renown, by promoting public happineſs. In his eighteenth year he viſited the continent of Greece, and gained the prize of wreſtling at the Olympic games [51], where his vigour, addreſs, and beauty, were beheld with admiration by the multitude; while the opening virtues of his mind were ſtill more admired by men of ſenſe and diſcernment. In conformity with the practice of an age when the feeble rays of knowledge were ſcattered over a wide ſurface, and much pains were requiſite to collect them, he withdrew himſelf from the applauſes of his countrymen, and for a longer time than was uſual with the Grecian travellers. This circumſtance gave occaſion to many fables concerning the extent and variety of his voyages [52]. But it is certain that

Travels.

[50] Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. l i.

[51] Jambl. Porph &c.

[52] The travels of the Greek philoſopher were ſpoken of in vague terms, and magnified even by great writers. *Ultimas* terras luſtraſſe Pythagoram, Democritum, Platonem accepimus. Cicero de Finibus, l. iv. c xix. We may well believe, then, that ſuch men as Hermippus (apud Joſeph. adverſ Apionem), Apollonius, Jamblichus, &c. would carry their exaggerations to the higheſt degree of incredibility on this fertile ſubject. The chief ſource of theſe fables, and of the ſuppoſed learning of the Magi, Chaldæans, Indians, &c. may be found in the credulous or lying writers, who accompanied Alexander in his eaſtern expedition, At their return to Greece, they magnified the learning, as well as the power and wealth, of the nations conquered by their patron; they were ſolicitous to perſuade their countrymen, that their anceſtors had learned their philoſophy from people whoſe names they had never before heard; and their own vanity was flattered by having viſited, and familiarly known thoſe fancied inſtructors of mankind. Clearchus, Oneſicretus, and Calliſthenes, were the moſt celebrated of theſe writers, of whom Diogenes Laertius, or rather a far ſuperior man whom he cites, ſays, Λαθάνεσι δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεχόμενα Βαρβάροις προσνέμοντες. "They are miſtaken, when they refer the Grecian diſcoveries to the Barbarians." It was natural for the Eaſtern nations, when they had adopted the language and learning of the Greeks, to avail themſelves of Grecian authorities, to prove how much that celebrated nation owed to people whom they proudly denominated Barbarians. Hence the fables of Beroſus the Chaldæan, of Manetho the

that he reſided ſeveral years in the ancient kingdom of Egypt", which had been long familiarly known to the Grecian mariners, and where the ſon of Mneſarchus might probably enjoy the protection of many hereditary friends. In that country he probably made ſome additions to his knowledge in arithmetic and geometry; he certainly learned many traditions concerning the gods, and the human ſoul: but what particularly deſerved his attention was, the ſecret ſymbolic writing of the prieſts, and the ſingular inſtitutions and policy of the ſacerdotal order, by which that body of men had long been enabled

the Egyptian, of Sanchoniothon the Phœnician. We except from this claſs of fabuliſts the Jew, Joſephus, the antiquity of whoſe nation reſts on evidence which it would be irreverent to name in ſuch company. Had Pythagoras or Thales been acquainted with the Jewiſh religion, they would have learned far nobler notions of the Deity, than thoſe which it appears they entertained. Anaxagoras, ſurnamed [illegible], the preceptor of the great Pericles, was the firſt Grecian philoſopher who ſaw, by the light of reaſon, the natural and moral attributes of God, ſo ſublimely deſcribed in the Pſalms of David. Yet it never was ſaid, that Anaxagoras had ſeen the Pſalms, the Books of Moſes, or any part of the ſacred writings; and it may be remarked, that Joſephus himſelf, in his firſt book, (cont. Ap.) however zealous to prove, that the Greeks derived their knowledge from the Eaſt, can cite no author in favour of this opinion, who lived before the age of Alexander.

[53] There is a famous paſſage in Iſocrates's panegyric of Buſiris, which might ſeem to contradict what is ſaid in the preceding note, if we did not reflect, that the rules of panegyric require not always a ſtrict adherence to hiſtorical truth. In ſpeaking of the ancient wiſdom and piety of the Egyptians, and particularly of the ſacerdotal order, he ſays, that he himſelf is not the firſt who perceived and acknowledged their merit; that many philoſophers had done this before him, and particularly Pythagoras the Samian. Ὁς αφικομενος εις Αιγυπτον, και μαθητης εκεινων γενομενος, την τε αλλην φιλοσοφιαν πρωτος εις τους Ελληνας εκομισε, και τα περι τας θυσιας τε και τας αγιστειας τας εν τοις ἱεροις επιφανεστερον των αλλων εσπουδασε. ηγεμενος, ει και μηδεν αυτω δια ταυτα πλειον γιγνοιτο παρα των θεων, αλλα παρα γε τοις ανθρωποις εκ του των μαλιστα αν ευδοκιμησειν. ὁπερ αυτω και συνεβη. Τοσουτον γαρ ευδοξια της αλλης απαντας υπερεβαλεν. ὡστε και τους νεωτερους απαντας επιθυμειν αυτου μαθητας ειναι, και τους πρεσβυτερους ἡδιον ὁρᾶν τους παιδας τους αυτων εκεινω συγγιγνομενους η τοις οικειοις επιμελουμενους. "Who coming to Egypt, and being inſtructed by the prieſts of that country, firſt introduced other kinds of learning into Greece, and particularly a more accurate knowledge of religious rites and ceremonies," (I have generaliſed the expreſſion θυσιας και αγιστιας τα εν τοις ἱεροις,) "of which he was a careful obſerver; thinking that altho' he were entitled to no peculiar favour on that account from the gods, he would thereby, at leaſt, procure eſteem among men, which alſo happened to him; for he ſo far eclipſed the glory of all other philoſophers, that all the young deſired to become his diſciples, and the old were better pleaſed to ſee their ſons in the company of Pythagoras, than engaged in the moſt lucrative or honourable purſuits." If what is ſaid in my account of the life and writings of Iſocrates be conſidered with attention, this paſſage will only ſerve to confirm the obſervations in the text.

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Olymp. lvi. A. C. 560.

to govern prince and people [54]. At his return from Egypt and the East, Pythagoras found his native country governed, or rather insulted, by the artful and long fortunate Polycrates; a tyrant whose power seemed so firmly established, that there remained no hopes to subvert it, and under whose jealous eye the son of Mnesarchus could neither display his talents, nor enjoy personal security: he therefore returned to European Greece, and again assisted at the Olympic games; where being saluted by the then honoured name of Sophist, he modestly declined that distinction for the humbler title of Philosopher; and when asked what he precisely meant by this new appellation, he is said to have replied, "That, in the same manner as at the Olympic assembly, some men came to contend for crowns and honours, others to sell their merchandise, and a third class merely to see and examine every thing which passed in that celebrated convention; so, in the greater theatre of the world, while many struggled for the glory of a name, and many for the advantages of fortune; a few, and but a few, neither covetous of money, nor ambitious of fame, were contented with beholding the wonders of so magnificent a spectacle [55]." This definition has been often cited, because it well agrees with the contemplative notions generally entertained of the Pythagorean school; but it will appear in the sequel, that the philosophy of Pythagoras was of a more practical kind.

From Olympia and the republic of Elis, he travelled to the neighbouring territory of Sparta [56], and spent a considerable time in that capital, diligently studying the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, and observing the manners and genius of the best governed, most virtuous, and most prosperous of all the Grecian states. Here he beheld a constitution of government (the wisdom of which had been long approved by experience) founded on a system of educa-

[54] Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, passim, and Strabo, l. x. p. 482.

[55] Cicero (Tusc. Quæst. v. 3.) has translated a passage to this purpose from Heraclides Ponticus, the scholar of Plato; and the original passage of Heraclides is still preserved in Jamblichus.

[56] Porphyr. Jambl. & Justin. l. xx.

tion;

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tion; and combining, in his clear capacious mind, the Spartan laws and diſcipline with a mixture of the Egyptian craft and policy, he framed that ſublime plan of legiſlation, which was to be far more extenſive than the laws of Lycurgus; and which at firſt fixing its root in a ſmall ſect at Crotona, was deſtined, in twenty or thirty years, to diffuſe its flouriſhing branches over Italy and Sicily.

Cauſes of his authority in Italy.

Pythagoras arrived at the capital of Italian Greece in his fortieth year, in the full vigour of mind and body[57]. His fame, doubtleſs, preceded him; ſince, whoever had honourably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the general convention at Olympia, was ſpeedily known and celebrated in the remoteſt provinces of Greece. His perſonal acquaintances among the Italian Greeks, whoſe eſteem, or rather reſpect, he had acquired in that auguſt aſſembly, would naturally be loud in his praiſes; and the manners of the age, in which men lived together in crowds, and enjoyed their paſtimes, or tranſacted their ſerious buſineſs with undiſguiſed freedom, in temples and gymnaſia, contributed to the rapid increaſe of his friends and admirers. Upon his arrival at Crotona, he appeared in the public places, diſplaying his dexterity in thoſe exerciſes and accompliſhments, which were the faſhionable objects of purſuit, and the principal ſources of honour. His ſkill in muſic and medicine, ſciences which were far better underſtood in his native country than in Magna Græcia, procured him particular regard; nor can we heſitate to believe, that his mathematical and natural knowledge would be highly admired by the Greeks of Italy, who, having recently received the firſt tincture of arts and ſciences from the Aſiatics, cultivated them with that ardor which novelty excites; and who ſeem hitherto to have gained in point of knowledge and civility, in proportion as they had loſt in purity of life and manners, by an acquaintance with their Eaſtern brethren.

His ſuperior talents.

[57] Ariſtoxen. apud Jambl.

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His manner of life.

Neither the voluptuouſneſs nor the refinement of the inhabitants of Magna Græcia, were incompatible with the hopes and fears of the moſt puerile ſuperſtition; and Pythagoras, who had ſeen and examined the rites and ceremonies employed by remote nations, celebrated for their antiquity, to avert the diſpleaſure, or to gain the good-will of their inviſible protectors, called forth the whole force of this powerful, yet dangerous inſtrument of policy, to excite reſpect for his perſon, and reverence for his inſtructions. He carefully frequented, at an early hour, the temples of the gods; his regular purifications and ſacrifices announced ſuperior ſanctity of character; his food was of the pureſt kind, that no corporeal ſtain might interrupt his fancied communication with his celeſtial friends; and he was clothed in the linen of Egypt, which was the dreſs[58] of the ſacerdotal order in that native land of ſuperſtition, as well as of the Athenian magiſtrates and nobles, in the early and pious times of their republic[59]. The reſpect excited by ſuch artifices (if we may degrade by that name the means uſed to deceive men into their duty and happineſs) was enhanced by the high renown, the long travels, the venerable aſpect, the harmonious voice, the animated and affecting eloquence, of the Samian philoſopher. His hearers ſometimes amounted to two thouſand of the principal citizens of Crotona; and the magiſtrates of that republic erected, ſoon after his arrival among them, an elegant and ſpacious edifice, which was appropriated to the virtuous leſſons of this admired ſtranger, who pleaſed their taſte, and gratified their fancy, while he condemned their manners, and reproached their vices. Equally rapid and aſtoniſhing, and not more aſtoniſhing than advantageous, if we may credit the general voice of antiquity, was the reformation produced at Crotona in perſons of every age, and of either ſex, by this ſingular man. The women laid aſide their ornaments, and reſumed their modeſty; the youth preferred their

The happy revolution which he produced at Crotona.

[58] Diodorus. [59] Thucyd. l. i.

duty

duty to their pleaſures; the old improved their underſtanding, and almoſt neglected to improve their fortunes. CHAP. XI.

Yet this revolution of manners was not ſurely ſo inſtantaneous, as the concurring exaggerations of wonder and credulity were naturally inclined to repreſent it. The ſame writers, who would thus magnify the fame of Pythagoras, acknowledge, that ſoon after coming to Crotona, he choſe a ſelect number of his moſt aſſiduous diſciples, and thoſe chiefly perſons of weight in the republic, whoſe temper, character, and views, beſt ſuited his own. Theſe were formed into an aſſociation, or ſeparate order of men, into which none were admitted, who poſſeſſed not qualities and endowments worthy of that honour. In order to confirm this aſſociation, as well as to obtain the purpoſes for which it had been inſtituted, Pythagoras employed the cypher, or ſymbolic writing, and other ſecrets, which he had learned from the wiſdom, or rather cunning, of the Egyptian prieſts: his ſcholars were taught certain ſigns or words, by which they might know each other; they could correſpond, when ſeparated by place, in an unknown character; and ſtrangers of all countries, Greeks and Barbarians, were promiſcuouſly admitted into the ſociety, after undergoing a due probation as to their diſpoſitions and underſtanding. In a few years, three hundred men, all Pythagoreans, held the ſovereignty of Crotona; the influence of the new ſect extended with rapidity over Locri, Rhegium, Catana, and other cities of Italy and Sicily; the diſciples of Pythagoras were diffuſed over ancient Greece, and the iſles of the Ægean Sea; and it ſeemed as if the ſage of Samos, whoſe nobler ambition declined and diſdained any particular office of power and dignity, had conceived the ſublime idea of forming a ſchool, or rather an aſſociation of men, who might govern the world, while they were themſelves governed by wiſdom and virtue.

His ſchool.

Its influence on affairs of ſtate. Olymp. lvii. 3. A. C. 550.

His great views.

Pythagoras was deeply perſuaded, that the happineſs of nations depends chiefly on the government under which they live; and the

His politics.

experience

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experience of his own times, and of his own iſland in particular, might teach him the dangerous tendency of democratic turbulence on the one hand, and jealous tyranny on the other [60]. He preferred, therefore, to all governments, a moderate ariſtocracy; which ſeems, without exception, to have been the well-founded opinion of the greateſt men of antiquity, ſince, under the adminiſtration of a ſenate, the republics of Greece, of Rome, and of Carthage, attained their higheſt proſperity and ſplendour. Yet he was extremely

[60] A ſtriking example of this appeared at that time in Sicily, if we credit Jamblichus, who places the reign of Phalaris, at Agrigentum, in the age of Pythagoras. The doubtful, or rather incredible, hiſtory of this tyrant, may be compriſed in few words. His reign, of about ſixteen years, was diſtinguiſhed by intolerable atrocities. He burned his enemies in a brazen bull; and, as luſt or cruelty happened to direct, ſometimes abuſed, and ſometimes eat, boys. Phalaris, together with his mother and friends (could ſuch a monſter have friends?), were burned, by the long-injured Agrigentines, in his own bull. This is the abominable tyrant, whoſe ſpurious letters furniſhed an opportunity to Dr. Bentley to diſplay his profound erudition (ſee his Diſſert. upon Phalaris). But that very learned man ſeems not to ſuſpect, that the hiſtory of Phalaris is as ſpurious as his epiſtles. It was a common artifice among Greek poets and orators (ſee above the ſpeech of Sicles the Corinthian, p. 268.), to exaggerate the vices of bad princes. Of this we ſhall find many examples in the following parts of this work. This practice began early; for Pindar ſays,

Τον δι ταυρω χαλκειω καιτηρα νηλια νοον
Εχθρα Φαλαριδι κατιχει παντα φατις.
PYTH. i. επωδ. κωλ. ιι.

Ariſtotle mentions, Το περι Φαλαριν λεγομενον, the hearſay about Phalaris, which Aſpaſius explains, Ὁ δι Φαλαρις λεγεται φαγειν τον ιδιον παιδα. Phalaris is ſaid to have eat his own ſon. In the ſame chapter (c. v. l. vi. Ethic. Nicom.), ſpeaking of brutal paſſions, Ariſtotle inſtances Phalaris ſometimes devouring boys, ſometimes uſing them as the inſtruments of an abſurd venereal pleaſure: "Περι τας αφροδισιους ακολασιας ηδονας." The philoſopher does not ſay that he believes theſe monſtrous fictions, any more than Cicero, "Ille nobilis taurus, quem crudeliſſimus omnium tyrannorum Phalaris *habuiſſe dicitur*;" l. iv. in Verrem, c. xxxiii. Timæus, the hiſtorian of Sicily, who was more likely than any other writer to be well informed concerning the tranſactions in his own iſland, repreſents the ſtory of Phalaris's bull as a mere fable. Polyb. Excerp. ver. 3. p. 47. Polybius, indeed, attempts to refute Timæus, but I think, as to the main point, with little ſucceſs. Nor is it ſurpriſing that this judicious writer ſhould be carried along by the torrent. The republicans of Greece and Rome delighted in blackening the characters of tyrants; Τραγωδουντες δ. την ωμοτητα των τροπων, και την ασεβειαν των πραξεων; "exaggerating, after the manner of tragedians, the fierceneſs of their manners, and the impiety of their actions." For this reaſon, the abſurd fictions concerning Dionyſius of Syracuſe, Alexander of Pheræ, &c. are related by many reſpectable writers. For this reaſon Hieronymus was deſcribed in the blackeſt colours, vid. Excerp. ex Polyb. l. vii. p. 10. And for this reaſon the enormous cruelties of Phalaris, which no nation, and far leſs the Sicilians in that age, could have tolerated, receive countenance from ſome of the higheſt authorities of antiquity.

averſe

averſe to arbitrary power, whatever ſhape it might aſſume; and the main aim of his inſtitution was, to prevent oppreſſion in the magiſtrates, and licentiouſneſs in the people. The dead letter of the law could never, he thought, effect that ſalutary purpoſe, until men were ſo trained by education and diſcipline, as to regard the great duties of life as its moſt agreeable amuſement, and to conſider the eſteem of their fellow-citizens, and their own, as the chief ſource of their enjoyment. Magiſtrates, thus formed, would command a willing obedience, and the inhabitants of Magna Græcia muſt ſoon attain the moſt perfect ſtate of which political ſociety is ſuſceptible.

Morality.

To explain at large the ſyſtem of Pythagoras, would be to write a treatiſe of ſublime, yet practical, morality, ſince his concluſions are ſtrictly founded on the nature of man. Beſides the propenſities common to us with inferior natures, and beſides the ſelfiſh and artificial paſſions of avarice and ambition, he found in the human breaſt the ſeeds of nobler faculties, fitted to yield an incomparably more durable, more perfect, and more certain gratification. The chief happineſs of the mind muſt be ſought in itſelf, in the enjoyment of intellectual and moral pleaſure. Our thoughts are ever, and intimately, preſent with us; and although the buſtle of external objects, and the tumult of paſſion, may ſometimes divert their current, they can never dry up their ſource. The reflections on our own conduct will be continually occurring to our fancy, whatever pains we may take to exclude them; nor can voluptuous enjoyment, or ambitious activity, ever ſo totally occupy the mind of a Perſian ſatrap, or a Grecian demagogue, but that their principal happineſs or miſery, in the whole courſe of life, muſt chiefly depend on the nature of their reflections upon the paſt, and on their hopes and fears about futurity. To ſtrengthen this great ground-work of morality, Pythagoras employed the whole force of education and habit. Rules were laid down, to which the members of his reſpected order bound themſelves to conform, and from which none could

ſwerve,

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ſwerve, without being excluded from a ſociety of which they proved themſelves unworthy. The different periods of life had each its appropriated employment. The youth were carefully inſtructed in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, in literature[61], and in ſcience, and eſpecially in the laws and conſtitution of their country. Their time was ſo diverſified by ſucceſſive ſtudy, exerciſe, and repoſe, that no leiſure remained for the premature growth of dangerous paſſions; and it was an important maxim of the Pythagorean ſchool, that many things were beſt learned late[62], eſpecially love; from which, if poſſible, the youth ſhould be reſtrained till their twentieth year, and after that period, ſhould rarely, and with many precautions, indulge a paſſion, always hurtful to the weak, and which, when injudiciouſly indulged, enfeebled the moſt vigorous. He required in thoſe who had attained the age of manhood, that they ſhould no longer live for themſelves, but for the buſineſs of the community, of which they were members. They were to employ the greateſt part of the day in the duties of public ſpirit and patriotiſm; in the laborious or dangerous offices committed to their charge; and to derive their chief reward from reading, in the eyes of their admiring countrymen, the hiſtory of their generous exploits; and from beholding the happy effects of their probity, beneficence, and fortitude.

[61] So I have tranſlated Εν γραμμασι και τοις αλλοις μαθημασι, of Ariſtoxenus apud Stobæum, Serm. xli. The learned reader will perceive, that I comprehend under the name of youth, the two different periods of life, or ηλικιαι, which the Greeks denoted by the words παις and μειρακιον, boy, and young man. I have done this, becauſe it was not the intention of Ariſtoxenus to ſay, that the young men were not ſtill to be employed in literature and ſcience, or that the boys were to be kept ignorant of the laws and conſtitution. The rules of the Pythagorean ſchool, and the laws of Lycurgus, often explain each other. See above, p. 91, & ſeqq. It may be worthy of remark, that Jean Jaques Rouſſeau has borrowed what is rational and practical, in his ſyſtem of education, from theſe two great ſources.

[62] Ariſtoxen. apud Stobæum, Serm. lxix. This is the great principle of Rouſſeau in his *Emile*. The paſſage of Ariſtoxenus, concerning love, is almoſt literally tranſlated in that ingenious, but fanciful, work.

The

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Rules for the conduct of his disciples;

The Pythagoreans were strictly enjoined, as their earliest and latest work, to review the actions of the past, and, if time permitted, of many preceding, days. In the morning they repaired alone to the temples, to solitary mountains and forests; and after there conversing with themselves, joined in the conversation of their friends, with whom they assembled, in small companies, to an early and frugal meal, discussed different subjects of philosophy or politics, regulated their conduct for the ensuing day, and, by the mutual strength and encouragement acquired in this select society, prepared for the tumultuous bustle of the world, and the contentions of active life. The evening was spent as the morning, with this difference, that they then indulged in the moderate use of flesh and wine, from which they rigidly abstained during the day; and the whole concluded with that self-examination, which was the capital precept of the Pythagorean school.

which coincide with the institutions of Lycurgus.

To enter more fully into the principles of this association, would be repeating what has been formerly observed concerning the laws of Lycurgus. It is sufficient barely to mention, that the legislator of Sparta enjoined the highest respect for age; that, like him, he raised the weaker sex from that state of inferiority in which they were ungenerously kept in all other countries of Greece; that he enured his disciples to temperance and sobriety by the same means employed by Lycurgus; and that both these great men regarded health and vigour of body as the first principle of mental soundness and energy; that the probationary silence of the Pythagoreans, which credulity has so much exaggerated, was nothing more than that prudent, recollected behaviour, required by Lycurgus, who prized higher the caution of silence than the readiness[62] of speech; and that the intimacy of the Spartan and Pythagorean friendships, and almost the community of goods, naturally flowed from the general spirit and genius of their respective systems[63]; so that the rules of the

[62] Plut. in Lycurg.

[63] See above, p. 98.

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Pythagorean order were little more than a tranſcript of the Spartan laws, as theſe laws themſelves were only a refinement on the generous and manly inſtitutions of the heroic ages[64].

Origin of the fictions concerning Pythagoras.

In the hiſtory of a man who entertained ſuch juſt notions of human life, as did the founder of the Pythagorean ſchool, we may at once reject, as fabulous, the tales related by the vain, lying Greeks, who lived in, and after, the age of Alexander, when their nation ſeems to have loſt their love of truth along with their liberty, as well as the ridiculous wonders of the later Platoniſts, thoſe contemplative viſionaries, who, during the firſt centuries of the Chriſtian æra, degraded ancient philoſophers, by deſcribing *their* active and uſeful lives, as if they had reſembled their own ſpeculative tranquillity. Yet, after all, ſhould the leaſt extraordinary account of the Pythagorean order ſtill ſeem incredible, it need only be obſerved, that modern hiſtory, and even our own obſervation, may have made us acquainted with orders of another kind, of which the rules are more difficult to be obſerved than thoſe of the Pythagoreans: and it is equally unreaſonable and ungenerous to ſuppoſe, that what our own experience teaches us may be done by the illiberal ſpirit of ſuperſtition, could not, in a happier age, be effected by the love of glory, of virtue, and of mankind.

War between Crotona and Sybaris.

The concurring teſtimony of hiſtorians aſſures us, that the ſchool of Pythagoras had flouriſhed above forty years, to the unſpeakable benefit of Magna Græcia, when a war aroſe between Crotona and Sybaris[65], the latter of which had ever contemptuouſly rejected the Pythagorean inſtitutions. The city of Sybaris was founded (as above-mentioned) by the Achæans, on the confluence of the river Sybaris, from which the city derives its name, and the winding ſtream of Crathis, which deſcends from the Lucanian mountains. The fertility of the ſoil, the happy temperature of the climate, the reſources of fiſhing, navigation, manufactures, and commerce, con-

[64] Diodor. l. xii. p. 77, &c. [65] See above, p. 108.

ſpired,

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ſpired, with the ſalutary effect of the Achæan laws, wonderfully to increaſe, in the courſe of two centuries, the ſtrength and populouſneſs of Sybaris; which was ſurrounded by walls nine miles in extent, commanded twenty-five ſubordinate cities, and, if we credit the evidence of writers often prone to exaggeration, could bring three hundred thouſand men into the field [66]. Riches and luxury proved fatal to the Sybarites, whoſe effeminacy paſſed into a proverb [67], which has been tranſmitted to modern times. In a deciſive battle, they were defeated by the citizens of Crotona, under the command of Milo, a favourite diſciple of Pythagoras, who had already obtained univerſal renown by his Olympic victories [68].

The Sybarites conquered by Milo the Pythagorean. Olymp. lxvii. 4. A. C. 509.

But the deſtruction of Sybaris was almoſt alike fatal to Crotona. The inferior ranks of men in that city, intoxicated with proſperity, and inſtigated by the artful and ambitious Cylon, whoſe turbulent manners had excluded him from the order of Pythagoras, into which he had repeatedly attempted to enter, became clamorous for an equal partition of the conquered territory of Sybaris; which being denied, as inconſiſtent with the nature of ariſtocratical government, they ſecretly conſpired againſt their magiſtrates, attacked them by ſurpriſe in the ſenate-houſe, put many to death, and drove the reſt from their country. Pythagoras himſelf died ſoon afterwards, in extreme old age, at Metapontum in Lucania [69]. His diſciples were ſcattered over Magna Græcia, and particularly Sicily, which, at the time of the Carthaginian invaſion, was governed by men who had imbibed the ſublime ſpirit of their illuſtrious maſter.

Sedition in Crotona.

Proves fatal to the Pythagoreans there.

Gelon, who, eleven years before that event, had mounted the throne of Syracuſe, was entitled, by the unanimous ſuffrage of his ſubjects, to the glorious, though often proſtituted appellation, of Father of his Country [70]. The mildneſs of his government reſtored

The Carthaginians invade Sicily. Olymp. lxxv. 1. A. C. 480.

[66] Strabo, l. vi. p. 263. Diodor. ibid.
[67] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 518.
[68] Strabo, ibid. Pauſanias, l. vi. p. 369.
[69] Ariſtoxenus.
[70] Ælian. var. hiſt. l. xiii. c. xxxvii. Plut. in Timol.

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the felicity of the heroic ages, whoſe equitable inſtitutions had much affinity (as above obſerved) with the political ſyſtem of Pythagoras. This virtuous prince had cemented an alliance with Theron, king of Agrigentum, by accepting his daughter in marriage; and the confederacy of the two principal ſtates of Sicily ſeemed to have diffuſed ſecurity and happineſs over the whole iſland, when the immenſe armament of Carthage was beheld off the northern coaſt. Though not abſolutely deſtitute of naval ſtrength, the Sicilians had nothing by which they could oppoſe a fleet of two thouſand gallies. The enemy landed without oppoſition in the ſpacious harbour, or rather bay, of Panormus, whoſe name may be ſtill recogniſed in the modern capital Palermo, where the Carthaginians had planted one of their moſt ancient colonies. Their forces were commanded by Hamilcar, who was deemed a brave and experienced leader. The firſt care of this general was, to fortify two camps; the one deſtined for his fleet, which, according to the practice of that age, was drawn on ſhore; the other intended as a ſafe retreat for his army, which immediately prepared to form the ſiege of Himera. Theron uſed proper meaſures to defend the ſecond city in his dominions, until his kinſman, the intrepid Gelon, ſhould arrive to his aſſiſtance, at the head of an army of fifty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. While this numerous army advanced, by rapid marches, towards Himera, they rencountered a foraging party of the enemy, and took ten thouſand priſoners. But what appeared a ſtill more important booty to the diſcernment of Gelon, they ſeized a meſſenger from Selinus, a city in the neighbourhood of Agrigentum, which had entered into a treacherous correſpondence with the Carthaginians. The priſoner conveyed a letter to Hamilcar, acquainting him, that the Selinuntines would not fail to ſend the cavalry demanded from them at the appointed time, which was likewiſe particularly ſpecified. Upon this diſcovery, Gelon founded a ſtratagem, not

not more daring than ſucceſsful. He commanded a choſen body of troops to advance in the night towards the Carthaginian camp, and by day-break to preſent themſelves to Hamilcar, as his Selinuntine auxiliaries; and when admitted, by this artifice, within the rampart, to aſſaſſinate the general, and ſet fire to the fleet[71].

Defeated by a ſtratagem.

It happened on the fatal day, that Hamilcar offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to the bloody divinity of Carthage, who delighted in human victims. While he performed this abominable rite, the ſoldiers ſurrounded him unarmed, in the gloomy ſilence of their deteſted ſuperſtition, with which their minds were totally penetrated. The Sicilian cavalry, being admitted without ſuſpicion, thus found no difficulty to execute their audacious deſign. Hamilcar, while he ſacrificed an innocent and noble youth to the abhorred genius of Superſtition, was himſelf diſpatched with a dagger; and next moment the Carthaginian ſhips were in a blaze. A chain of Sicilian ſentinels, poſted on the neighbouring eminences, intimated to Gelon the happy ſucceſs of his ſtratagem; of which, in order fully to avail himſelf, that gallant commander immediately conducted the main body of his troops to the Carthaginian army, while it was yet agitated by ſurpriſe and terror at the ſudden conflagration. The furious onſet of the Sicilians made a dreadful havoc among the aſtoniſhed Barbarians, who recovering, however, their faculties, began to defend themſelves with vigour; when the melancholy tidings, that their ſhips were all burnt, and their general ſlain, drove them to deſpair and flight. Gelon commanded his troops not to give quarter to an enemy, who, though defeated, ſtill ſeemed formidable by their numbers. It is reported that an hundred and fifty thouſand periſhed in the battle, and the purſuit. The remainder ſeized an eminence, where they could not long maintain themſelves, for want of water and proviſions. In the language of an ancient hiſtorian, all Africa ſeemed to be taken captive in Sicily. Gelon diſtributed the

Their diſaſters.

[71] Diodor. l. ix. ſect. 25, & ſeqq. Polyæn. l. i. c. xxvii.

priſoners

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priſoners among the Sicilian cities, in proportion to the contingents of troops which they had reſpectively raiſed for this memorable ſervice. The greater part falling to the ſhare of Syracuſe and Agrigentum, were employed in beautifying and enlarging thoſe capitals[72], whoſe magnificent monuments, ſtill conſpicuous in their ruins, are ſuppoſed, with great probability, to be the effect of Carthaginian labour.

Treaty of peace between Gelon and the Carthaginians.

The melancholy tidings affected Carthage with conſternation and deſpair. The inhabitants of that city, ever ſhamefully depreſſed by bad fortune, in proportion as they were immoderately elated by the deceitful gifts of proſperity, dreaded every moment to behold the victorious enemy in their harbour. To ward off this calamity their ambaſſadors were ſent to crave a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities on any terms the victorious Greeks might think proper to impoſe. Gelon received them with ſuch moderation as marked the ſuperiority of his character, and told them, that he would deſiſt from every purpoſe of revenge, on condition that the Carthaginians paid two thouſand talents of ſilver, to be diſtributed among the cities of Sicily, which had incurred trouble and expence by the war; that they thenceforth abſtained from the abominable practice of inſulting the gods by human victims; that they erected two temples, one in Carthage, another in Syracuſe, to preſerve the memory of the war, and the articles of the peace[73].

Olymp. lxxxii. A. C. 449.

This honourable treaty was a prelude to that ſtill more famous, concluded thirty years afterwards between the Athenians and the Perſians. It marked a nation ſuperior to its enemies not only in valour but humanity, and conferred more true glory than could be acquired by the moſt ſplendid ſeries of victories. It might be expected, however, and ſeems much to have been deſired, that a people ſo advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed as were the Greeks during

[72] Cicero, Orat. iv. in Verrem. [73] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

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A. C. 504.

that age in arts and arms; a people who had repelled, defeated, and disgraced the most populous and powerful nations, and who were alike prompted, by ambition and revenge, to the attainment of distant conquest, should have united their efforts against the enemies who still made war on them, and, advancing in a rapid career of victory, have diffused, along with their dominion, their manners, knowledge, and civility over the eastern world. But various events and causes, which we shall have occasion afterwards to explain, tended to detach the colonies of Magna Græcia from the affairs of the mother country, as well as to disunite the two most powerful republics of that country by intestine discord.

While the fortune of Athens raised her to such power as threatened the liberty of Sicily and Greece, the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum contented themselves with the humbler glory of embellishing their capitals with barbaric spoils, and producing those wonders of art, which, in the time of Cicero and Verres, were esteemed among the most precious monuments of antiquity[74]. The golden medals of Gelon, still preserved and of the highest beauty[75], justify the glowing expressions of the Roman orator.

Decay of Magna Græcia, and destruction of the Pythagoreans.

In Italy, the citizens of Crotona had too soon cause to lament their insurrection against their magistrates, and their forsaking the discipline of Pythagoras. They who had hitherto defeated superior numbers, who had furnished so many victors in the Olympic contest, and whose country was distinguished by the epithet of healthy, on a supposition that the vigorous bodies of its inhabitants proceeded from an effect of the climate, were now totally routed and put to flight at the river Sagra, with an army of an hundred and thirty thousand men, by the Locrians and Rhegians, whose forces were far less numerous. The other Greek cities of Italy, which are said to have imitated the fatal example of Crotona, were harassed by wars

[74] Cicero in Verrem, passim.

[75] Mem. de Trevoux. l'ann. 1727, p. 1449.

against

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againſt each other, or againſt their barbarous neighbours. In conſequence of theſe misfortunes, the Pythagoreans again recovered their credit; and about ſixty years after the death of the great founder of their order, Zaleucus and Charondas, the firſt in Locri, the ſecond in Thurium, endeavoured to revive the Pythagorean inſtitutions, which, perhaps, were too perfect for the condition of the times. In leſs than forty years a new perſecution entirely drove the Pythagoreans from Italy, and completed, according to Polybius, the confuſion and miſery of that once happy country[76].

[76] Polybius, i. 203.

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Glory of Athens.—Military Succeſs of the Confederates.—Athens rebuilt and fortified.—Extent of its Walls and Harbours.—The Confederates take Byzantium.—Conſpiracy of Pauſanias.—Baniſhment of Themiſtocles.—Virtue of Ariſtides.—Cimon aſſumes the Command.—His illuſtrious Merit and Succeſs.—Revolt of Egypt.—War in Cyprus.—Peace with Perſia.—Domeſtic Tranſactions of Greece.—The Athenian Greatneſs.—Envy of Sparta, Thebes, and Argos.—Earthquake in Sparta.—Revolt of the Helots.—War between the Elians and Piſans.—The Temple and Statue of Olympian Jupiter.—Diſſentions in Argolis.—Revolt in Bœotia.—Truce of Thirty Years.—Character of Pericles.—Subjection of the Athenian Allies and Colonies.—Spirit of the Athenian Government.

CHAP. XII. The glory of Athens; A. C. 479—431.

FROM the battles of Mycalé and Platæa, to the memorable war of Peloponneſus, elapſed half a century, the moſt illuſtrious in the Grecian annals. A ſingle republic, one of ſixteen ſtates, whoſe united poſſeſſions nearly equalled the extent of Scotland, and whoſe particular territory is ſcarcely viſible in a map of the world, carried on an offenſive war againſt the Perſian empire, and, though ſurrounded by jealous allies or open enemies, proſecuted this extraordinary enterpriſe with unexampled ſucceſs; at length, granting ſuch conditions of peace as the pride of victory may dictate, and the weight of

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in arms ;

accumulated diſaſters condeſcend to ſolicit or accept. In that narrow ſpace of time the ſame republic erected, on the feeble baſis of her ſcanty population and diminutive territory, a mighty maſs of empire; eſtabliſhed and confirmed her authority over the extent of a thouſand miles of the Aſiatic coaſt, from Cyprus to the Thracian Boſphorus; took poſſeſſion of forty intermediate iſlands [1], together with the important ſtraits which join the Euxine and the Ægean; conquered and colonized the winding ſhores of Macedon and Thrace; commanded the coaſt of the Euxine from Pontus to the Cherſoneſus Taurica, or Crim Tartary; and, overawing the barbarous natives by the experienced terrors of her fleet [2], protected againſt *their* injuſtice and violence, but at the ſame time converted, to the purpoſes of her own ambition and intereſt, the numerous but ſcattered colonies which Miletus, and other Greek cities of Aſia, had at various times eſtabliſhed in thoſe remote regions [3]. Our wonder will be juſtly encreaſed if we conſider that Athens obtained thoſe immortal trophies, not over ignorant ſavages or effeminate ſlaves, but over men who had the ſame language and laws, the ſame blood and lineage, the ſame arts and arms, in ſhort, every thing common with the victors but their audacity and fortune.

in arts.

But it is the peculiar glory of the Athenians that, during this rapid ſeries of military and naval triumphs, they cultivated, with a generous enthuſiaſm, the arts which adorn peace as well as war, and carried them all to a perfection which few nations have been able to imitate, and none have found it poſſible to ſurpaſs. During the adminiſtration of a ſingle man, more works of elegance and ſplendour, more magnificent temples, theatres, and porticoes were erected within the walls of Athens, than could be raiſed during many centuries in Rome, though miſtreſs of the world, by the wealth and

[1] Several of theſe iſlands had been formerly conquered by Athenian commanders, particularly Miltiades, as we have related above; but having rebelled againſt the ſevere government of Athens, they were finally ſubdued by Pericles.

[2] Plut. in Pericle.

[3] Strabo, Geograph. paſſim.

labour

labour of tributary provinces[4]. In the ſame period of time ſculpture attained a ſublimity, from which that noble art could never afterwards but deſcend and degenerate; and a republic hitherto inferior in works of invention and genius to ſeveral of her neighbours, and even of her own colonies, produced, in the ſingle lifetime of Pericles, thoſe ineſtimable models of poetry, eloquence, and philoſophy[5], which, in every ſucceeding age, the enlightened portion of mankind hath invariably regarded as the beſt ſtandards, not merely of compoſition and ſtyle, but of taſte and reaſon. The name of Greek ſeemed thenceforth to be ſunk in that of Athenian; Athenian writers are our ſureſt and almoſt only guides in relating the ſubſequent tranſactions of the whole nation[6]; and from them we learn what is yet the moſt extraordinary circumſtance reſpecting the Athenian empire, that it had been built on ſuch ſtable foundations, and reared with ſuch art and ſkill, as might have long defied the hoſtile jealouſy of Greece and Perſia, confederate in arms and reſentment, if various cauſes, which human prudence could neither foreſee nor prevent, had not ſhaken its firmneſs, and precipitated its downfal[7].

Such is the ſubject which I have undertaken to treat in this and the two following Chapters; a ſubject worthy to animate the diligence, and call forth the vigour of an hiſtorian: but, if he truly deſerves that reſpected name, he will remember that it is leſs his duty to amuſe the fancy by general deſcription, than to explain, with preciſion and perſpicuity, the various tranſactions of this intereſting and ſplendid theme; to give the reader a full and diſtinct view of the complicated matter which it involves; and to remove every adventitious circumſtance that might diſtract or dazzle the attention, as aſtronomers, in viewing the ſun, are careful to ward off its ſurrounding ſplendour.

[4] Plutarch. in Pericle.

[5] Pericles may be conſidered as the contemporary of Socrates, Sophocles, Euripides, Thucydides, &c. ſince, although he died before them of the plague, theſe and other great men flouriſhed during his adminiſtration.

[6] I mean Thucydides and Xenophon, together with the Athenian orators, philoſophers, and poets.

[7] Thucydid. l. vii. & viii. paſſim.

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Military ſucceſs of that republic.

The military ſucceſs of the Athenians[8] (which naturally forms the firſt branch of the ſubject, becauſe it not only ſupplied the materials of future improvements, but awakened that energy requiſite to cultivate and complete them) includes three ſeparate actions which were carried on at the ſame time, and conſpired to the ſame end, yet cannot be related in one perpetual narrative, without occaſioning ſome confuſion of ideas, alike deſtructive of the pleaſure and of the uſe of hiſtory. While we endeavour to keep each ſeries of events unbroken and diſtinct, we muſt be careful to point out its influence on the ſimultaneous or ſucceeding tranſactions of the times, that our relation may be at once ſatisfactory and faithful. In ſuch a delineation the trophies of the Perſian war juſtly claim the firſt and moſt conſpicuous place; the hoſtile animoſity of rival ſtates, which continually envied and oppoſed, but, for reaſons that will be fully explained, could neither prevent nor retard the growing ſuperiority of Athens, ſhall occupy the middle of the picture; and we ſhall throw into the back ground the ſucceſſive uſurpations of that fortunate republic over her allies, colonies, and neighbours.

Diviſion of the ſubject.

The Athenians take Seſtos. Olymp. lxxv. 2. A. C. 479.

The common fears which, notwithſtanding innumerable ſources of animoſity, had formed, and hitherto upheld a partial confederacy of the Greeks, were removed by the deciſive victories of Platæa and Mycalé. After theſe memorable events, it was the firſt care of the Athenians to bring home their wives, children, and moſt valuable effects from the iſles of Ægina and Salamis. In the latter iſland they celebrated their good fortune by a national ſolemnity. The ſublime Sophocles joined in the chorus of boys which danced, in exultation, around the barbarian ſpoils[9]; the valour of his predeceſſor, Æſchylus, had contributed to the victories by which they were obtained;

[8] The chief materials for this portion of hiſtory conſiſt in the firſt and ſecond books of Thucydides; the eleventh and twelfth of Diodorus Siculus; Plutarch's Lives of Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Cimon, Pericles; Pauſanias's Deſcription of Greece, and Pliny's Natural Hiſtory; ſcattered facts are ſupplied by other ancient writers, whoſe works will be carefully cited.

[9] Athenæus, l. i.

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tained; and his rival, the tender Euripides, was born in the isle of Salamis [10], on that important day which proved alike glorious to Greece and fatal to Persia. But an attention to domestic concerns prevented not the Athenians from pushing the war with vigour, though deserted by the Spartans and other Peloponnesians, who sailed home before winter. The Asiatic colonies, animated by the recent recovery of freedom, seconded the Athenian ardour; and the confederates, having successfully infested the territories of the great king, besieged and took the rich city of Sestos in the Chersonesus of Thrace, the only place of strength which adhered to the Persian interest in that fertile peninsula [11].

Athens rebuilt and fortified. Olymp. lxxv. 3, 4. A. C. 478 & 477.

During the two following years the war languished abroad, while the symptoms of jealousy and discord, which had already appeared in the separation of the Athenian and Spartan fleets, broke out with more virulence at home. The Athenians began the laborious task of rebuilding their ruined city, which the Persian spoils might contribute to enrich with uncommon magnificence, and which the acquaintance gained in the course of the war, with the graceful forms of Ionic and Doric architecture, might enable them to adorn with more beauty and elegance than had yet been displayed in Europe. But the weighty advice of Themistocles prevailed on them to suspend this noble undertaking, and engaged them, instead of decorating their capital with temples, theatres, and gymnasia, to fortify it by walls of such strength and solidity as might thenceforth bid defiance to every enemy, whether foreign or domestic. In an age when the art of attack was so rude and imperfect, that the smallest fortress formed an object of importance, such a design could not fail of exciting jealousy in the neighbouring republics. The measure was scarcely determined when an embassy arrived from Sparta, remonstrating against a design peculiarly dangerous and alarming to those who owed their safety to the weakness of their cities. If the

Jealousy of Sparta

[10] Vita Euripid. [11] Herodot. l. ix. c. cvi. Diodor. l. xi. c. xxxvii.

Greeks,

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Greeks, it was ſaid, " had poſſeſſed any town of impregnable ſtrength, they muſt have found it impoſſible to expel the Barbarians from their country. The Athenians, therefore, who had hitherto ſo generouſly maintained the cauſe of the confederacy, ought not only to deſiſt from raiſing walls and fortifications, but even to prevent a ſimilar deſign in any republic beyond the Iſthmus; the Peloponneſus was alone ſufficient to afford, in time of danger, a ſecure refuge to the whole Grecian name."

diſcovered by Themiſtocles;

Themiſtocles eaſily unveiled the ſuſpicion and hatred concealed under this ſpecious maſk of public utility, and encouraged his countrymen to elude the Spartan artifice by ſimilar addreſs. The ſenate of the five hundred, who gave audience to foreign ambaſſadors, declared that Athens would adopt no meaſure inconſiſtent with the public intereſt, and promiſed ſpeedily to ſend an embaſſy, in their turn, which would remove all groundleſs apprehenſions entertained on that ſubject. The Lacedæmonians having returned with this temporiſing anſwer, Themiſtocles was immediately diſpatched to Sparta, and expected, as he had previouſly concerted matters with his countrymen[a], to be followed, at a proper time, by Ariſtides, the moſt reſpected character of his age; and by Liſicles, an able orator in the ſenate and aſſembly. Meanwhile the Athenian walls aroſe with unexampled celerity. Not only ſlaves, artificers by profeſſion, and the poorer claſſes of citizens, but magiſtrates of the firſt rank, the venerable fathers of the republic, wrought with their own hands, and with unceaſing induſtry. The feeble efforts of women and children contributed to the uſeful labour. The moſt ſuperſtitious of men neglected their accuſtomed ſolemnities, and no longer acknowledged the diſtinction of days or ſeaſons: nor did even the ſilent tranquillity of night abate the ardour of their diligence. The ruins of their city happily ſupplied them with a rich variety of material; no edifice was ſpared, public or private, ſacred or profane;

[a] Idem ibid. & in Themiſt. Lyſias Orat. Funeb. & Cont. Alcibiad.

the

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the rude ſculpture of ancient temples, even the mutilated tombs of their anceſtors, were confounded in the common maſs; and, at the diſtance of near a century, the ſingular appearance of the wall, compoſed of ſtones rough and unpoliſhed, of various colours, and unequal ſize, atteſted the rapid exertions by which the work had been conſtructed [13].

and its effects eluded by his addreſs.

Themiſtocles had hitherto, under various pretences, avoided declaring his commiſſion before the Spartan ſenate. When urged to this meaſure by ſome of the magiſtrates, who began to ſuſpect his ſilence, he ſtill alleged the abſence of his colleagues as a ſufficient reaſon for delay. But a company of travellers, who had recently viſited Athens, gave intelligence of the extraordinary works carrying on in that city. This information, and the reſentment of the Spartans which it occaſioned, muſt have diſconcerted a man who poſſeſſed leſs cool boldneſs than the commander at Salamis and Artemiſium. But Themiſtocles, with the addreſs congenial to his character, aſſerted, that it was unworthy the gravity of Sparta to regard the vague rumours of obſcure men; and that before lightly ſuſpecting the approved fidelity of their allies, ſhe ought to beſtow ſome pains in diſcovering the truth. This declaration was enforced, it is ſaid, by ſeaſonable bribes to the moſt popular of the Ephori; and the Spartans, deluded or corrupted, agreed to diſpatch a ſecond embaſſy to Athens, conſiſting of ſome of their moſt reſpectable citizens. Theſe men had no ſooner arrived at their deſtination, than they were taken into cuſtody, as pledges for the ſafe return of Themiſtocles and his colleagues, who by this time had brought him the welcome news, that the walls were completed. The Athenian ambaſſadors were now prepared to throw off the maſk. They appeared in the Lacedæmonian aſſembly; and Themiſtocles, ſpeaking for the reſt, declared, that his countrymen needed not to learn from their confederates, what meaſures were honourable to themſelves, and beneficial to the

[13] Thucydid. l. i. c. lxxxix. & ſeqq.

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common cauſe; that, by his advice, they had firmly defended their city againſt the aſſaults of open enemies and jealous friends; and that if Sparta entertained any reſentment of this meaſure, which was evidently not leſs conducive to the public intereſt, than, perhaps, diſpleaſing to private ambition, her anger would be equally unjuſt and impotent, ſince her own citizens muſt remain as hoſtages at Athens, till his colleagues and himſelf ſhould be reſtored in ſafety to their country [14]. Whatever ſecret indignation this ſpeech might excite, the Spartans thought proper to ſuppreſs their animoſity. They allowed the ambaſſadors to return home; but the conduct of Themiſtocles laid the foundation of that unrelenting hatred with which he was perſecuted by Sparta; whoſe intrigues engaged all Greece, not excepting Athens herſelf, in the deſtruction of this illuſtrious citizen. Yet his eminent ſervices, before they were interrupted by the ſtorm of perſecution, gave an opportunity to his unworthy country to diſplay more fully her ſignal ingratitude [15].

Themiſtocles builds the Piræus. Olymp. lxxv. 4. A. C. 477.

The ancient Athenian harbour of Phalericum was ſmall, narrow, and inconvenient. To ſupply its defects, Themiſtocles, even before the Perſian invaſion, had recommended the Piræus, a place five miles diſtant from the citadel, furniſhed with three natural baſons, which, if ſufficiently fortified, might form a far more commodious and ſecure ſtation for the Athenian navy. The foundations were laid, and the walls began to riſe, when the cruel ravages of the Barbarians interrupted the undertaking. Having in the preceding year fortified the city, Themiſtocles thought the preſent a proper time to finiſh the new harbour [16]. His addreſs, his eloquence, and his bribes, were ſeaſonably applied to divert the reſentment of Sparta, who, though thenceforth leſs jealous of the naval than military power of her rival, threatened, on this occaſion, to enter Attica with an armed force. But the artful Athenian had the ſkill to perſuade the

[14] Plut. &c. ibid.
[15] Diodor. l. xi p. 437.
[16] Thucydid. l. i. c. xciii. Plut. in Themiſt. Diodor xi. 436.

Spartans,

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Spartans, and their allies, that the procuring a ſtrong and capacious harbour was a matter eſſentially requiſite to the common intereſt of the Grecian confederacy. The work, meantime, was carried on at Athens with much ſpirit and activity, and, in leſs than a twelvemonth, brought to ſuch a proſperous concluſion, as could ſcarcely be credited, but on the teſtimony of a contemporary hiſtorian of the moſt approved diligence and fidelity [17]. The new walls were ſufficiently broad to admit two carriages abreaſt; the ſtones compoſing them were of an immenſe ſize, ſtrongly united by bars of iron, which were faſtened by melted lead. The Piræus ſoon grew into a town, containing many thouſand inhabitants. It was joined to the city by walls begun by Cimon, but finiſhed by Pericles, twenty years after the harbour itſelf had been erected. The new buildings of Cimon and Pericles are often mentioned in hiſtory under the name of the Long Walls. They extended forty ſtadia on either ſide; and when added to the circumference of the ancient city (about ſixty ſtadia), give us for the whole circuit of the Athenian fortifications an extent of nearly eighteen Engliſh miles [18]. A. C. 457.

The altercations and animoſities excited by ſuch undertakings among the confederates at home, prevented not their united arms from aſſaulting the dominions of the great king. Thirty Athenian, and fifty Peloponneſian ſhips, had been employed to expel the Perſian garriſons from the ſea-ports which they ſtill occupied in the Helleſpont, the Prepontis, and the Ægean iſles. The European fleet, being ſeaſonably joined by various ſquadrons from the Greek cities of Aſia, ſcoured the eaſtern ſhores of the Mediterranean, and delivered from oppreſſion the long-enſlaved iſland of Cyprus. Their next operation muſt have been at a conſiderable diſtance of time, ſince they had to return near two hundred leagues weſtward, and then to proceed almoſt as far towards the north, and the Boſpho-

The war againſt Perſia continued by the confederates; who take Byzantium. Olymp. lxxvi. 1. A. C. 476.

[17] Thucydid. ubi ſupra. [18] Pauſanias, p. 20, & ſeqq. Strabo, p. 391, & ſeqq. Plut. in Cimon.

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rus of Thrace. At the entrance of this celebrated canal, which joins the Euxine and Propontis, the city of Byzantium, deſtined in future ages to become the ſeat of empire, and long to remain the chief emporium of Europe and Aſia, had been firſt founded by a feeble colony of Megareans, which had gradually become populous, flouriſhing, and independent, but which was actually commanded and inſulted by armed Barbarians. It is not probable that Xerxes, or his miniſters, perceived the peculiar ſecurity of Byzantium, ſituate between the Boſphorus and the Helleſpont, two ſtraits, which it might occaſionally ſhut to an hoſtile navy, or open to the fleets of commerce. But had they been ſenſible of this advantage, the miſfortunes hitherto attending all their maritime enterpriſes, muſt have rendered it impoſſible to encourage their ſeamen to reſiſt a victorious enemy. They diſcovered, however, more than their uſual vigour, in defending, by land, a place which they regarded as the center of very valuable poſſeſſions. The adjacent coaſt of Thrace forms a ſtriking contraſt with the inland parts of that country. Inſtead of bleak heaths, and ſnowy mountains, which deform the inhoſpitable regions of Hæmus and Rhodopé, the maritime provinces produce in abundance, vines, olives, the moſt uſeful grains, and the moſt delicious fruits. The climate vies with the delightful ſoftneſs of the Aſiatic plains; and the ſoil had been long cultivated by Greek colonies, who had widely extended themſelves on both ſides of Byzantium. The Barbarians ſtrengthened the garriſon of the place, which was well ſupplied with proviſions, and commanded by Perſians of the firſt diſtinction, among whom were ſeveral kinſmen of the great king. The ſiege was obſtinate, but the events of it are not deſcribed in hiſtory. It is only known, that the walls were ſtormed, and that an immenſe booty, together with many Perſian princes and nobles, fell into the hands of the victors[19].

[19] Plut. in Ariſtid. Thucydid. l. i. 95, & ſeqq. Diodor. l. xi. 44–46.

Here

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The conſpiracy of Pauſanias;

Here ends the glory of Pauſanias, who ſtill commanded the forces of the confederacy; a man whoſe fame would rival the moſt illuſtrious names of antiquity, had he fallen in the ſiege of Byzantium. The rich ſpoils of Platæa, of which the tenth was allotted to him, as general, raiſed him above the equality required by the republican inſtitutions of his country. His recent conqueſt ſtill farther augmented his wealth and his ambition; a continual flow of proſperity, which is dangerous to the beſt-regulated minds, proved fatal to the aſpiring temper of Pauſanias. As he conceived himſelf too great to remain a ſubject, he was willing to become a ſovereign, through the aſſiſtance of Xerxes, the inveterate enemy of his country. To this prince he made application, by means of Gongylus the Eretrian, a fit inſtrument for any kind of villainy. To ſuch an aſſociate Pauſanias had entruſted the noble Perſians taken in Byzantium. This man eſcaped with his priſoners acroſs the Boſphorus, and conveyed a letter to the great king, in which the Spartan general, having mentioned as an indubitable proof of his ſincerity, the reſtoring his captive kinſmen, propoſed to enter into ſtrict amity with Xerxes, to take his daughter in marriage, to ſecond his efforts in conquering Greece, and to hold that country as a dependent province of the Perſian empire. The Perſian is ſaid to have highly reliſhed theſe propoſals, the ſubjugation of Greece being the great object of his reign. It is certain that he ſpeedily ſent Artabazus, a nobleman of confidence, to confer and co-operate with the traitor.

ill conducted.

But Pauſanias himſelf acted with the precipitancy and inconſiſtency of a man, who had either been deluded into treaſon by bad advice, or totally intoxicated by the dangerous vapours of ambition that floated in his diſtempered brain. Inſtead of diſſembling his deſigns until they were ripe for execution, he aſſumed at once the tone of a maſter, and the manners of a tyrant. He became difficult

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of acceſs to his colleagues in command; diſdained their advice in concerting meaſures which they were ordered to execute; he was ſurrounded by guards, choſen from the conquered Barbarians; and he puniſhed the ſlighteſt offence in the allied troops with a rigour hitherto unknown to the Grecian diſcipline. He ſtill managed, indeed, the fierce ſpirits of the Spartans, but without any degree of prudence, ſince the diſtinctions which he demanded for *them*, tended only to irritate and inflame their confederates, who were not allowed to forage, to draw water, to cut down ſtraw for their beds, until the countrymen of Pauſanias had been previouſly furniſhed with all theſe articles.

The allies reject his authority; Olymp. lxxvi. 1. A. C. 476.

This intolerable inſolence diſguſted and provoked the army in general, but eſpecially the Ionians, who lamented that they had been no ſooner delivered from the ſhackles of Perſian deſpotiſm, than they were bent under the ſeverer and more odious yoke of Sparta. By common conſent, they repaired to the Athenian Ariſtides, and his colleague Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, a youth of the faireſt hopes, who had ſignalized his patriotiſm and valour, in all the glorious ſcenes of the war. Their deſigns being approved by the Athenian admirals, Uliades and Antagoras, who reſpectively commanded the fleets of Samos and Chios, the braveſt of all the maritime allies, ſeized the firſt opportunity to inſult the galley of Pauſanias; and when reproached and threatened by the Spartan, they deſired him to thank Fortune, who had favoured him at Platæa, the memory of which victory alone ſaved him from the immediate puniſhment of his arrogance and cruelty. Theſe words ſpeedily re-echoed through the whole fleet, and ſerved, as ſoon as they were heard, for the ſignal of general revolt. The different ſquadrons of Aſia and the Helleſpont ſailed from their ſtations, joined the ſhips of Uliades and Antagoras, loudly declared againſt the inſolent ambition of Pauſanias,

and ſubmit to the Athenians.

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ſanias, abjured the proud tyranny of Sparta, and for ever ranged themſelves under the victorious colours of Athens, whoſe generous magnanimity ſeemed beſt fitted to command the willing obedience of freemen [20].

Pauſanias recalled by the Spartans. Olymp. lxxvi. 2. A. C. 475.

This revolution had immediate and important effects, which we ſhall proceed to explain, when we have puniſhed and diſmiſſed the unworthy Pauſanias. Appriſed of his malverſation and treachery, the Spartan ſenate recalled him to ſtand trial for his life. But his immenſe wealth enabling him to corrupt the integrity of his judges, he eſcaped without farther puniſhment than degradation from his office, and paying a heavy fine. In his ſtead the Spartans ſubſtituted, not one admiral, but ſeveral captains, with divided authority, thereby to remove the odium and reſentment which the inſolence of unlimited command had excited among their confederates. Pauſanias, though diveſted of his public character, having accompanied theſe officers to the Helleſpont, in a veſſel fitted out at his private expence, began to diſplay more arrogance than ever. He diſdained not only the manners and behaviour, but the dreſs and appearance, of a Greek; carried on, almoſt openly, his treacherous correſpondence with Artabazus; increaſed the number of his Barbarian guards and attendants; trampled with contempt on the moſt revered inſtitutions of his country; and aſſumed that provoking pomp of power, and that offenſive oſtentation of vice, which diſgraced the profligate lives of the Perſian ſatraps [21].

Returns to the eaſt;

When the Spartan magiſtrates received a full account of his pride and folly, they were apprehenſive leſt he might refuſe to return home on an ordinary ſummons, and therefore employed the form of the ſcytalé, which they reſerved for the moſt ſolemn occaſions. The ſcytalé (for opinion can give importance to any thing) was only a narrow ſcroll of parchment, which had been rolled on a piece of wood, and then ſtamped with the decree of the republic. Every

recalled by the ſcytalé;

[20] Nepos in Pauſan. Plutarch. in Ariſtid.

[21] Thucydid. i. 95. & 128.

Spartan,

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Spartan, invested with authority at home or abroad, possessed a tally exactly corresponding to the rod on which the parchment had been first rolled. By applying his tally, the words of the scytalé necessarily arranged themselves in their original form, and attested the authentic command of the magistrate. As tutor to the infant king of Sparta, Pausanias had been furnished with an instrument of this kind; and such is the effect of legal formality, that a man who would probably have despised the injunction of a simple letter, returned without delay to a country which he had betrayed, when recalled by this frivolous, but respected ceremony.

and punished.

The external professions, and hypocritical pedantry, of Spartan virtue, were most shamefully detected and exposed in the whole affair of Pausanias. Though convicted of the most odious tyranny, extortion, and profligacy, he was still allowed to enjoy the benefit of personal freedom; to correspond by frequent messages with his accomplice Artabazus; and, at length, to tamper with the Helots and Messenians, these oppressed slaves, who were ever ready to rebel against the unrelenting tyranny of their masters. But as it exceeded even the opulence and effrontery of Pausanias, to corrupt and influence the whole republic, those who had either escaped the general contagion of venality, or who were offended at not sharing his bribes, accused him, a third time, of treason to Greece, in consequence of an event which enabled them in the fullest manner to make good the charge. An unhappy youth, who lived with Pausanias as the infamous minister of his pleasure, was destined by that monster to become the victim of his ambition. He was charged with a letter from his master to Artabazus, in which, after explaining the actual state of his affairs, Pausanias hinted to him, as had been his usual practice, to dispatch the bearer. The suspicious youth, who had observed that none of those sent on such errands ever returned to their country, broke open the letter, and read his own fate. Fired with resentment, he instantly carried the writing

to

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to the enemies of Pauſanias, who prudently adviſed the meſſenger to take refuge in the temple of Neptune, expecting that his maſter would ſoon follow him. Meanwhile they practiſed a concealment in the wall of the temple, and having acquainted the Ephori, and other chief magiſtrates, with their contrivance for convicting the traitor by his own words, they obtained a deputation to accompany them, to remain concealed with them in the temple, and to overhear the mutual reproaches of Pauſanias and his meſſenger. Yet the ſuperſtition of the Spartans permitted them not to ſeize the criminal in that ſacred edifice. He was allowed to retire in ſafety; and when the ſenate had at length determined to lay hold of him, he was privately admoniſhed of his danger by ſome members of that venal aſſembly. Upon this intelligence, he took refuge in the temple of Minerva, from which it being unlawful to drag him, that aſylum was ſurrounded by guards, and he thus periſhed by hunger [22].

Ariſtides entruſted with the finances of the confederates. Olymp. lxxvi. 2. A. C. 475.

The late puniſhment of this deteſtable traitor could not repair the ruinous effects of his miſconduct and villainy. Not only the Ionians, who had firſt begun the revolt, but the foreign confederates in general, loudly rejected the pretenſions of Dorcis and other captains whom the Spartans had ſent to command them. A few communities of Peloponneſus alone followed the Lacedæmonian ſtandard; but the iſlanders and Aſiatics unanimouſly applied to Ariſtides, to whoſe approved wiſdom and virtue they not only entruſted the operations of the combined armament, but voluntarily ſubmitted their more particular concerns; and experience ſoon juſtified their prudent choice. Pay was not yet introduced into the Grecian ſervice, becauſe the character of *ſoldier* was not ſeparated from that of *citizen*. It had been uſual, however, to raiſe annually a certain proportion of ſupplies among the ſeveral confederates, in order to purchaſe arms, to equip and victual the gallies, and to provide ſuch engines of war as proved requiſite in ſtorming the fortified towns belonging to the

[22] Thucyd. l. i. c. cxxviii. & ſeqq. Diodor. l. xi. c. xliv. & Nepos in Pauſan.

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common enemy[23]. By unanimous ſuffrage, Ariſtides was appointed to new-model and apply this neceſſary tax, which had been impoſed and exacted by the Spartans without ſufficient attention to the reſpective faculties of the contributaries. The honeſt Athenian executed this delicate office with no leſs judgment than equity. The whole annual impoſition amounted to four hundred and ſixty talents, about ninety thouſand pounds ſterling; which was proportioned with ſuch nice accuracy, that no ſtate found the ſmalleſt reaſon to complain of partiality or injuſtice. The common treaſure was kept in the central and ſacred iſland of Delos; and, though entruſted to the perſonal diſcretion of the Athenian commander, was ſoon conceived to lie at the diſpoſition of his republic[24].

Their amount.

Merit and perſecution of Themiſtocles.

While the merit of Ariſtides thus procured his countrymen the management of the national treaſury of Greece, Themiſtocles was equally ſucceſsful in improving the internal reſources of the ſtate. By yielding more protection to ſtrangers than they enjoyed in neighbouring cities, he augmented not only the populouſneſs, but the wealth of Athens, as that deſcription of men paid an annual contribution in return for their ſecurity[25]. This, together with other branches of the revenue, he employed in building annually about ſixty gallies, the addition of which to the Athenian navy abundantly compenſated ſuch loſſes as were ſuſtained by the accidents of the ſea in foreign parts. Notwithſtanding the envy and malice of worthleſs demagogues, who infeſted the Athenian aſſembly and courts of juſtice, Themiſtocles was faſt advancing to the attainment of the ſame authority at home, which Ariſtides enjoyed abroad, when complaints arrived from Sparta, that he had conſpired with Pauſanias to betray the public liberty. The known reſentment of the Spartans againſt this extraordinary man, ſufficiently explains the reaſon why they, who were ſo dilatory in their proceedings againſt Pauſanias himſelf, ſhould be ſo eager to bring to puniſhment his ſuppoſed

[23] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 532. & ſeqq. Diodor. p 440.

[24] Ibid. p. 534. Thucyd. l. i. c. xcvi.

[25] Lyſias adv. Philon.

accomplice. But it is not eaſy to conceive, how the Athenians could admit ſuch an accuſation againſt a man, whoſe ſingular valour and conduct had gained the deciſive victory at Salamis; whoſe counſels and addreſs had fortified their city with impregnable ſtrength; whoſe foreſight and activity had procured them a fleet which no nation in the world could reſiſt; and whoſe abilities and patriotiſm had not only ſaved his country from the moſt formidable invaſion recorded in hiſtory, and which was principally directed againſt Athens, but amidſt the terrors of this invaſion, the treachery of falſe friends, and the violence of open enemies, had ſo eminently contributed to raiſe his republic to the firſt rank in the Grecian confederacy. Yet ſuch, on the one hand, was the effect of that envy which, in republics, always accompanies excellence; and ſuch, on the other, the influence of Spartan bribery and intrigues, that Themiſtocles was baniſhed by the oſtraciſm, a puniſhment inflicted on men whoſe aſpiring ambition ſeemed dangerous to freedom, which required not the proof of any particular delinquency, and which had effect only during a term of years [25].

His death and character. Olymp. lxxvi. 4. A. C. 473.

It is probable, that the illuſtrious exile would have been recalled before the expiration of the appointed time; but the perſecution of Sparta allowed not his countrymen leiſure to repent of their ſeverity. Having puniſhed Pauſanias, they acquainted the Athenians, "That from the papers of that notorious traitor, complete evidence appeared of the guilt of Themiſtocles; that it was not ſufficient, therefore, to have expelled him for a few years from Athens, by an indulgent decree, which the aſſembly might revoke at pleaſure; that crimes againſt the general confederacy of Greece, ought to be judged by the Amphictyonic council, and puniſhed by death, or perpetual baniſhment." The Athenians ſhamefully complied with this demand. It appeared, indeed, that Themiſtocles had correſponded with Pauſanias, and been privy to his deſigns; but he perſiſted in affirming,

[25] Diodor. p. 445. & ſeqq. Plut. ibid.

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that he never had approved them. The rivalſhip and enmity ſubſiſting between Sparta and Argos, had induced him to chooſe the latter as the place of his retreat. There he received the news of his condemnation; after which, not thinking himſelf ſecure in any city of Peloponneſus, he ſailed to Corcyra. But his enemies ſtill continuing to purſue him, he fled to the oppoſite coaſt of Epirus, and ſought refuge among the barbarous Moloſſians. Soon afterwards he eſcaped into Perſia, where his wonderful verſatility of genius, in learning the language and manners of that country, recommended him to the new king Artaxerxes, who had lately ſucceeded the unfortunate invader of Greece. The ſuſpicion of treaſon throws a dark ſhade on the eminent luſtre of his abilities; nor does the diſintereſtedneſs of his private character tend to remove the imputation. Though he had carried with him his moſt valuable effects, yet the eſtimate of the property which he left behind in Athens, amounted to an hundred talents (above twenty thouſand pounds ſterling), an immenſe ſum, when eſtimated by the value of money in that age. The whole was confiſcated to the exchequer; and the eagerneſs of the populace to ſeize this rich booty, ſerves to explain the alacrity with which all parties agreed to his deſtruction. A report prevailed in Greece, that Themiſtocles could never forgive the ingratitude of the Athenians, which he had determined to revenge at the head of a powerful army, raiſed by Artaxerxes. But perceiving the unexampled ſucceſs of Cimon on the Aſiatic coaſt, he deſpaired of being able to accompliſh his deſign; and, in a melancholy hour, ended his life by poiſon at the age of ſixty-five, in Magneſia, a town of Lydia, which had been beſtowed on him by the liberality of the Perſian monarch[16].

Olymp. lxxvii. 1. A. C. 472.

Death of Ariſtides. Olymp. lxxvii 2. A. C. 471.

It is worthy of obſervation, that the three great commanders who had reſiſted and diſgraced the arms of Xerxes, quitted the ſcene

[16] Plut. & Nepos in Themiſt. Diodor. l. xi. c. liv—lix. Thucyd. i. 135, & ſeqq.

almoſt

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almoſt at the ſame time. While Pauſanias and Themiſtocles ſuffered the puniſhment of their real or pretended crimes, Ariſtides died of old age, univerſally regretted by the affectionate admiration of his country. He, who had long managed the common treaſury of Greece, left not a ſufficient ſum to defray the expence of his funeral. His ſon Lyſimachus received a preſent of three hundred pounds from the public, to enable him to purſue and finiſh his education. His daughters were maintained and portioned at the expence of the treaſury. This honourable poverty well correſponded with the manly elevation of his character, whoſe pure and unſullied ſplendor, in the opinion of a good judge of merit [27], far eclipſes the doubtful fame of his daring, but unfortunate, rival.

His character.

By the death of Ariſtides, the conduct of the Perſian war devolved on his colleague Cimon, who united the integrity of that great man to the valour of Miltiades, and the deciſive boldneſs of Themiſtocles. But as he felt an ambition for eminence which diſdains bare imitation, he not only reflected the moſt diſtinguiſhed excellencies of his predeceſſors, but improved and adorned them by an elegant liberality of manners, an indulgent humanity, and candid condeſcenſion; virtues which long ſecured him the affections of his fellow-citizens, while his military talents and authority, always directed by moderation and juſtice, maintained an abſolute aſcendant over the allies of the republic. His firſt operations were employed againſt the coaſt of Thrace, which the taking of Byzantium ſeemed to render an eaſy conqueſt. The only places in that country fitted to make an obſtinate reſiſtance, were the towns of Eion and Amphipolis, both ſituate on the river Strymon; the former near its junction with the Strymonic gulph, the latter more remote from the ſhore, but entirely ſurrounded by an arm of the gulph, and the principal branches of that copious river. Amphipolis, however, was taken,

Elevation of Cimon to the command.

He reduces the coaſt of Thrace. Olymp. lxxvii. 2. A. C. 471.

[27] Plato apud Plutarch. in Ariſtid.

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and planted by a numerous colony of Athenians. But Eion ſtill oppoſed a vigorous reſiſtance; Boges, the Perſian governor, having determined rather to periſh, than ſurrender. After long baffling the efforts of the beſiegers, by ſuch perſevering courage and activity as none of his countrymen had diſplayed in the courſe of the war, this fierce Barbarian was at length not tamed, but exaſperated, by hunger. His companions and attendants, equally deſperate, followed their intrepid leader; and mounting the ramparts with one accord, threw into the middle ſtream of the Strymon their gold, ſilver, and other precious effects. After thus atteſting their implacable hatred to the aſſailants, they calmly deſcended, lighted a funeral pile, butchered their wives and children, and again mounting the walls, precipitated themſelves with fury into the thickeſt of the flames[28].

Purſues the enemy into Aſia. Olymp. lxxvii. 3. A. C. 470.

With this ſignal act of deſpair ended the Perſian dominion over the coaſt of Europe, which finally ſubmitted to the victorious arms of Cimon; a general, who knew alike how to conquer, and how to uſe the victory. The Athenians were eager to prolong the authority of a man, who ſeemed ambitious to acquire wealth by valour, only that by wealth he might purchaſe the public eſteem; and whoſe affable condeſcenſion, and generous liberality, continually increaſed his fame and his influence, both at home and abroad. The reinforcements with which he was ſpeedily furniſhed by the republic, enabled him to purſue the enemy into Aſia, without allowing them time to breathe, or recover ſtrength, after their repeated defeats. The intermediate iſlands ambitiouſly courted his protection and friendſhip; and *their* feeble aid, together with the more powerful aſſiſtance of the Ionian coaſt, ſpeedily increaſed his fleet to the number of three hundred ſail.

His rapid ſucceſs in Caria and Lycia.

With this formidable armament he ſtretched towards the coaſt of Caria, where his approach ſerved for the ſignal of liberty to the numerous Greek cities in that valuable province. Seconded by the ardor

[28] Plut. in Cimon. Diodor. l. xi.

of

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of the natives, he ſucceſſively beſieged and reduced the walled towns and fortreſſes, ſeveral of which were filled with powerful garriſons; and, in the courſe of a few months, totally expelled the Perſians from all their ſtrong holds in Caria. The victorious armament then proceeded eaſtward to Lycia, and received the ſubmiſſion of that extenſive coaſt. The citizens of Phaſelis alone, defended by ſtrong walls, and a numerous garriſon, refuſed to admit the Grecian fleet, or to betray their Perſian maſter. Their reſiſtance was the more formidable, as their ancient connection with the Chians, who actually ſerved under the colours of Cimon, enabled them to enter into a treacherous correſpondence with the enemy. After other means of intercourſe had been cut off, the Chians ſtill ſhot arrows over the walls, and thus conveyed intelligence into the place of all the meaſures adopted by the aſſailants. Wherever the attack was made, the townſmen and garriſon were prepared to reſiſt: the beſiegers were long baffled in all their attempts; but the perſeverance of Cimon finally overcame the obſtinacy of his enemies. Their vigorous reſiſtance was not diſtinguiſhed by any memorable puniſhment; the mediation of the Chians, who were juſtly eſteemed among the beſt ſailors in the Athenian fleet, eaſily prevailing on the lenity of Cimon to grant them a capitulation, on condition that they immediately paid ten talents, and augmented the Grecian armament by their whole naval ſtrength [29].

He takes Phaſelis.

The diſtracted ſtate of Perſia, the intrigues of the court, the diſcord of the palace, and the civil wars which raiſed to the throne of Xerxes his third ſon Artaxerxes, diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Longimanus, prevented that vaſt but unwieldy empire from making any vigorous effort to reſiſt the European invaſion. But after Artaxerxes had at length cruſhed the unfortunate ambition of his competitors, and acquired firm poſſeſſion of the reins of government,

The Perſians prepare for defence:

[29] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

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A. C. 473—425.

which he continued to hold for half a century [30], he naturally concerted proper meaſures to defend his remaining dominions in Aſia Minor. Having re-eſtabliſhed the Perſian authority in the iſle of Cyprus, he conſidered that Pamphylia, being the next province to Lycia, would probably be ſoon viſited by the victorious Greeks. That he might receive them there with becoming vigour, he aſſembled a powerful army on the fertile banks of the Eurymedon. A fleet, likewiſe, of four hundred ſail, was collected, chiefly from Cilicia and Phœnicia, and was commanded to rendezvous near the mouth of that river.

Are defeated at ſea. Olymp. lxxvii. 3. A. C. 470.

The Greeks, conducted by the activity of Cimon, delayed not to undertake the enterpriſe which the prudence of Artaxerxes had foreſeen. Their fleet, amounting to two hundred and fifty gallies, fell in with the Perſian ſquadrons off the coaſt of Cyprus. The Barbarians, vainly confident in their ſuperior numbers, did not decline the engagement, which was obſtinate, fierce, and bloody. Many of their ſhips were ſunk; an hundred were taken; the reſt fled in diſorder towards the ſhore of Cyprus; but, being ſpeedily purſued by a powerful detachment of the Grecian fleet, were abandoned, by the terror of their crews, to the victors; and thus the mighty preparations, which the great king had raiſed with ſuch flattering hopes, ſtrengthened in one day, with about three hundred ſail, the hoſtile navy of Greece [31].

Cimon's valour and conduct.

The vigorous mind of Cimon, inſtead of being intoxicated with this flow of proſperity, was leſs elevated with good fortune, than ſolicitous to improve it. The captured veſſels contained above twenty thouſand Perſians. The ſoldiers encamped on the Eurymedon were ſtill ignorant of the battle. Theſe circumſtances inſtantly ſuggeſted to the quick diſcernment of Cimon a ſtratagem for ſurpriſing the

[30] Compare Thucydid. l. i. c. cxxxvii. and Uſher Chronol. See alſo Petav. de Doctrin. Temp. l. x. c. xxv. who endeavours to reconcile the chronological differences between Thucydides and Plutarch in Themiſt.

[31] Thucydid. Plut. Diod. ibid.

Perſian

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Perſian camp, which was executed on the evening of the ſame glorious day with unexampled ſucceſs. The priſoners were ſtripped of their eaſtern attire; the braveſt of the Greeks condeſcended to aſſume the tiara and ſcymitar, and thus diſguiſed, embarked in the Perſian ſhips, and ſailed up the river Eurymedon with a favourable gale. The unſuſpecting Barbarians received them with open arms into their camp, as their long-expected companions. But the Greeks had no ſooner been admitted within the gates, than on a given ſignal, at once drawing their ſwords, they attacked, with the concert of diſciplined valour, the defenceleſs ſecurity of their now aſtoniſhed, and trembling adverſaries. Before the Perſians recovered from their ſurpriſe, Cimon had advanced to the tent of their general. Conſternation and deſpair ſeized this numerous, but unwarlike hoſt. The few who were leaſt overcome by the impreſſions of fear and amazement, betook themſelves to flight; a panic terror ſuſpended the powers of the reſt; they remained, and fell, unarmed and unreſiſting, by the hands of an unknown enemy.

Gains the deciſive victory of Eurymedon.

The rich ſpoil of the Barbarian camp rewarded the enterpriſe and celerity of the Greeks, who, loaded with wealth and glory, returned home during winter, and piouſly dedicated to Apollo a tenth of the plunder acquired by theſe ever memorable atchievements. A conſiderable portion of the remainder was employed (as mentioned above) in ſtrengthening the fortifications of Athens. Agreeably to the Grecian cuſtom, the general was entitled to a valuable ſhare. Cimon received it as a teſtimony of the public eſteem, and expended it for the public uſe; embelliſhing his beloved native city with ſhady walks, gardens, porticoes, ſchools of exerciſe, and other works of general pleaſure and utility [12].

The ſpoil how employed.

After theſe deciſive victories, the Greeks, headed by the Athenians, carried on the war during twenty-one years, rather for plun-

The Athenians proſecute the war; Olymp. lxxii. 4. A. C. 469.

[12] Idem, ibid. & Nepos in Cimon. & Thucydid. l. i.

der

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der than glory. The manifeſt ſuperiority which they enjoyed on all the eaſtern ſhores of the Mediterranean, might have rendered their maritime allies ſufficiently ſecure. But the people of Athens, whoſe councils began about this time to be governed by the magnanimous ambition, and profound policy of Pericles, had the addreſs to perſuade their confederates that naval preparations and enterpriſes were ſtill as neceſſary as ever. At length, however, moſt of thoſe ſcattered iſlands and ſea-ports, which followed the colours of Athens, grew weary of perpetual hoſtilities, of which *they* ſhared the toil and the danger, while their ambitious leaders alone reaped the advantage and the glory, and became continually more anxious to enjoy the benefits of public peace, and the undiſturbed comforts of domeſtic tranquillity. The Athenians availed themſelves of this diſpoſition, to engage ſuch ſtates as appeared moſt backward in raiſing their contingents for the common armament, to compound for perſonal ſervice on ſhipboard, by an annual ſupply of money, which might enable Athens continually to keep in readineſs a fleet of obſervation, to watch and check the motions of the common enemy. This, at firſt voluntary, contribution ſoon amounted to about an hundred thouſand pounds. It was gradually augmented; and, at length, raiſed by Pericles to three times the original ſum [33]; an immenſe income, conſidering that the proportional value of money to labour was then ten times higher than at preſent; and conſidering alſo the very limited revenues of the greateſt monarchs of antiquity; ſince, from all the various provinces of the Perſian empire, ſcarcely four millions ſterling entered the royal treaſury [34].

take money inſtead of ſhips from the allies;

prepare to undertake an expedition againſt Cyprus. Olymp. lxxvii. 3. A. C. 466.

In their eaſtern expeditions, the Greeks had an opportunity of viſiting the large and beautiful iſland of Cyprus, which, though delivered by their valour from *ſome* Perſian garriſons, either ſtill continued, or again became, ſubject to that empire. The ſtriking ad-

[33] Thucydid. ibid. & Plut. in Pericl.

[34] Herodot. iii. 95.

vantages

vantages [35] of a delightful territory, four hundred miles in circumference, producing in great abundance wine, oil, with the moſt delicious fruits, and deemed invaluable in ancient times, on account of its rich mines of braſs, naturally tempted the ambition of an enterpriſing nation. The conqueſt of Cyprus was ſtill farther recommended to the Athenians, as the ſea-coaſt had been peopled by a Grecian colony under the heroic Teucer, who built there a city called Salamis, from the name of his native country [36], which, from the earlieſt antiquity, had been regarded as a dependence of Attica. The Grecian inhabitants of Cyprus hitherto attained neither power nor ſplendour; their ſettlements had been ſucceſſively reduced by the Phœnicians and the great king; and they actually languiſhed in a condition of the greateſt debility [37]. Honour prompted the Athenians to relieve their diſtreſſed brethren; intereſt incited them to acquire poſſeſſion of a valuable iſland. With two hundred ſhips of war they prepared to undertake this important enterpriſe, when an object ſtill more dazzling gave a new direction to their arms.

Diverted from that meaſure by the revolt of Egypt. Olymp. lxxviii. 4. A. C. 405.

Amidſt the troubles which attended the eſtabliſhment of Artaxerxes on the Perſian throne, the Egyptians ſought an opportunity to withdraw themſelves from the yoke of a nation whoſe tyranny they had long felt and lamented. A leader only was wanting to head the rebellion. This alſo was at length diſcovered in Inarus, a bold Libyan chief, to whoſe ſtandard the malcontents aſſembling from all quarters, gradually grew into an army, which attacked and defeated the Perſian mercenaries, expelled the garriſons, baniſhed or put to death the governors and officers of the revenue, and traverſing the kingdom without controul or reſiſtance, every where proclaimed the Egyptians a free and independent nation. Nor was this the capricious revolt of ſhort-ſighted Barbarians. Inarus maintained his conqueſt with valour and policy; and in order to ſtrengthen his in-

[35] Strabo, p. 648. [36] Iſocrat. in Evagor. [37] Iſocrat. ibid.

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tereſt by foreign alliance, diſpatched an embaſſy to Athens, craving the aſſiſtance of that victorious republic againſt its moſt odious and inveterate enemy [38].

The Athenian armament ſails thither; Olymp. lxxix. 2. A. C. 463.

The negotiation was ſucceſsful; the Athenians burned with deſire to ſhare the ſpoils of Perſia, and commanded the ſhips, deſtined for Cyprus, to ſail to Egypt. They had ſcarcely arrived in that kingdom, when a Perſian army of three hundred thouſand men, commanded by Achæmenes, encamped on the banks of the Nile. A battle ſpeedily enſued, in which the inſurgents obtained a complete victory, chiefly through the valour and diſcipline of their Grecian auxiliaries. The vanquiſhed ſought refuge within the walls of Memphis; that capital was inveſted; and after becoming maſter of two diviſions of the city, the Athenians puſhed with vigour the ſiege of the third, called, from the colour of its fortifications, the White Wall. Artaxerxes, meanwhile, neglected no poſſible effort for breaking, or eluding, a tempeſt, that threatened to diſmember his dominions. While Perſian nobles of diſtinction conveyed immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver into Greece, to rouſe, by ſeaſonable bribes, the hoſtility of rival ſtates againſt the audacity of Athens, a new army was collected, ſtill more numerous than the former, and entruſted to Megabazus, the braveſt general in the eaſt. Such, at leaſt, he was deemed; yet we cannot perceive any very illuſtrious merit in forcing to raiſe the ſiege of Memphis, men who were already worn out with the fatigues of hard ſervice, and probably enfeebled by diſeaſes in a far diſtant climate, extremely different from their own.

is victorious;

beſieges Memphis.

Misfortunes of the Athenians in Egypt. Olymp. lxxx 4. A. C. 457.

Megabazus, however, had the glory of firſt turning againſt the Greeks that current of ſucceſs which had run for many years ſo ſtrongly in their favour. They and the revolted Egyptians were now beſieged, in their turn, in a ſmall iſland of the Nile called Proſopis, along the coaſt of which the Athenians had anchored their

[38] Thucydid. l. i. & Diodor. l. xi. p. 279.

ſhips.

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ſhips. By diverting the courſe of the river, Megabazus left them on dry land. This operation ſo much confounded the Egyptians that they immediately laid down their arms: but their wonted magnanimity did not forſake the Greeks: with their own hands they ſet fire to their fleet, and, exhorting each other to ſuffer nothing unworthy of their former fame, determined, with one accord, to reſiſt the aſſailants, and, although they could not expect victory, to purchaſe an honourable tomb. Megabazus, intimidated by their countenance and reſolution, and unwilling to expoſe his men to the efforts of a dangerous deſpair, granted them a capitulation, and, what ſeems more extraordinary in a Perſian commander, allowed them to retire in ſafety. They endeavoured to penetrate through Libya to the Grecian colonies in Cyrenaica, from which they hoped to be tranſported by ſea to their native country. But the greater part periſhed through fatigue or diſeaſe in the unhoſpitable deſarts of Africa, and only a miſerable remnant of men, whoſe bravery deſerved a better fate, reviſited the ſhores of Greece. To complete the diſaſter, a reinforcement of ſixty ſhips, which the Athenians had ſent to Egypt, was attacked, ſurrounded, and totally deſtroyed by the Phœnicians, near the ſame ſcene which had already proved ſo fatal, but ſo honourable, to their countrymen [39].

The Athenians renew their deſigns againſt Cyprus. Olymp. lxxii. 3. A. C. 450.

Theſe repeated misfortunes, together with the growing troubles in Greece, which we ſhall ſpeedily have occaſion to deſcribe, prevented the Athenians, during ſeven years, from reviving their deſign againſt Cyprus. A fleet of two hundred ſail was at length entruſted to Cimon, who enjoyed a proſperous voyage to the Cyprian coaſt. The towns of Malos and Citium oppoſed a feeble reſiſtance, and the ſingular humanity with which Cimon treated his priſoners, would have facilitated more important conqueſts: but the Phœnician and Cicilian fleets had again put to ſea, and Cimon wiſely determined to

[39] Iſocrat. de Pace & Paregyr. & Thucydid. & Diodor. ibid.

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Their ſucceſs in that iſland.

attack them as they approached the iſland, rather than wait their arrival, his countrymen being ſuperior to their enemies, ſtill more in naval than in military proweſs. In the battle which ſoon followed, he took above an hundred gallies; the number of thoſe ſunk or deſtroyed is unknown; the remainder fled to the coaſt of Cilicia, in hopes of protection from the army of Megabazus, encamped in that province; but that ſlow unwieldy body was unable to afford them any ſeaſonable or effectual relief. The Greeks, having purſued them on ſhore, totally deſtroyed *them* as well as the Perſian detachments who came to their ſuccour, and returned loaded with ſpoil to Cyprus. The Athenian general then prepared to form the ſiege of Salamis, which, though defended by a numerous Perſian garriſon, and well provided in all the neceſſaries of defence, muſt have ſoon yielded to his ſkill and valour, had not ſickneſs, in conſequence of a wound received before the walls of Citium, prevented him from exerting his uſual activity.

The Perſian monarch ſolicits peace. Olymp. lxxxii. 4. A. C. 449.

Meanwhile Artaxerxes, who perceived that the acquiſition of Salamis would naturally draw after it the conqueſt of the whole iſland, and who had been continually diſappointed in expecting to prepare fleets and armies capable to contend with the Athenians, eagerly ſolicited peace from that people, almoſt on their own terms. His ambaſſadors were favourably heard in the Athenian aſſembly by thoſe who were more ſolicitous about confirming their uſurpations over their allies and colonies, than ambitious of extending their Aſiatic conqueſts. Cimon, who invariably maintained the contrary ſyſtem, was now no more. A peace, therefore, was concluded on the following conditions [40]: That all the Greek colonies in Lower Aſia ſhould be declared independent of the Perſian empire; that the armies of the great king ſhould not approach within three days journey of the weſtern coaſt; and that no Perſian veſſel ſhould appear between the Cyanean rocks

Motives which determined the Athenians to compliance.

[40] Thucydid. Plutarch. Diodor. Iſocrat. &c.

and

and the Chelidonian iſles, that is, in the wide extent of the Ægean and Mediterranean ſeas, between the northern extremity of the Thracian Boſphorus and the ſouthern promontory of Lycia. On ſuch terms the Athenians and their allies ſtipulated to withdraw their armament from Cyprus, and to abſtain thenceforth from moleſting the territories of the king of Perſia[41]. Such was the concluſion of this memorable war, which, ſince the burning of Sardis, the firſt deciſive act of hoſtility, had been carried on, with little intermiſſion, during fifty-one years. The ſame magnanimous republic, which firſt ventured to oppoſe the pretenſions of Perſia, dictated to that haughty empire the moſt humiliating conditions of peace; an important and illuſtrious æra in Grecian hiſtory, which was often celebrated with pompous panegyric during the declining ages of Athenian glory.

Although, for reaſons which will be explained hereafter, peace was alike neceſſary to both parties, yet the reader, who feels a warm intereſt in the cauſe of civilization and humanity, cannot but regret that, after diſgracing the arms of Perſia, and breaking the power of Carthage, the Greeks had not combined in one powerful exertion, and extended their victories and their improvements over the ancient world. But the internal defects in her political conſtitution, which ſtunted the growth of Greece, and prevented her manhood and maturity from correſponding to the blooming vigour of her youth, rendered impoſſible this moſt deſirable union, which, could it have taken place, would probably have left little room for the tranſient conqueſts of Alexander, or the more permanent glory of the Roman arms. Inſtead of theſe imagined trophies, the ſubſequent hiſtory of Greece preſents us with the melancholy picture of inteſtine diſcord.

Obſtacles to a general or laſting confederacy in Greece.

During an hundred and eleven years which elapſed between the glorious peace with Perſia, in which the Athenians, at the head of

Its ſubſequent hiſtory peculiarly intereſting;

[41] Iſocrat. Panegyr.

their

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their allies, ſeemed for ever to have repreſſed the ambition of that aſpiring power, and the fatal defeat at Cheronæa, in which the ſame people, with their unfortunate auxiliaries, ſubmitted to the valour and activity of Philip, Greece, with ſhort variations of domeſtic quiet and foreign hoſtility, carried on bloody wars, and obtained deſtructive victories, in which her own citizens, not the enemies of the confederacy, were the unhappy objects of her inglorious triumph. Yet the tranſactions of this diſtracted and miſerable period, however immaterial in the hiſtory of empire, are peculiarly intereſting in the ſtill more inſtructive hiſtory of human nature. A confederacy of ſoldiers and freemen, extending their dominion over ignorant ſavages, or effeminate ſlaves, would continually exhibit the unequal combat of power, courage, and conduct on the one ſide, againſt weakneſs, ignorance, and timidity on the other. But amidſt the domeſtic diſſentions of Greece, the advantages of the contending parties were nicely balanced, and accurately adjuſted. Force was reſiſted by force, valour oppoſed by valour, and art encountered or eluded by ſimilar addreſs. The active powers of man, excited by emulation, inflamed by oppoſition, nouriſhed by intereſt, and at once ſtrengthened and elevated by a ſenſe of perſonal honour and the hope of immortal fame, operated in every direction with awakened energy, and were diſplayed in the boldeſt exertions of the voice and arm. In every field where glory might be won, men recogniſed the proper objects of their ambition, and aſpired to the higheſt honours of their kind; and although the prizes were often ſmall, and the victory always indeciſive, yet the pertinacious efforts of the combatants (great beyond example, and almoſt beyond belief) furniſhes the moſt intereſting ſpectacle that hiſtory can preſent to the rational wonder of poſterity.

Sparta, Thebes, and Argos, hoſtile to Athens.

The powerful cities of Sparta, Thebes, and Argos, which had long rivalled Athens and each other, could not behold, without much diſſatisfaction and anxiety, the rapid growth of a republic which al-

ready eclipſed their ſplendour, and might ſome time endanger their ſafety. The Spartans had particular cauſes of diſguſt. The immortal victories of Cimon made them deeply regret that *they*, who had ſhared the firſt and ſevereſt toils of the war, had too haſtily withdrawn from a field of action that afforded ſo many laurels. They were provoked at being denied the command of the maritime allies, and not leſs offended at being over-reached by Themiſtocles. All theſe reaſons had determined them, above twenty years before the peace with Perſia, to make war on the Athenians, expecting to be ſeconded in this deſign by the fears of the weak, and the jealouſy of the more powerful, ſtates, on both ſides the Corinthian iſthmus. But their animoſity, before it broke out into action, was diverted by a calamity equally ſudden and unforeſeen. In the year four hundred and ſixty-nine before Chriſt, Sparta was overwhelmed by an earthquake[42]. Taygetus and the neighbouring mountains were ſhaken to the foundation, and twenty thouſand Lacedæmonian citizens or ſubjects periſhed in this dreadful diſaſter. But, amidſt the ruins of Sparta, one deſcription of men beheld the public misfortunes not only without horror, but with a ſecret ſatisfaction.

Earthquake in Sparta; Olymp. lxxvii. 4. A. C. 469.

The oppreſſed Spartan ſlaves, known by the appellations of Helots and Meſſenians, aſſembled in crowds from the villages in which they were cantoned, and took meaſures for delivering themſelves, during the cruelty of the elements, from the not leſs inexorable cruelty of their unfeeling tyrants. The prudent diſpoſitions of king Archidamus, who, forſeeing the revolt, had ſummoned the citizens to arms, prevented them from getting immediate poſſeſſion of the capital; but they rendered themſelves maſters of the ancient and ſtrong fortreſs Ithomé, from which they continued many years to infeſt the Lacedæmonian territories. The Spartans in vain exerted their utmoſt endeavours to expel this dangerous inteſtine enemy; and in the third year of the war (for this revolt is dignified in hiſtory by

followed by the revolt of the Helots and Meſſenians;

[42] Thucydid. lib. i. cap. c. & ſeqq. Diodor. lib. xi. cap. lxiii.

the

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the name of the Third Meſſenian War), they had recourſe to the Athenians, who, of all the Greeks, were deemed the moſt ſkilful in ſieges. The Athenians, either not ſufficiently acquainted with the ſecret hoſtility of Sparta, or willing to diſſemble their knowledge of it, as they were then totally bent on other projects and enterpriſes, ſent them the required aſſiſtance. The beſiegers, however, met with ſo little ſucceſs, that the Spartans diſmiſſed their Athenian auxiliaries, on pretence indeed that their help was no longer neceſſary; but, in reality, from a ſuſpicion that they favoured the intereſt of the rebels; and, as they retained the troops of all the other allies, the Athenians were juſtly provoked by this inſtance of diſtruſt [43]. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Piſa, who, for a reaſon that will be immediately explained, were highly incenſed againſt Sparta, gave vigorous aſſiſtance to the beſieged.

part of whom are ſettled in Naupactus by the Athenians.

Olymp. lxxx. 2. A. C. 459.

The place thus held out ten years: many ſallies were made, ſeveral battles were fought, with the fury that might be expected from the cruelty of tyrants chaſtiſing the inſolence of ſlaves. Both parties muſt have been reduced to extremity, ſince the Helots and Meſſenians, though obliged to ſurrender the place, obtained from the weakneſs, a condition which they would have vainly ſolicited from the mercy, of Sparta, "that they ſhould be allowed, with their wives, children, and effects, to depart, unmoleſted, from the Peloponneſus." The Athenians, deeply reſenting the affront of ſuſpected fidelity, determined to mortify the Spartans by kindly receiving thoſe needy fugitives, whom they finally eſtabliſhed in Naupactus, a ſeaport on the Criſſean gulph, which their arms had juſtly wreſted from the Locri Ozolæ; a cruel and barbarous people, whoſe ſavage manners and rapacity diſgraced their Grecian extraction. The Helots and Meſſenians repaid, by ſignal gratitude, the humane protection of Athens. During the long courſe of the Peloponneſian war, while their neighbours on every ſide eſpouſed the oppoſite intereſt, the inhabitants of Naupactus alone invariably exerted themſelves, with

Their ſignal gratitude.

[43] Thucydid. l. i. cap. ci.

zeal

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zeal and vigour, in defence of the declining power of their magnanimous confederate and ancient benefactor.

The war between the Elians and Piſans.

The cauſe above alluded to, which had incenſed the Piſans againſt Sparta, dated beyond a century [44]. That people had long contended with Elis, the capital of their province, for the right of ſuperintending the Olympic games. The Spartans enabled the Elians to prevail in the conteſt, who continued, without oppoſition, to direct that auguſt ſolemnity, until the earthquake and ſubſequent calamities of Sparta emboldened the inſolent and wealthy Piſans to renew their pretenſions [45]. Their attempts, however, to maintain this bold claim, eſpecially after the removal of the Helots and Meſſenians, appear to have been alike feeble and unfortunate. Piſa was taken, plundered, and ſo thoroughly demoliſhed, that not a veſtige, and ſcarce the name, remained.

Sack of Piſa. Olymp. lxxi. 1. A. C. 456.

The temple of Olympian Jupiter.

With the valuable booty acquired in this warfare, the Elians executed a memorable undertaking; having, in the courſe of ten years [46], enlarged and adorned the temple of Olympian Jupiter, and erected the celebrated ſtatue of that divinity; a work which no ſubſequent age could ever rival, and whoſe ſublimity is ſaid to have increaſed and fortified the popular ſuperſtition [47]. This famous temple was of the Doric order, encircled with a colonnade, and built of the ſtone of the country reſembling Parian marble. From the area, or ground, to the decoration over the gate, it reached ſixty-eight feet in height; it was ninety-five foot broad, and two hundred and thirty long: thus falling ſhort of the greateſt modern temples in magnitude, as much as it excelled them in beauty and the richneſs of material. It was covered with Pentelican marble, cut in the form of brick tiles. At each extremity of the roof ſtood a gilded vaſe; in the middle a golden victory; below which was a ſhield emboſſed with Meduſa's

[44] Pauſanias, l. vi. c. xxii.
[45] Strabo, l. viii. p. 545.
[46] Between the years 456 and 446, A. C.
[47] Aliquid receptæ religioni adjeciſſe fertur. PLIN.

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head, likewiſe of gold. Pelops and Oenomaus were repreſented, on the pediment, ready to begin the chariot-race before very illuſtrious ſpectators, ſince Jupiter himſelf was of the number. The vault was adorned with the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. The labours of Hercules diſtinguiſhed the principal entrance [48].

Phidias's ſtatue of that divinity.

After paſſing the braſs gates, you diſcovered Iphitus crowned by his ſpouſe Echecheiria; from thence you proceeded, through a noble portico, to the majeſtic creation of Phidias the Athenian, which formed the principal ornament of the temple, and of Greece. The god was ſitting on a throne, and being ſixty feet high, touched the roof with his head; and threatened, if he moved himſelf, to ſhake in pieces that noble edifice, which, lofty and ſpacious as it was, ſtill appeared unworthy to contain him. This vaſt coloſſus was compoſed of gold, taken in the ſack of Piſa, and of ivory, then almoſt as precious as gold, which was brought from the Eaſt by Athenian merchantmen. The god had an enamelled crown of olive on his head, an image of victory in his right hand, a burniſhed ſceptre in his left. His robes and ſandals were variegated with golden flowers and animals. The throne was made of ivory and ebony, inlaid with precious ſtones. The feet which ſupported it, as well as the fillets which joined them, were adorned with innumerable figures; among which you perceived the Theban children torn by Sphinxes, together with Apollo and Diana ſhooting the beautiful and once flouriſhing family of Niobé. Upon the moſt conſpicuous part of the throne which met the eye in entering, you beheld eight ſtatues, repreſenting the gymnaſtic exerciſes; and the beautiful figure, whoſe head was encircled with a wreath, reſembled young Pantarces, the favourite ſcholar of Phidias, who, in the conteſt of the boys, had recently gained the Olympic prize. Beſides the four feet, mentioned above, the throne was ſupported by four pillars, placed between them, and painted by Panænus, the brother of Phidias. There

[48] Pauſan. in Eliac. p. 303. & ſeqq.

that

that admirable artiſt had delineated the Heſperides guarding the golden apples; Atlas painfully ſuſtaining the heavens, with Hercules ready to aſſiſt him; Salamine with naval ornaments in her hand; and Achilles ſupporting the beautiful expiring Pentheſilea.

The Olympic temple compared with other ſacred edifices in Greece.

It would be tedious to deſcribe the remaining ornaments of this celebrated ſtatue, and ſtill more of the ſacred edifice itſelf: yet the temple of Olympia was much inferior in ſize to that of Ceres and Proſerpine, at Eleuſis, in Attica. The latter was built by Ictinus, the contemporary and rival of Phidias; and ſufficiently capacious (could we believe the exaggerations of travellers) to contain thirty thouſand perſons[49]. This edifice was alſo of the Doric order; that of Diana at Epheſus, and of Apollo at Miletus, were both of the Ionic; and the celebrated temple of Jupiter at Athens, begun by Piſiſtratus, and enlarged by Pericles, was finiſhed in the Corinthian ſtyle, by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria. Theſe four temples were the richeſt and moſt beautiful in the world, and long regarded as models of the three Grecian orders of architecture[50].

Inteſtine diſſentions in Argolis. Olymp. lxxviii. 1. A. C. 468.

While the earthquake and the ſervile war confined within a domeſtic ſphere the activity of Sparta, Argos, the ſecond republic of the Peloponneſus, and long the moſt conſiderable principality in that peninſula, underwent ſuch revolutions and misfortunes, as left her neither inclination nor power to oppoſe the Athenian greatneſs. Ever rivals and enemies of Sparta, the Argives had jealouſly declined the danger and glory of the Perſian war, to the ſucceſs of which their adverſaries had ſo eminently contributed. This ungenerous dereliction paſſed not unpuniſhed. As deſerters of the common cauſe, the Argives incurred the hatred and contempt of their public-ſpirited neighbours. Mycenæ, once the proud reſidence of royal Agamemnon, Epidaurus, and Træzené, which formed reſpectively the greateſt ſtrength and ornament of the Argive territory, threw off the yoke of a capital, whoſe folly or baſeneſs rendered her

[49] Strabo, l. ix. p. 395. [50] Vitruvius, l. vii.

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unworthy to govern them. Sicyon, Nauplia, Heliæa, and other towns of leſs note, which were ſcattered at ſmall diſtances over the face of that delightful province, obeyed the ſummons to liberty, and aſſumed independence. The rebels (for as ſuch they were treated by the indignant magiſtrates of Argos) ſtrengthened themſelves by foreign alliance, and continued thenceforth to diſdain the authority of their ancient metropolis and ſovereign. At the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, they formed a reſpectable portion of the Lacedæmonian confederacy; while Argos alone, of all the cities in the Peloponneſus, openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Athenians.

Deſtruction of Mycenæ.

The ancient city of Mycenæ, which had firſt ſounded the trumpet of ſedition, was the only victim of Argive reſentment. The Argives ſeized a favourable opportunity, while the allies and adherents of Mycenæ were occupied with their domeſtic concerns, to lead their whole forces againſt the place; and having taken it by ſtorm, they decimated the inhabitants, and demoliſhed not only the walls, but the town [51] itſelf, which was never afterwards rebuilt.

The inferior cities in Bœotia reject the authority of Thebes.

The deſultory tranſactions of ſo many ſtates and cities as compoſed the name and nation of Greece, muſt appear a continual maze of perplexity and confuſion, unleſs we carefully follow the threads which ſhould direct us in this intricate, yet not inextricable, labyrinth. But if we ſeriouſly apply ourſelves to inveſtigate the hidden cauſes of events, and to trace revolutions to their ſource, we ſhall be ſurpriſed by the agreeable diſcovery, that the hiſtory of this celebrated people is not entirely that maſs of diſorder which it appears on a ſuperficial ſurvey. The ſame cauſes which repreſſed the activity, and humbled the pride of Argos, operated alike fatally on Thebes, the ſecond republic beyond the Iſthmus, and the only one that ever aſpired to rival the power of Athens. The Thebans, for ſimilar, or more odious reaſons, than thoſe which had reſtrained the Argives, had alſo with-held their aſſiſtance in the Perſian war; and

[51] Diodor. l. xi. p. 276.

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by this mean ſelfiſhneſs or treachery had juſtly provoked the indignation of the ſubordinate cities of Bœotia. Not only Theſpiæ and Platæa, which had ever borne with impatience the Theban yoke, but the ſea-ports of Aulis, Anthemon, and Larymna; Aſchra, the beloved habitation of old Heſiod; Coronea, overſhadowed by Mount Helicon, a favourite ſeat of the Muſes; Labadea, famous for its oracle of Trophonius; Delium and Alalkomené, reſpectively ſacred to Apollo and Minerva, together with Leuctra and Chæronæa, the deſtined ſcenes of immortal victories; all theſe cities ſucceſſively rejected the juriſdiction and ſovereignty of Thebes, which, during the invaſion of Xerxes, had ſo ſhamefully betrayed the common intereſt and glory of the nation [52].

The Thebans obtain aſſiſtance from Sparta. Olymp. lxxx. 2. A. C. 459.

During ſeveral years, the Thebans patiently yielded to a ſtorm, which they found it impoſſible to reſiſt. But when the Spartans began to breathe after the recovery of Ithomé, and had made a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Phocians, in defence of their kinſmen in Doris, the Thebans warmly ſolicited them to take part in their domeſtic quarrels, and to enable them to regain their aſcendant in Bœotia; with aſſurance that they would employ the firſt moments of returning vigour to oppoſe the growing pretenſions of the Athenians. This propoſal was accepted, not only by the reſentment, but by the policy, of the Spartan ſenate, who perceived that it equally concerned their intereſt, that the neighbouring city of Argos ſhould loſe her juriſdiction over Argolis; and that Thebes, the neighbour and rival of Athens, ſhould recover her authority in Bœotia.

Wiſe policy of that ſtate.

Athens enables the Bœotians to maintain their independence. A. C. 458—456.

They were applying themſelves with vigour and ſucceſs to effect this ſalutary purpoſe, when the active vigilance of Athens diſpatched an army, fifteen thouſand ſtrong, to maintain the independence of Bœotia. The valour and conduct of Myronides, the Athenian general, obtained a deciſive victory near the walls of Tanagra, one of the few places in the province which had preſerved its fidelity

[52] Diodor. l. xi. p. 283, & ſeqq. & Thucydid. l. i. p. 273.

to

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to the capital. This memorable battle, which no ancient writer has thought proper to deſcribe, although it is compared to the glorious trophies of Marathon and Platæa[53], confirmed the liberty of Bœotia; nor could the Thebans, notwithſtanding their partial ſucceſs againſt ſeveral of the revolted cities, recover their authority in that province, until, about fourſcore years afterwards, they emerged into ſudden ſplendor under the conduct of their heroic Epaminondas.

Ambitious meaſures of Athens.

The ambitious policy of Pericles, which will be fully explained in the ſequel, was eager to profit by every favourable turn of fortune. He took care to place Athenian garriſons in ſeveral Bœotian forteſſes; he made the neighbouring republics of Corinth and Megara feel and acknowledge the ſuperiority of Athens; and after ſending
A. C. 455. Tolmidas, a commander endued rather with an impetuous than well regulated courage, to ravage the coaſt of the Peloponneſus, he ſailed
A. C. 454. thither next year in perſon, and made the Lacedæmonians and their allies deeply regret, that they had too ſoon diſcovered their animoſity againſt a republic, alike capable to protect its friends, and take vengeance on its enemies. The meaſures of this daring leader were actually uncontrouled by any oppoſition, ſince his eloquence had prevailed over the innocence and merit of Cimon, and procured the baniſhment of that illuſtrious commander. But Cimon was recalled in two years; and his return was ſignaliſed by a ſuſpenſion of arms in Greece, which that real patriot had been as zealous to promote, as he was ambitious to purſue his Aſiatic triumphs. This
A. C. 447. treaty, however, was ſoon broke; but an ill-concerted and unfortunate enterpriſe againſt Thebes (diſapproved by Pericles himſelf), in which the raſh Tolmidas loſt his army and his life, made the Athenians again liſten to terms of accommodation. They agreed
A. C. 445. to withdraw their garriſons from Bœotia; to diſavow all pretenſions againſt Corinth and Megara, pretenſions which had no other effect than to exaſperate thoſe little republics againſt their uſurping neighbour; and, on complying with theſe conditions, the Athenians re-

[53] Diodor. l. xi. p. 284.

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covered their citizens made captive in Bœotia, through the miſconduct of Tolmidas[54].

This was the famous truce of thirty years, concluded in the fourteenth year preceding the Peloponneſian war. The former treaty had been limited to a much ſhorter period; for, it is worthy of obſervation, that even in their agreements of peace, the Greeks diſcovered that perpetual propenſity to war, which was the unhappy effect of their political inſtitutions[55].

The truce of thirty years. Olymp. lxxxiii. 4. A. C. 445.

The terms of this accommodation, ſeemingly little favourable to the intereſt of Athens, were dictated, however, rather by the ambition than the equity of that republic; a concluſion that evidently reſults from examining the third ſeries of events, which (as obſerved above) completes the hiſtory of this memorable period. Amidſt the foreign expeditions of Cimon, and the domeſtic diſſentions of Greece, the Athenian arms and policy had been gradually, during thirty years, eſtabliſhing the ſovereignty of the republic over her diſtant colonies and confederates. This bold undertaking was finally accompliſhed by Pericles, whoſe character contributed, more than that of any one man, to the glory and greatneſs, as well as to the calamities and ruin of his country.

Motives of the Athenians for granting it.

Between the years 470 and 440, A. C.

His father Xanthippus, who gained the illuſtrious victory at Mycalé, rejoiced in a ſon endued with the happieſt natural talents, and an innate love of glory. His youth was entruſted to the learned and virtuous Damon, who concealed, under the uninvidious title of maſter of rhetoric, the art of animating his pupil with an ambition to deſerve the firſt rank in the republic, as well as of adorning him with the accompliſhments moſt neceſſary to attain it. From Ariſtagoras of Clazomené, denominated the philoſopher of mind, from his continual ſolicitude to confirm the moſt important and moſt pleaſing of all doctrines, that a benevolent intelligence preſides over the operations of nature, and the events of human life, Pericles early learned to controul the tempeſt of youthful paſſions, which ſo often

Character of Pericles.

[54] Diodor. l. xii. p. 293. Thucydid. l. i. p. 71, & ſeqq. [55] Idem, p. 74.

blaſt

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blaſt the promiſing hopes of manhood; to preſerve an unſhaken conſtancy in all the viciſſitudes of fortune, ſince all are the varied diſpenſations of the ſame wiſe providence; and to trample, with generous contempt, on the groveling ſuperſtition of the vulgar. Thus qualified by nature and education, he ſoon diſplayed, in the Athenian aſſembly, an eloquence, nouriſhed by the copious ſpring of philoſophy, and ennobled by the manly elevation of his character. His ſpeeches conſiſted not in the unpremeditated effuſions of a temporary enthuſiaſm; he was the firſt of his countrymen who, before pronouncing his diſcourſes, committed them to writing [56]: they were ſtudied and compoſed with the moſt laborious and patient care; and being poliſhed by repeated touches of correcting art, they roſe in admiration, in proportion as they were more cloſely examined by the piercing eye of criticiſm; and acquired the epithet of Olympian, to expreſs that permanent and ſteady luſtre which they reflected [57].

he is ſuſpected of uſurpation;

But the ſuperior talents of Pericles, which, in a well-regulated government, would have increaſed his influence, had well nigh occaſioned his ruin in a turbulent and ſuſpicious democracy. The memory of the oldeſt citizens faithfully recollected, and the envy or fears of the younger readily believed, that the figure, the countenance, and the voice, of the young orator, ſtrongly reſembled thoſe of the ambitious and artful Piſiſtratus, whoſe ſpecious virtues had ſubverted the liberty of his country. The alarmed jealouſy of freedom, which often deſtroyed, in an hour, the authority eſtabliſhed ſlowly, and with much labour, during many meritorious years, might be tempted to puniſh the imagined tyranny of Pericles; who, to eſcape the diſgrace of the oſtraciſm, ſhunned the dangerous admiration of the aſſembly.

he courts and corrupts the Athenian populace;

The active vigour of his mind, thus withdrawn from politics, was totally directed to war; and his abilities, alike fitted to excel in every honourable purſuit, and gradually opening with every occaſion to diſplay them, carried off the palm of military renown from the

[56] Suidas. [57] Plut. in Pericl.

moſt illuſtrious captains of the age. Cimon alone ſurpaſſed him in the object of his victories gained over Barbarians; but Pericles equalled Cimon in valour and conduct. A rivality in warlike fame was followed by a competition for civil honours. Cimon, who had been introduced on the theatre of public life by the virtuous Ariſtides, regarded, like that great man, a moderate ariſtocracy, as the government moſt conducive to public happineſs. The contrary opinion was warmly maintained by Pericles, who found an oſtentatious admiration of democracy the beſt expedient for removing the prejudice excited againſt him, by his reſemblance to Piſiſtratus, of aſpiring, or at leaſt of being capable to aſpire, at royal power. On every occaſion he defended the privileges of the people againſt the pretenſions of the rich and noble; he embraced not only the intereſts, but adopted the capricious paſſions, of the multitude; cheriſhing their preſumption, flattering their vanity, indulging their rapacity, gratifying their taſte for pleaſure without expence, and fomenting their natural antipathy to the Spartans, who, as the patrons of rigid ariſtocracy, were peculiarly obnoxious to their reſentment.

encourages their ambitious pretenſions.

The condition of the times powerfully conſpired with the views and meaſures of Pericles, ſince the glory and wealth acquired in the Perſian war, procured not only allies and power to the ſtate, but induſtry and independence to the populace. The ſon of Xanthippus impelled this natural current, which ran ſo ſtrongly in favour of both, when he maintained, that the citizens of Athens were entitled to enjoy equal advantages at home, to challenge a juſt preeminence in Greece, and to aſſume a legal dominion over their diſtant colonies and confederates.

Means by which he ſubdued the Athenian colonie and allies. A. C. 470—440.

Theſe unfortunate communities had unwarily forged their own chains, when they conſented to raiſe an annual ſubſidy to maintain the guardian navy of Athens. They perceived not, that this temporary benevolence would be ſoon converted into a perpetual tribute, ſince, in proportion as they became unaccuſtomed to war, they laid

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themſelves at the mercy of that republic, to which they had tamely entruſted the care of their defence. When the rigorous exactions of Athens ſpeedily warned them of their error, the wide intervals at which they were ſeparated from each other, rendered it impoſſible for them to afford mutual aſſiſtance, and to act with united vigour. Naxos, Thaſos, Ægina, Eubœa, Samos, and other iſlands or cities of leſs importance, boldly ſtruggled to repel uſurpation; but fighting ſingly, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; while new, and more grievous, burdens were cruelly impoſed on them. The leaſt patient again murmured, petitioned, rebelled, and taking arms to reſiſt oppreſſion, were treated with the ſeverity due to unprovoked ſedition. The puniſhment inflicted on them was uniformly rigorous. They were compelled to deliver up the authors of the revolt, to ſurrender their ſhipping, to demoliſh their walls, or receive an Athenian garriſon, to pay the expences of the war, and give hoſtages for their future obedience [56]. It is not the buſineſs of general hiſtory to deſcribe more minutely the events of this ſocial war, which was carried on chiefly by Pericles, and finiſhed in the courſe of thirty years, with every ſucceſs the moſt preſumptuous ambition of Athens could either expect or deſire. Samos, the capital of the iſland of that name, made the moſt vigorous reſiſtance; but at length ſurrendered to Pericles, after a ſiege of nine months, in the ninth year before the war of Peloponneſus [57].

Spirit of the Athenian government;

Hiſtorians, partial or credulous, have handed down ſome atrocious cruelties committed after the taking of Samos, which may be confidently rejected as fictions, injurious to the fame of Pericles, who, though he approved and animated the aſpiring genius of his country, and vainly flattered himſelf that he could juſtify, by reaſons of ſtate, its moſt ambitious uſurpations, uniformly ſhewed himſelf incapable of any deliberate wickedneſs. It may be obſerved, however, that as

[56] Thucydid. & Diodor. loc. citat.

[57] Thucydid. l. i. p. 75.

the

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its exceſſive ſeverity towards its dependencies.

the moderate peace with Sparta had been concluded chiefly with a view to allow the Athenians to apply their undivided attention to the affairs of their tributaries, the ſeverities exerciſed over theſe unfortunate ſtates were, in conſequence of that event, rather increaſed than mitigated. Athenian magiſtrates and garriſons were ſent to govern and command them. They were burdened with new impoſitions, and diſhonoured by new badges of ſervitude. The lands, which the labour of their anceſtors had cultivated, were ſeized and appropriated by ſtrangers, who claimed the diſtinction of Athenian colonies; and all theſe once independent and flouriſhing republics were thenceforth compelled to ſubmit their mutual conteſts, their domeſtic differences, and even their private litigations, to the cogniſance and deciſion of Athenian aſſemblies and tribunals[58]. By drawing thus cloſely the reins of government, Pericles, in the courſe of ten years, brought into the treaſury of Athens the ſum of near two millions ſterling[59]. His vigilance ſeaſonably diſplayed the terrors of the Athenian navy before the moſt diſtant enemies or allies of the republic; by alternate pliancy and firmneſs, by ſucceſſive promiſes, bribes, and threats, he repreſſed the jealous hoſtility of neighbouring powers; and while his ambition and magnificence fortified and adorned the capital with external ſtrength and ſplendour, they alſo laid the foundations of thoſe internal diſorders, which rendered his long adminiſtration glorious for his contemporaries, fatal to the ſucceeding generation, and ever memorable with poſterity.

[58] Iſocrat. de Pace; & Xenoph. de Repub. Athen. [59] Thucyd. Diodor. Iſocrat. Plut. &c.

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Tranſition to the internal State of Athens.—Laws of Draco—Solon—Piſiſtratus—Cliſthenes—Ariſtides—Pericles.—Final Settlement of the Athenian Government.—View of the Athenian Empire.—The combined Effect of external Proſperity and Democratic Government on Manners—Arts—Luxury.—Hiſtory of Grecian Literature and Philoſophy.—Singular Contraſt and Balance of Virtues and Vices.—The ſublime Philoſophy of Anaxagoras and Socrates.—The unprincipled Captiouſneſs of the Sophiſts.—The moral Tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides.—The licentious Buffoonery of Ariſtophanes.—The imitative Arts employed to the nobleſt Purpoſes—and abuſed to the moſt infamous.—Magnificence of public Feſtivals.—Simplicity in private Life.—Modeſt Reſerve of Athenian Women.—Voluptuouſneſs, Impudence, and Artifices, of the School of Aſpaſia.

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Tranſition to the internal ſtate of Athens.

THE taking of Samos cloſed the long ſeries of Athenian conqueſts. During the nine ſubſequent years, that once fortunate people enjoyed and abuſed the bleſſings of peace and proſperity. Their oſtentatious diſplay of power increaſed the envy and terror of Greeks and Barbarians, and excited the obſtinate and bloody war of twenty-ſeven years, during which the force of the whole Grecian nation

nation was exerted to demoliſh or uphold the ſtately edifice of empire that had been reared by the ambitious patriotiſm of Pericles. Aſſiſted by feeble or reluctant allies, Athens long ſtruggled againſt the combined ſtrength of Peloponneſus, Bœotia, Macedon, Sicily, and Perſia; and our curioſity muſt deſervedly be attracted towards the internal reſources and moral condition of a people, who, with few natural advantages, could make ſuch memorable and pertinacious efforts, and who, amidſt the din of arms, ſtill cultivating and improving their favourite arts, produced thoſe immortal monuments of taſte and genius, which, ſurviving the deſtruction of their walls, navy, and harbours, have ever atteſted the glory of Athens, and the impotent vengeance of her enemies. In an inquiry of this kind, the ſcience of government and laws, which gives ſecurity to all other ſciences, merits the firſt place in our attention; nor, at this diſtance of time, will the enlightened reader contemplate with indifference the laws of Athens, which having been incorporated[1] into the Roman juriſprudence about the middle of the fifth century before Chriſt, ſerved, after an interval of above ſixteen hundred years, to aboliſh the barbarous practices of the Gothic nations, and to introduce juſtice, ſecurity, and refinement, among the modern inhabitants of Europe[2].

The

[1] The Romans ſent deputies to Athens, to obtain a copy of Solon's laws, four hundred and fifty-four years before Chriſt. The benefits derived from theſe ſalutary inſtitutions were gratefully acknowledged by the liberal candour of a people, who knew how to appretiate the merit of enemies and ſubjects. Hear the language of Pliny (l. viii. ep. 24.) to Maximus, who in the reign of Trajan was appointed governor of the province of Achaia, or Greece: "Remember that you go to a country, where letters, politeneſs, and agriculture itſelf (if we believe common report) were invented . . . . Revere the gods and heroes, the ancient virtue and glory of the nation. Reſpect even its fables and its vanity; remembering that from Greece we derived our laws. The right of conqueſt, indeed, hath enabled us to impoſe our laws on the Greeks; but that people had firſt given us their laws, at our ſolicitation, and when they had nothing to fear from the power of our arms. It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them of the ſmall remnant of liberty which they ſtill poſſeſs."

[2] Juſtinian's Pandects, it is well known, was diſcovered at Amalfi, in Italy, A. D. 1130. In leſs than half a century afterwards, the civil law was ſtudied and underſtood in all the great provinces of Europe; and

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Laws and government.

The admirable inſtitutions of the heroic ages were built on religion; which, as we have fully explained above, aſcertained and enforced the rights and obligations of public and private life. But the abuſed authority of prieſts and oracles, and the natural depravity of man, ever ſolicitous to obtain the partial favour of his heavenly protectors on eaſier terms than the faithful diſcharge of his duty, gradually ſevered, by fraud or violence, the natural and moſt ſalutary union between religion and morality; in conſequence of which ſeparation, the former degenerated into an illiberal ſuperſtition, and the latter relaxed into licentiouſneſs, or ſtiffened into pedantry. The ſtriking compariſon, or rather contraſt, between the genius and character, the virtues and vices, of the Greeks, as variouſly deſcribed by Homer and by Solon, and which is ſo much to the advantage of the earlier period, muſt, in the progreſs of this diſcourſe, naturally preſent itſelf to the reflection of the attentive reader, and will ſet in the cleareſt point of view the unhappy revolution of manners, which time and accident had produced in the wide interval between the poet and the legiſlator.

and this ſtudy (as Mr. Hume obſerves, Reign of Richard the Third), tended to ſharpen the wits of men, to give ſolidity to their judgment, to improve their taſte, and to aboliſh the barbarous juriſprudence which univerſally prevailed among the Gothic nations. To this law we owe the abolition of the mode of proof by the ordeal, the corſnet, the duel, and other methods equally ridiculous and abſurd. Pecuniary commutations ceaſed to be admitted for crimes; private revenge was no longer authoriſed by the magiſtrate; and the community was made to feel its intereſt in maintaining the rights, and avenging the wrongs, of all its members. See more in the admirable diſcourſe annexed to the Reign of Richard the Third. I ſhall add but one obſervation, in Mr. Hume's own words: "The ſenſible utility of the Roman law, both to public and private intereſt, recommended the ſtudy of it, at a time when the more exalted and ſpeculative ſciences carried no charms with them; and thus the laſt branch of ancient literature which remained uncorrupted, was happily the firſt tranſmitted to the modern world: for it is remarkable, that in the decline of Roman learning, when the philoſophers were univerſally infected with ſuperſtition and ſophiſtry, and the poets and hiſtorians with barbariſm, the lawyers, who, in other countries, are ſeldom models of ſcience or politeneſs, were yet able, by the conſtant ſtudy and cloſe imitation of their predeceſſors, to maintain the ſame good ſenſe in their deciſions and reaſonings, and the ſame purity in their language and expreſſion." Hume's Hiſt. 3d vol. 8vo, p. 300.

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Legiſlation of Draco; Olymp. xxxix. 1. A. C. 624.

The very imperfect legiſlation of Draco [3], who flouriſhed thirty years before Solon [4], proved that the Athenians felt the want of a ſcience, which they knew not how to acquire or eſtabliſh. The auſtere gravity of that magiſtrate ſeems to have impoſed on the eaſy credulity of the multitude; for his ignorance or ſeverity were alike unworthy of the important office with which he was entruſted. He gave laws, which, according to the lively expreſſion of an orator, ſeemed to be written [5], not with ink, but with blood; ſince death or baniſhment were his ordinary penalties for the moſt trivial offences, as well as for the moſt dangerous crimes: and he juſtified this rigour, by abſurdly obſerving, that the ſmalleſt diſorders deſerved death, and no ſeverer puniſhment could be inflicted on the greateſt. The laws of Draco, therefore, tended only to increaſe the evils which they were deſigned to remedy [6]; and no people ever preſented a ſcene of greater confuſion and miſery, than did the unhappy Athenians, when the abilities and virtues of Solon were ſeaſonably called to their relief.

of Solon. Olymp. xlvi. 3. A. C. 594.

In relating the general revolutions of Greece, we had occaſion to deſcribe the important ſervices, and illuſtrious merit, of this extraordinary man, whoſe diſintereſtedneſs, patriotiſm, and humanity, equalled his military conduct and ſucceſs. His royal extraction (for he ſprang from the race of the Codridæ), his experienced abilities, above all, his approved wiſdom and equity, pointed him out for the nobleſt and moſt ſublime employment of humanity, that of regulating the laws and government of a free people. Such, at leaſt, the Athenians may be conſidered, when their unanimous ſuffrage rendered Solon the abſolute umpire of their whole conſtitution and

State of Athens in the time of Solon.

[3] Suidas in voce Draco. Pollux, l. viii. c. vi.

[4] Meurſius, Solon.

[5] The orator Demades, of whom more hereafter. The obſervation has been always repeated in ſpeaking of Draco, though his laws were certainly written neither with blood nor ink. Even thoſe of Solon were only engraved on tables kept in the citadel.

[6] Ariſtot. de Civ. l. ii. & Plut. in Solon.

policy;

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policy; although, prior to this period, they ſuffered the combined evils of anarchy and oppreſſion[7]. The magiſtrates plundered the treaſury and the temples; and often betrayed, for bribes, the intereſts of their country. The rich tyranniſed over the poor, the poor continually alarmed the ſafety of the rich. The rapacity of creditors knew no bounds. They compelled the inſolvent debtors to cultivate their lands, like cattle; to perform the ſervice of beaſts of burden; and to transfer to them their ſons and daughters, whom they exported as ſlaves to foreign countries. Solon boaſts, with a laudable vanity, of having recovered and reſtored to their native rights many of thoſe unhappy men, whoſe ſentiments had been debaſed, and language corrupted, by the infamy of Barbarian ſervitude[8]. The wretched populace, deriving courage from deſpair, had determined no longer to ſubmit to ſuch multiplied rigours; and before the wiſdom of the lawgiver interpoſed, they had taken the reſolution to elect and follow ſome warlike leader, to attack and butcher their oppreſſors, to eſtabliſh an equal partition of lands, and to inſtitute a new form of government[9]. But the numerous clients and retainers, who, in a country little acquainted with arts and manufactures, depended on the wealthy proprietors of the lands and mines of Attica, muſt have rendered this undertaking alike dangerous to both parties; ſo that both became willing rather to ſubmit their differences to law, than to decide them by the ſword.

His regulations concerning property.

The impartiality of Solon merited the unlimited confidence of his country. He maintained the ancient diviſion of property, but aboliſhed debts. He eſtabliſhed the rate of intereſt at 12 per cent. at which it afterwards remained; but forbade, that the inſolvent debtor ſhould become the ſlave of his creditor, or be compelled to ſell his children into ſervitude. After theſe preliminary regulations, which ſeemed immediately neceſſary to the public peace, Solon pro-

[7] Fragm. Solonis apud Demoſth. p. 234 Edit. Wol.

[8] Idem. ibid.

[9] Plut. in Solon.

ceeded,

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New-models the government.

ceeded, with an impartial and ſteady hand, to new-model the government [10]; on this generous, but equitable principle, that the few ought not, as hitherto, to command, and the many to obey; but that the collective body of the people, legally convened in a national aſſembly, were entitled to decide, by a plurality of voices, the alternatives of peace and war; to contract or diſſolve alliances with foreign ſtates; to enjoy all the branches of legiſlative or ſovereign power [11]; and to elect, approve, and judge the magiſtrates or miniſters entruſted, for a limited time, with the executive authority.

His inſtitutions ſuited the condition of the times.

In the actual ſtate of moſt countries of Europe, ſuch a form of government, as only takes place in ſome ſmall cantons of Switzerland, would be attended with the inconvenience of withdrawing the citizens too much from their private affairs. But in ancient Greece, and particularly in Attica, the ſlaves were four times more numerous than the freemen [12]; and of the latter we may compute that little more than one half were entitled to any ſhare in the ſovereignty.

[10] The moſt correct information concerning the ancient republic of Athens, and the laws of Solon, is contained in Ariſtot. fragm. de civit. Athen. and in various parts of his ſecond, fourth, and ſixth books of Politics. 2. In Iſocrat. Areopagit. Panathen. & Panegyr. And 3. In Plut. in Vit. Solon. Xenophon's Treatiſe concerning the Athenian republic relates to later times, when many corruptions had crept in, as will be afterwards explained. It is remarkable, that Polybius, l. vi. has confounded the moderate inſtitutions of Solon with the democratical licentiouſneſs and tyranny introduced by Pericles and his ſucceſſors in the adminiſtration. The palpable errors of ſo judicious an author prove how little accurate knowledge the Greeks poſſeſſed on the ſubject of their own hiſtory: and how impoſſible it is for a modern writer, who blindly follows ſuch guides, not to fall into innumerable errors and contradictions. The treatiſe of Ariſtotle (de Civitate) above-mentioned, deſerves particular attention from thoſe who write or ſtudy the hiſtory of republics. In it we ſee the germ, and often more than the germ, of the political works of Machiavel, which Monteſquieu has ſo often copied, without once acknowledging his obligation.

[11] The election contained a mixture of chance, ſince thoſe who were named by the people caſt lots to decide on whom the office ſhould be conferred. The ſame practice prevails in chuſing the ſenators of the republic of Berne. But Solon enacted, that the fortunate candidate ſhould undergo what is called a probation; his character and merits were thus expoſed to a ſecond examination; and it ſeemed ſcarcely poſſible, after this ſevere ſcrutiny, that any man ſhould attain power, who was altogether unworthy of public confidence.

[12] See my Introductory Diſcourſe to the Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, p. xx. & ſeqq.

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Strangers, and all thoſe who could not aſcertain their Athenian deſcent, both in the male and female line, were totally excluded from the aſſembly and courts of juſtice. The regulations of Solon marked the utmoſt attention to preſerve the pure blood of Athens unmixed and uncorrupted; nor could any foreigner, whatever merit he might claim with the public, be admitted to the rank of citizen, unleſs he for ever abandoned his native country, profeſſed the knowledge of ſome highly uſeful or ingenious art, and, in both caſes, had been choſen by ballot, in a full aſſembly of ſix thouſand Athenians. Theſe circumſtances (eſpecially as the Athenian people were uſually convened only four times in thirty-five days) prevented their aſſemblies from being either ſo inconvenient and burdenſome, or ſo numerous and tumultuary, as might at firſt ſight be ſuppoſed. Yet their numbers, and ſtill more their impetuoſity and ignorance, muſt have proved inconſiſtent with good government, if Solon had not ſecured the veſſel of the republic from the waves of popular frenzy, by the two firm anchors of the Senate and the Areopagus; tribunals originally of great dignity, and very extenſive power, into which men of a certain deſcription only could be received as members.

His diviſion of the citizens.

Solon divided the Athenians into four claſſes, according to the produce of their eſtates. The firſt claſs conſiſted of thoſe whoſe lands annually yielded five hundred meaſures of liquid, as well as dry commodities; and the minimum of whoſe yearly income may be calculated at ſixty pounds ſterling; which is equivalent, if we eſtimate the relative value of money by the price of labour, and of the things moſt neceſſary to life, to about ſix hundred pounds ſterling in the preſent age [12]. The ſecond claſs conſiſted of thoſe whoſe eſtates produced three hundred meaſures; the third of thoſe whoſe eſtates produced two hundred; the fourth, and by far the moſt numerous claſs of Athenians, either poſſeſſed no landed property, or at leaſt enjoyed not a revenue in land equal to twenty-four

[12] See Introduction to Lyſias, &c. p. 14.

pounds

pounds ſterling, or, agreeably to the above proportion, two hundred and forty pounds of our preſent currency. CHAP. XIII.

All ranks of citizens were alike admitted to vote in the public aſſembly, and to judge in the courts of juſtice, whether civil or criminal, which were properly ſo many committees of the aſſembly [13]. But the three firſt claſſes were excluſively entitled to ſit in the ſenate, to decide in the Areopagus, or to hold any other office of magiſtracy. To theſe dignities they were elected by the free ſuffrages of the people, to whom they were accountable for their adminiſtration, and by whom they might be puniſhed for malverſation or negligence, although they derived no emolument from the diligent diſcharge of their duty. Prerogatives of the firſt claſſes.

The ſenate of four hundred, which, eighty-ſix years after its inſtitution, was augmented to five hundred by Cliſthenes, enjoyed the important prerogatives of convoking the popular aſſembly; of previouſly examining all matters before they came to be decided by the people, which gave them a negative before debate in all public reſolutions; and of making laws which had force during a year, without requiring the conſent of the populace. Beſides this general ſuperintendence and authority, the ſenate was excluſively inveſted with many particular branches of the executive power. The preſident of that council had the cuſtody of the public archives and treaſury. The ſenate alone built ſhips, equipped fleets and armies; ſeized and confined ſtate criminals; examined and puniſhed ſeveral offences, which were not expreſsly forbidden by any poſitive law. The weight of ſuch a council, which aſſembled every day, except feſtivals, infuſed a large mixture of ariſtocracy into the Athenian con- Of the ſenate of the 500.

[13] In my Introductory Diſcourſes to the Orations of Lyſias, &c. I had occaſion to explain the nature of the Athenian tribunals. Since the publication of that work, the ſame ſubject, and particularly the form of civil proceſs, has been accurately explained by Sir William Jones, in his Diſſertations annexed to the tranſlation of Iſæus. Mr. Pettingal's learned work upon the uſe and practice of *juries* among the ancients, lately fell into my hands. Wherein my ideas and his differ, will eaſily appear from the text, and needs not be pointed out.

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ſtitution. This, as we ſhall immediately explain, was ſtill farther increaſed by the authority of the Areopagus, a court ſo named from the place where it was held; a hill ſacred to Mars, adjoining to the citadel.

The nine archons.

The principal magiſtrates in Athens were the nine archons, the firſt of whom gave his name to the year, and preſided in the civil courts of juſtice, where a committee of the people, choſen promiſcuouſly from all claſſes by lot [14], ſat as judges and jury; but where it belonged to the archon and his aſſeſſors, men appointed by ſuffrage, and acquainted with forms, to take what in Scotland is called a precognition, to preſcribe the form of action, to give the ballot [15], and to receive and declare the verdict and ſentence of the court. The archon next in dignity, who had the appellation of king, preſided in cauſes reſpecting religion and things ſacred, which formed the object of an important and dangerous branch of Athenian juriſprudence. The archon, third in dignity with his aſſeſſors the generals [16], preſided in military matters; and the ſix remaining, who were known by the general appellation of theſmothetæ, heard criminal pleas of various kinds, or rather directed the proceedings of the ſix courts where criminal cauſes were examined and determined. Theſe nine archons, or preſidents of the ſeveral courts of juſtice, like all other Athenian magiſtrates, were, at the expiration of their annual office, accountable to the people; and when their conduct, after a ſevere ſcrutiny, was found to merit public approbation and gratitude, they were received, and remained for life, members of the

The Areopagus.

[14] The eſſential difference between the Roman and Athenian government, conſiſted in the different placing of the judicial power; which at Rome remained 300 years in the hands of the ſenate. The ſeditions of the Gracchi, and moſt of the civil diſſentions which happened before the time of Auguſtus, had for their object or pretence, the altering of this order of things, and bringing the Roman conſtitution nearer the Athenian.

[15] Οι τιθεντες τον αγωνα και την ψηφον διδοντες, are the words of Lyſias. The ſame writer mentions the παρεδροι, συνδικαι, aſſeſſors, ſyndics.

[16] Lyſias, in the ſecond oration againſt Alcibiades (a military cauſe), not only mentions the στρατηγοι, or generals, but addreſſes them ſeparately from the ανδρες δικασται, or judges.

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Areopagus, which was inveſted with a general inſpection over the laws and religion, as well as over the lives and manners of the citizens; and which, in dangerous emergencies, was entitled to aſſume a ſort of dictatorial power[17].

Happy tendency of Solon's plan of government.

Such is the great outline of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by Solon, according to which every Athenian citizen enjoyed the ineſtimable privilege of being judged by his peers, and tried by laws to which he himſelf had conſented. Although the legiſlative and judicial powers were thus lodged with the people, men of property and ability were alone entruſted with the adminiſtration of government; and as power in ſome meaſure followed property, the ſame expedient which ſerved to maintain a due diſtinction of ranks in ſociety, tended alſo to promote the induſtry and frugality of the multitude, that they might thereby become entitled to ſhare thoſe honours and offices, to which perſons of a certain eſtate only could aſpire.

Extenſive nature of his laws.

The laws of Solon were of the moſt extenſive nature, comprehending not only rules of right, but maxims of morality, regulations of commerce, and precepts of agriculture. To deſcribe his inſtitutions reſpecting ſuch matters as are properly the objects of law, would be explaining thoſe great, but familiar principles, concerning marriage, ſucceſſion, teſtaments, the rights of perſons and of things, which, through the medium of the civil law, have been conveyed into the juriſprudence of all the civiliſed nations of Europe. His laws concerning education and manners prove that drunkenneſs and unnatural love were the predominant vices of that early age. It was a particular duty of the archons, to prevent or puniſh offences committed in conſequence of intoxication; and the regulations concerning ſchools[18], which were not to be opened till ſun-riſe, which were ordered to be ſhut before night, and into which none but ſuch relations of the maſter, as were particularly ſpecified by

[17] Iſocrat. Oratio Areopagit.

[18] Æſchin. in Timarchum.

law,

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law, could on any pretence be admitted, marked the utmoſt ſolicitude to root out an evil which already infected and diſgraced the manners of Greece.

His ſyſtem of education.

The education recommended by Solon nearly reſembled that above deſcribed, which generally prevailed in Greece[18]. The children of Athenian citizens, when taken from the hands of the women, were delivered to two maſters, of whom the one formed the body, and the other the mind. Swimming, and the eaſier exerciſes, prepared them for the harder toils of the gymnaſtic. Reading, and learning by heart the leſſons and examples of the poets, made way for the ſeverer ſtudies of eloquence and philoſophy. In proceſs of time, muſic, geometry, and drawing, ſeem to have entered into the plan of a liberal education[19]. At the age of twenty, the youth of all ranks took an oath in the temple of Agraulos (an appellation of Minerva), to obey and to maintain the laws of their country; to uſe their beſt endeavours to promote its proſperity; to follow the ſtandard of whatever commanders might be appointed to conduct them; to fail to every part of the world, when ſummoned by the public ſervice; to fight to death for their native land; and to regard wheat, barley, vines, and olives, as the only boundaries of Attica[20]: a prepoſterous arrogance in that little republic, which already betrayed an ambition to conquer and appropriate all the cultivated parts of the world. When the Athenian youth were not, in conſequence of this oath, engaged in military ſervice, they were obliged by law to follow ſuch employments as ſuited their reſpective fortunes. Agriculture, commerce, and mechanic arts, fell to the ſhare of the poor; the rich ſtill continued their application to gymnaſtic and philoſophy, carefully ſtudied the laws of the republic, examined the ancient and actual condition of their own and neighbouring ſtates; and, at the age of thirty, appeared as candidates in the aſſembly for ſuch offices of truſt and honour as their regular manners, inoffenſive

Duties and employments of the youth.

[18] See Chapters V. and VI.

[19] Arist. Polit. l. viii. c. iii.

[20] See Introduction to Lyſias, &c. p. 16.

and

and dutiful behaviour in all the relations of private life, temperance, œconomy, public ſpirit and abilities [21], might obtain from the voluntary ſuffrage of the people. CHAP. XIII.

The uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, though it deſtroyed, for a time, the political liberty of Athens, gave ſtability to moſt of the laws and forms introduced by Solon. That extraordinary *tyrant*, for ſo the Greeks ſtyled him, was not more diſtinguiſhed by the loftineſs of his genius than the humanity of his diſpoſition, and had not the violence of contending factions, and the fury of his enemies inflamed his natural love of power, the name of Piſiſtratus would ſtand the foremoſt in the liſt of Grecian patriots and heroes. His valour and conduct were ſignalized in the conqueſt of Niſæa, Salamis, Naxos, Delos and Sigæum; and if he diſplayed boldneſs and addreſs in acquiring ſovereignty, he diſplayed ſtill more moderation and virtue in adminiſtering it. He aſſumed, indeed, the royal dignities of prieſt and general, and took care that the chief offices of magiſtracy ſhould be filled by his partiſans. But he maintained the regular courſe of law and juſtice, not only by his authority, but by his example; having appeared in perſon to anſwer an accuſation in the Areopagus. He not only enforced the laws of Solon againſt idleneſs, but endeavoured to give them more efficacy by introducing new arts and manufactories into Attica. He was the firſt who brought into that country the complete collection of Homer's poems, which he commanded to be ſung at the Panathenæan feſtival; nor can we ſuppoſe that he ſhould have been zealous to diffuſe the liberal and manly ſentiments of that divine poet, if his government had not reſembled the moderation and equity of the heroic ages, rather than the deſpotiſm of tyrants.

Uſurpation of Piſiſtratus.

His moderate and wiſe adminiſtration;

His ſon Hipparchus imitated and ſurpaſſed the mild virtues of his father; and, amidſt the turbulence of the later democracy, it was acknowledged with a ſigh by the Athenians, that their anceſtors

ſurpaſſed by that of his ſon Hipparchus.

[21] Lyſias, paſſim.

were

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were indeed happy under Solon and Piſiſtratus, but that the reign of the tyrant Hipparchus brought back on earth the golden days of Saturn. The father had required a tenth part of the produce of Attica to ſupport his guards, and the other appendages of royalty: his more generous ſon remitted one-half of this impoſition. While he alleviated the burdens, yet encouraged the induſtry of his ſubjects, by building the temple of Olympian Jupiter, he was ſolicitous to diſpel their ignorance and barbarity by erecting pillars in every part of the city, engraved with elegiac verſes, containing leſſons of wiſdom, and precepts of morality. He collected the firſt library in Athens; and his liberal rewards, and ſtill more his agreeable manners and winning affability, attracted to that city the moſt diſtinguiſhed poets of the age.

His murder exaſperates Hippias.

The murder of Hipparchus exaſperated the temper of his brother and ſucceſſor Hippias; but notwithſtanding the calamities which the latter inflicted and ſuffered, it muſt be allowed that the government of Piſiſtratus and his family, which, with various interruptions, laſted ſixty-eight years[21], increaſed the ſtrength and promoted the refinement of Athens[22].

The government changed by Cliſthenes. Olymp. lxvii. 3. A. C. 510.

Yet in nothing was that uſurpation more advantageous than in the animating ſenſe of liberty which the memory of paſt ſervitude, under Hippias, excited and kept alive in Athens, after the popular government had been reſtored by Cliſthenes and Alcibiades. We have already had occaſion to relate the foreign victories of the republic, which immediately followed that event; but at the ſame time the conſtitution of government underwent a conſiderable change. By admitting to the rank of citizens a promiſcuous crowd of ſtrangers, fugitives, Athenians of half blood, and perhaps ſlaves, the tribes were augmented from four to ten; and the ſenators from four to five hundred. The oſtraciſm was likewiſe eſtabliſhed; a law

[21] Between 578 and 510, B. C.

[22] See the treatiſe of Meurſius, entitled, Piſiſtratus, one of the few ſatisfactory performances in the immenſe collection of Gronovius,

by

by which any citizen, whoſe influence or abilities ſeemed dangerous to liberty, might be baniſhed ten years, without the proof or allegation of any poſitive crime. CHAP. XIII.

In this condition the republic continued thirty years, until the glorious victories of Salamis, Platæa, and Mycalé, encouraged the loweſt but moſt numerous claſs of citizens, by whoſe valour thoſe memorable exploits had been atchieved, to make further invaſions on the prerogatives of their ſuperiors. The ſudden wealth, which the rich ſpoils of the Barbarians had diffuſed among all ranks of men, increaſed the *cenſus* of individuals, and deſtroyed the balance of the conſtitution. Ariſtides, who perceived it to be impoſſible to reſiſt the natural progreſs of democracy, ſeaſonably yielded to men who had arms in their hands, and firmneſs in their hearts; and propoſed, with apparent ſatisfaction, but much ſecret reluctance [22], a law by which the Athenian magiſtrates ſhould be thenceforth promiſcuouſly elected from the four claſſes of citizens. This innovation paved the way for the ſtill greater changes begun twenty years afterwards, and gradually completed by Pericles; a revolution of which the conſequences were not immediately felt, but which continually became more ſenſible, and finally terminated in the ruin of Athens and of Greece.

Important alteration made by Ariſtides. Olymp. lxxv. 2. A. C. 479.

The general reaſons which prevailed on the equity and diſcernment of Pericles to eſpouſe, with undue warmth, the cauſe of the populace, have in the preceding chapter been ſufficiently explained. Yet whatever partial motives of intereſt and ambition [23] might warp the views of this illuſtrious ſtateſman, it muſt be acknowledged, that

The democracy completed by Pericles. Olymp. lxxxii. 4. A. C. 449.

[22] Ἐκων ακοντι δι θυμον, cited on this occaſion by Plutarch, well expreſſes the forced generoſity of Ariſtides to the populace.

[23] Plutarch (in Pericle) mentions a particular reaſon which engaged Pericles to counteract the ariſtocracy, and to abridge the power of the Areopagus. Although he had been often *named* for the office of Archon, the *lot* had never fallen on him, ſo that he could not be received as member of that reſpected court. If this obſervation be well founded it ſhews how little real weight the annual magiſtracies had at Athens; ſince Pericles, though he never attained the dignity of Archon, governed the republic many years with unrivalled authority.

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the foreign tranſactions and ſucceſs of the republic, and particularly the new ſituation in which the Athenians found themſelves placed with regard to their diſtant allies and colonies, might naturally ſuggeſt and occaſion very important alterations in the Athenian conſtitution. The ancient and ſacred law which obliged every citizen, without fee or reward, to take arms in defence of his country, could not eaſily be extended to the obligation of protecting, without a proper recompence, the intereſt of foreign communities. The ſcanty population of Attica ſufficed not to anſwer the demands of ſo many diſtant expeditions. It became neceſſary to hire troops wherever they might be found; and, as this neceſſity introduced pay into the Athenian armies, a ſimilar, though not equally cogent, reaſon eſtabliſhed fees and ſalaries for all the different orders of judges and magiſtrates. The ſame principle of duty and public ſpirit, which obliged every freeman to fight without pay, likewiſe obliged him gratuitouſly to judge, conſult, and deliberate, for the benefit of his country. But when the conteſted intereſts of foreign, though dependent, communities, were agitated and adjuſted in the tribunals of Athens, it ſeemed reaſonable for thoſe who ſpent their time in an employment to which no natural obligation called them, to demand a proper reward for their uſeful ſervices. At firſt, therefore, a *ſmall* ſum, but which gradually increaſed with the power of the people, was regularly diſtributed among the citizens, for every deliberation which they held, and for every cauſe which they determined.

Introduction of pay to the troops;

of fees and ſalaries to the magiſtrates.

The deſire of reaping this profit made the populace anxious to draw all cauſes and deliberations before their own tribunals and aſſemblies. This deſign was ſucceſsfully accompliſhed by Ephialtes [24], an artful and daring demagogue, whom Pericles employed as a proper inſtrument to effect ſuch invidious meaſures as were moſt obnoxious to the rich and noble. While his patron extended the renown of Athens by his foreign victories, and gradually reduced into ſubjection the colonies and allies of the republic, the obſequious Ephialtes

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[24] Plut. in Pericle.

zealouſly

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External and domeſtic proſperity of the republic. Olymp. lxxxv. 1. A. C. 440.

The revolution which immediately followed, in the manners, character, and conduct of the Athenians, was the natural conſequence of the change of government, combined with other circumſtances inſeparably connected with their domeſtic and external proſperity. In the courſe of a few years the ſucceſs of Ariſtides, Cimon, and Pericles had tripled the revenues, and increaſed, in a far greater proportion, the dominions of the republic. The Athenian gallies commanded the eaſtern coaſts of the Mediterranean; their merchantmen had engroſſed the traffic of the adjacent countries; the magazines of Athens abounded with wood, metal, ebony, ivory, and all the materials of the uſeful as well as of the

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agreeable arts; they imported the luxuries of Italy, Sicily, Cyprus, Lydia, Pontus, and Peloponneſus; experience had improved their ſkill in working the ſilver mines of Mount Laurium; they had lately opened the valuable marble veins in Mount Pentelicus; the honey of Hymettus was more eſteemed, in proportion as it became better known to their neighbours; the culture of their olives (oil being long their ſtaple commodity, and the only production of Attica, which Solon allowed them to export), muſt have improved with the general improvement of the country in arts and agriculture, eſpecially under the active adminiſtration of Pericles, who liberally let looſe the public treaſure to encourage every ſpecies of induſtry[26].

Effect of this, combined with the change of government, on manners and arts.

But if that miniſter promoted the love of action, he found it neceſſary at leaſt to comply with, if not to excite, the extreme paſſion for pleaſure, which then began to diſtinguiſh his countrymen. The people of Athens, ſucceſsful in every enterpriſe againſt their foreign as well as domeſtic enemies, ſeemed entitled to reap the fruits of their dangers and victories. For the ſpace of at leaſt twelve years preceding the war of Peloponneſus, their city afforded a perpetual ſcene of triumph and feſtivity. Dramatic entertainments, to which they were paſſionately addicted, were no longer performed in ſlight unadorned edifices, but in ſtone or marble theatres, erected at great expence, and embelliſhed with the moſt precious productions of nature and of art. The treaſury was opened, not only to ſupply the decorations of this favourite amuſement, but to enable the poorer citizens to enjoy it, without incurring any private expence; and thus, at the coſt of the ſtate, or rather of its tributary allies and colonies, to feaſt and delight their ears and fancy with the combined charms of muſic and poetry. The pleaſure of the eye was peculiarly conſulted and gratified in the architecture of the theatres and other ornamental buildings; for as Themiſtocles had ſtrengthened, Pericles adorned his native city; and unleſs we had the concurring

[26] Iſocrat. Areop. de Pace, & Panegyr. Xenoph. & Ariſtot. de Repub. Athen.

teſtimony of antiquity, as well as the immortal remains of the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, which ſtill excite the admiration of travellers, it would be difficult to believe that in the ſpace of a few years, there could have been created thoſe ineſtimable wonders of art, thoſe innumerable temples, theatres, ſtatues, altars, baths, gymnaſia and porticoes, which, in the language of ancient panegyric, rendered Athens the eye and light of Greece [27].

Luxury and vices of Athens.

Pericles was blamed for thus decking one favourite city, like a vain, voluptuous harlot, at the expence of plundered provinces [28]; but it would have been fortunate for the Athenians if their extorted wealth had not been employed in more periſhing, as well as more criminal, luxury. The pomp of religious ſolemnities, which were twice as numerous and as coſtly in Athens as in any other city of Greece; the extravagance of entertainments and banquets, which on ſuch occaſions always followed the ſacrifices; the increaſe of private luxury, which naturally accompanied this public profuſion, exhauſted the reſources, without augmenting the glory, of the republic. Inſtead of the bread, herbs, and ſimple fare recommended by the laws of Solon, the Athenians, ſoon after the eightieth Olympiad, availed themſelves of their extenſive commerce to import the delicacies of diſtant countries, which were prepared with all the refinements of cookery [29]. The wines of Cyprus were cooled with ſnow in ſummer; in winter [30] the moſt delightful flowers adorned the tables and perſons of the wealthy Athenians. Nor was it ſufficient to be crowned with roſes, unleſs they were likewiſe anointed with the moſt precious perfumes [31]. Paraſites, dancers, and buffoons, were an uſual appendage of every entertainment [32]. Among the weaker ſex, the paſſion for delicate birds, diſtinguiſhed by their voice or plumage, was carried to ſuch exceſs as merited the name of mad-

[27] Iſocrat. & Ariſtid.

[28] Plutarch in Pericle.

[29] Ariſtoph. Nubes, ver. 50. & Lyſiſtrat. paſſim.

[30] Athen. l. xi. 3. & Xenoph. Memorabilia, l. ii.

[31] Xenoph. ibid.

[32] Athenæus, l. i. & Xenoph. Symp.

neſs.

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neſs[33]. The bodies of ſuch youths as were not peculiarly addicted to hunting and horſes, which began to be a prevailing taſte[34], were corrupted by the commerce of harlots, who had reduced their profeſſion into ſyſtem[35]; while their minds were ſtill more polluted by the licentious philoſophy of the ſophiſts. It is unneceſſary to crowd the picture, ſince it may be obſerved, in one word, that the vices and extravagancies, which are ſuppoſed to characteriſe the declining ages of Greece and Rome, took root in Athens during the adminiſtration of Pericles, the moſt ſplendid and moſt proſperous in the Grecian annals.

Contraſt and balance of virtues and vices, advantages and diſadvantages.

This paradox, for ſuch it muſt appear, may be explained by conſidering the ſingular combination of circumſtances, which, in the time of that ſtateſman, gave every poiſon its antidote, and rendered the partial evils, already deſcribed, only the thorn that ever accompanies the roſe. The Grecian hiſtory of thoſe times affords a more ſtriking contraſt than ever appeared in any other age or country, of wiſdom and folly, of magnanimity and meanneſs, of liberty and tyranny, of ſimplicity and refinement, of auſterity and voluptuouſneſs. The ſublime philoſophy of Anaxagoras and Socrates was accompanied, as with a ſhadow, by the dark unprincipled captiouſneſs of the ſophiſts; the pathetic and moral ſtrains of Sophocles and Euripides were parodied by the licentious buffoonery of Ariſtophanes; painting and ſculpture, which, under geniuſes of the firſt order like Phidias, ſerved as handmaids to religion and virtue, degenerated under inferior artiſts into mean hirelings of vice and diſorder; the modeſty of Athenian matrons was ſet off as by a foil, when compared with the diſſoluteneſs of the ſchool of Aſpaſia; and the ſimple frugality of manners, which commonly prevailed in private families, even of the firſt diſtinction, was contraſted with the extravagant diſſipation of public entertainments and feſtivals. To

[33] Ὀρνιθομανια, Athen. l. xi. 3.
[34] Ariſtoph. Nubes, paſſim.
[35] Alexis apud Athenæum, l. xiii.

examine

examine the parallel links of this complicated chain will illuſtrate the character of a people whoſe ſubſequent tranſactions form one principal object of Grecian hiſtory. CHAP. XIII.

Philoſophy, which in Greece alone deſerves the peculiar attention of the hiſtorian, aroſe about the beginning of the ſixth century before Chriſt, and in an hundred and fifty years attained the higheſt degree of perfection, and ſunk into the loweſt degeneracy and corruption, to which the uſe or abuſe of the human intellect could raiſe or plunge it. Leſſer Aſia, to which Europe and America owe the ineſtimable benefits of their religion and letters, produced and nouriſhed the tender plant of philoſophy; and the flouriſhing Greek colonies on that delightful coaſt, communicated to their mother country this precious offspring of their ſoil. Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus of Lindus in the iſle of Rhodes, and the other wiſe men, as they were emphatically ſtyled, who lived in that age, not only gave advice and aſſiſtance to their countrymen in particular emergencies, but reſtrained their vices by wholeſome laws, improved their manners by uſeful leſſons of morality, and extended their knowledge by important and difficult diſcoveries[36]. But the firſt attempt towards moral philoſophy, as independent on, and unconnected with religion, ſeems to have been the fables of Æſop, which, to men in an early period of ſociety, muſt have appeared a very ſerious and important ſpecies of compoſition. The ſphere of hiſtory was narrow; the examples of the gods, amidſt the continual corruptions of ſuperſtition, had become too flagitious for imitation; and men, whoſe ruſtic ſimplicity of life afforded them continual opportunities to obſerve the inſtinctive ſagacity of certain animals, might derive many uſeful leſſons from thoſe humble inſtructors. In the early ages of Greece and Rome, and of all other nations whoſe hiſtory is recorded, fables were told, and in ſome degree believed, in the aſſembly and ſenate-houſe, on the moſt important occaſions; for in the infancy of ſociety men are

Parallel links of this chain examined.

Hiſtory of Greek philoſophy.

The ſeven Sages.

Æſop the fabuliſt.

[36] Plutarch. Sympos. & de placit. Philoſoph. Plato in Protagor. Diogen. Laert. paſſim.

children;

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children; and the deluſion, which the belief of a fable ſuppoſes, is not more groſs and improbable than many of thoſe errors into which (as we have already proved[37]) their lively fancy had often hurried them. The ſame romantic caſt of imagination which had animated woods and winds, mountains and rivers, which had changed heroes into gods, and gods into frail men, might endow animals with reaſon, and even ſpeech.

The gnomonic poets.

The next ſtep towards moral ſcience was of a more refined and abſtract kind, conſiſting of the ſentences of the gnomonic poets[38], and in thoſe detached precepts or proverbs which, in all countries, have preceded any ſyſtematic account of morality. Each of the ſeven ſages, as they were called, had his favourite maxims[39], which he engraved in temples and other places of public reſort; but at this diſtance of time it is impoſſible, amidſt the differences of authors, to diſcover what belongs to each; nor is the ſearch important, ſince all their maxims or proverbs, whatever efforts of generalization they might coſt their inventors, now appear extremely ſimple and familiar.

Theſe reſpectable fathers of Grecian philoſophy, who ſilently diffuſed light through the gloom of a barbarous age, are ſaid to have maintained a correſpondence[40] with each other, as well as with Solon of Athens, Chilon of Sparta, and Periander of Corinth; men who, in imitation of their eaſtern brethren, chiefly cultivated ſuch practical knowledge as qualified them to be the legiſlators, magiſtrates, and generals of their reſpective countries.

The diſcoveries of Thales the Mileſian.

Thales, the Mileſian, alone, quitted the ordinary purſuits of civil and military renown; and although he compoſed verſes, promulgated moral ſentences, and, on ſome particular emergencies, gave ſeaſonable advice to his countrymen, yet he eſtabliſhed his fame on a baſis more broad and permanent than the fluctuating intereſts of

[37] See above, Chapter II.

[38] See the Sentences of Theognis, which are evidently a collection, not the work of one man.

[39] Ariſtot. Rhet. ii. 21. Stobæus. Serm. p. 44, &c.

[40] Plut. Symp.

periſhing

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periſhing communities. Many of the elementary propoſitions of geometry, afterwards collected by Euclid, were firſt diſcovered [41] by Thales, who directed the acuteneſs of his mind with equal ſucceſs to aſtronomy. He divided the heavens into five zones; diſcovered the equinoxes and ſolſtices; remarked the Urſa Minor; obſerved, and nearly predicted, eclipſes. The diviſion of the year into three hundred and ſixty-five days was already known to the Egyptians; but although Thales might borrow this, and perhaps other diſcoveries, from that ancient people, among whom he ſometime reſided, it appears, even from thoſe authors who are ever prone to exggerate the wiſdom of Egypt, that he owed much leſs to that country, than to the native ſagacity and penetration of his clear comprehenſive mind [42].

His ſchool and ſucceſſors.

Thales founded the Ionic ſchool, in which he was ſucceeded by Anaximander and Anaximenes, who were followed by Anaxagoras, the inſtructor of Pericles, and Archelaus, who is called by ancient writers the maſter of Socrates. About fifty years after Thales, the ſame ſpeculations which he had introduced were purſued by Xenophanes of Colophon, Leucippus and Parmenides of Elea, and Heraclitus of Epheſus. Theſe ingenious men diſcovered many uſeful truths; yet all of them, not excepting Thales himſelf, likewiſe buſied themſelves with ſubjects that will for ever excite and elude human curioſity. Their doctrines were equally liable to objection, whichever of the elements they aſſumed, as the firſt principle of nature; they univerſally agreed in aſſerting the fallacy of the ſenſes, and the unworthineſs of the vulgar ſuperſtition; but their various opinions concerning the origin and deſtruction of worlds, the magnitudes and diſtances of heavenly bodies, the eſſence of matter and ſpirit [43], deſerve only to be conſidered as the dreams of inquiſitive men, whoſe ambition of knowledge carried them beyond the ſphere of experience, and the clear deductions

[41] Proclus in Euclid.

[42] Hieronym. apud Laert. l. i. c. xxvii. Plin. l. xxxviii. c. xvii.

[43] See Diogen. Laert. l. i. Ariſtot. Metaph. paſſim. & Plut. de Placit. Philoſoph.

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degenerate into Atheism.

of reaſon. The ſyſtem of Leucippus, the moſt famous of them all, was improved by Democritus of Abdera [44], and afterwards adopted by Epicurus, whoſe philoſophy is ſufficiently explained in the extraordinary work of Lucretius, the boldeſt monument which the world is ever likely to behold, of learning, genius, and impiety.

The ſublime philoſophy of Anaxagoras.

But it is particularly worthy of obſervation, that at the ſame time Democritus aſſailed the celeſtial manſions, and unveiled, with a daring hand, the feeble majeſty of Grecian ſuperſtition, Anaxagoras of Clazomené revealed a new and infinitely more auguſt ſpectacle, by firſt announcing to the heathen world, a ſelf-exiſtent, all-perfect mind, as the great cauſe and author of the material world. Thales and Pythagoras, with ſuch of their diſciples as faithfully adhered to their tenets, had indeed admitted ſpirit as a conſtituent principle of the univerſe; but they had ſo intimately blended mind and matter, that theſe diſſimilar ſubſtances ſeemed to make an indiſſoluble compound, as the ſoul and body conſtitute but one man. According to Anaxagoras, on the other hand, the creating and ſovereign intelligence was carefully diſtinguiſhed from the ſoul of the world, which he ſeems to have regarded merely as a poetical expreſſion for the laws which the Deity had impreſſed on his works. The great Ruler of the world did not animate, but impel matter; he could not be included within its limited and periſhing terms; his nature was pure and ſpiritual, and totally incapable of pollution by any corporeal admixture [45].

The diſcovery and diffuſion of this luminous and ſublime principle, which was naturally followed by an inveſtigation of the moral attributes of the Deity, and the deducing from thence the great duties of morality, might have produced a general and happy revolution in Greece, under the zealous and perſevering labours of Socrates and his followers, if the tendency of this divine philoſophy had not been counteracted, not only by the groſs prejudices of the vulgar, but by the more dangerous refinements of incredulous Sophiſts.

[44] Laert. l. ix. Ariſtot Phyſic. l. viii.

[45] Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. l. i. c. iii. Plato in Cratylo, & Plut. in Pericle.

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Its tendency counteracted by the Sophists.

The ſame ſpirit of inquiry, which leads to the diſcovery of truth, will ever promote the propagation of error; and unfortunately for Greece, in the middle of the fifth century before Chriſt, errors were propagated, ſo congenial to the condition of the times, that they could not fail to take deep root, and flouriſh in a ſoil which was peculiarly well prepared to receive them. The glorious victories over the Carthaginians and Perſians had increaſed the wealth and ſecurity, called forth the invention and induſtry, but, at the ſame time, multiplied the wants, and inflamed the paſſions, of the Greeks. The more powerful cities, and particularly Athens and Syracuſe, had attained a pitch of proſperity which exceeded their moſt ſanguine hopes; elated by the bloom of health and the pride of riches, they continually ſighed for new and unknown enjoyments, while both individuals and communities were ever ready to liſten to ſuch inſtructors as juſtified their vices, and taught them to abuſe the gifts of fortune.

History of the Sophiſts. Olymp. lxxv. 1. A. C. 440.

In this ſituation of affairs appeared the Sophiſts[46], whoſe name, ſtill familiar in the languages of Europe, pretty faithfully expreſſes their character. Hippias of Elis, Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus of Ceos, Gorgias of Leontium, with many inferior names, preſerved in the writings of Xenophon, Plato, and Iſocrates, ſtarted up about the ſame time, and exhibited a new phænomenon in Greece. The Olympic, and other public aſſemblies, furniſhed them with an opportunity to diſplay their ſpecious accompliſhments to the admiring ſpectators. They frequented the great cities, particularly Athens, and acquired the friendſhip of the rich, and the applauſe of the multitude. They profeſſed the knowledge of every ſcience, and of every art, which they taught publicly, for a ſtipulated price; and, as they really poſſeſſed the art of perſuaſion, their diſciples continually increaſed among the rich and the voluptuous, the idle and the vain.

[46] Vid. Philoſtrat. de Vit. Sophiſt.

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Their character and views.

Their language was glowing and harmonious, their manners elegant, their life ſplendid. When it ſerved their intereſt, and pleaſed the taſte of their hearers, they could paint virtue in the warmeſt and moſt alluring colours; but the capricious will of their ſcholars, whoſe paſſions they were ever careful to gratify, ſerved as the only ſtandard of their principles; and engaged them, for the moſt part, to deck out the barren doctrines of Leucippus and Democritus with the meretricious arts of the rhetorician. Their morality ſupplied the ſprings with which Epicurus watered his gardens; and their captious logic furniſhed the arguments by which Pyrrho attempted to juſtify his ſcepticiſm [47]. It would be eaſy to trace up to the Sophiſts that quibbling metaphyſic, which being embodied in the Greek language, thenceforth adhered too cloſely to the philoſophical writings of that people, and which totally diſfigures many otherwiſe valuable compoſitions of antiquity. But our preſent buſineſs is only to remark the deſtructive effects immediately reſulting from their tenets, which, while they undermined, without openly oppoſing, the ancient and popular ſuperſtition, boldly ſet at defiance all thoſe uſeful maxims of conduct, and all thoſe ſalutary diſcoveries of reaſon, which, amidſt the inſolence of the Greek democracies, fomented by proſperity, appeared eſſentially requiſite to reſtrain the intemperance, injuſtice, and violence, of individuals and communities.

Their influence on philoſophy and manners.

Oppoſed by Socrates.

In ſeveral republics of Greece, the Sophiſts enjoyed a free career to diſplay their talents, practiſe their artifices, and to promote their fame and intereſt. But in Athens their frauds were detected, and their characters unmaſked, by Socrates [48], whoſe philoſophy forms an important æra in the hiſtory of the human mind. The ſon of Sophroniſcus was born at Athens, forty years before the commencement of the Peloponneſian war. The ſmallneſs of his patrimony, amounting only to three hundred pounds, and his original profeſſion

[47] See the Note on the Sophiſts, in my Tranſlation of Iſocrates's Panegyric of Athens, p. 1. & ſeqq.

[48] To avoid prolixity in the account of Socrates and his philoſophy, I cite not particular paſſages, but give the general reſult of my reading in Plato and Xenophon.

of

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of a ſtatuary [49], have encouraged an opinion of the obſcurity of his birth, among writers who did not reflect on the narrowneſs of Athenian fortunes, and who forgot to conſider, that as hereditary diſtinctions were little known or regarded in the Grecian republics, a ſolid and permanent luſtre was naturally derived from the practice of ingenious arts, which could not be cultivated, as in ancient Rome, and ſometimes in modern Europe, by ſervile or mercenary hands, but only by the firſt claſs of freemen and citizens. Whatever reputation or advantage Socrates might have acquired by the exerciſe of a profeſſion, which was peculiarly encouraged by the taſte of the times, and the magnificent ſpirit of Pericles, he readily ſacrificed them to the natural bent of his mind, which concealed, under an external form worthy to repreſent the voluptuous Silenus [50], the fruitful ſeeds of every amiable and manly ſentiment, and determined him, by an irreſiſtible impulſe, to the ſtudy of wiſdom and virtue.

His education and character.

In his early youth he heard the phyſics of Archelaus, and learned the geometry of Theodorus [51]; and from theſe, and other teachers, acquired ſuch an acquaintance with the faſhionable theories concerning the formation of the univerſe, the original principles of things, the hidden powers of matter, as enabled him to regard with juſt contempt, and occaſionally to deride with inimitable humour, the vanity of thoſe uſeleſs and ſhadowy ſpeculations. He acknowledged with the pious Anaxagoras, the ſuperintending mind, whoſe providence regulated the operations of nature, as well as the affairs of human life. He denied not the exiſtence of thoſe inferior intelligences, which formed the only objects of popular adoration; he allowed the divine origin of dreams and omens; he was exemplary in all the religious duties of his country; and were we to judge the Athenian ſage by the ſtandard of ordinary men, we ſhould be inclined to believe that he had not entirely eſcaped the contagion of ſuperſtition; ſince he profeſſed to be accompanied by a dæmon, or inviſible

[49] Laert. l. ii. Art Socrat. [50] Plato & Xenoph. in Symp.
[51] Plato in Theætet. & in Menon.

conductor,

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conductor, who often reſtrained his paſſions, and influenced his behaviour [52]. If this aſſertion was not an effect of that refined *irony* familiar to Socrates, we muſt allow his temper to have been tinged with credulity: yet, whoever ſeriouſly reflects on a life of ſeventy years, ſpent in the ſervice of mankind, uniformly blameleſs, and terminated by a voluntary death, in obedience to the unjuſt laws of his country; whoever conſiders attentively the habitual temperance, the unſhaken probity, the active uſefulneſs, the diffuſive benevolence, the conſtant equanimity and cheerfulneſs of this ſingular man, will admit a degree of enthuſiaſm, rather as the ornament, than defect, of ſuch an extraordinary character. Men of learning and genius, who, examining the matter ſtill more deeply, have obſerved the important revolution produced by the life and death of Socrates, on the principles and ſentiments of his contemporaries, and of poſterity, are diſpoſed to believe that ſuch an extraordinary phænomenon could not have appeared in the moral world, without the particular interpoſition of heaven. The cheerful ſerenity of his laſt moments [53], and ſtill more, the undeviating tenor of his active virtue, juſtified the hardeſt maxims of Lycurgus and Pythagoras; while the main aim of his ſpeculations was to eſtabliſh the ſublime morality of thoſe ſages on the cleareſt deductions of reaſon and experience.

His philoſophy.

From the perfections of the ſupreme intelligence he deduced his juſt government of the univerſe, which implied the immortality of the human ſoul. But the great object of his reſearch was to diſcover the general laws by which, even in this life, the ſuperintending providence had variouſly diſpenſed to men good and evil, happineſs and miſery. Theſe laws he regarded as the promulgated will of the God, with which, when clearly aſcertained, it became our duty invariably to comply; ſince nothing but the moſt ſhort-ſighted folly could riſk incurring the divine diſpleaſure, in order to avoid pain or poverty, ſickneſs or death; far leſs to acquire periſhing gra-

[52] Plut. de Genio Socratis. [53] This ſubject will be treated hereafter.

tifications,

dfications, which leave a ſting behind them. Reaſoning on ſuch principles, and taking experience only for his guide, he deduced, with admirable perſpicuity, the intereſts and duties of nations and individuals, in all the complicated relations of ſociety. The actions of men furniſhed the materials, their inſtruction formed the object, their happineſs was the end, of his diſcourſe. Wherever his leſſons might be moſt generally uſeful, there he was always to be found; frequenting, at an early hour, the Academy, Lyceum, and other public *Gymnaſia*; punctually attending the Forum at mid-day, the hour of full aſſembly, and in the evening joining, without the affectation of auſterity, in the convivial entertainments of his friends, or accompanying them in the delightful walks which adorned the banks of the Ilyſſus. As a huſband, a father, a citizen, and a ſoldier, the ſteady practice of his duty continually illuſtrated his doctrines. The converſation and example of this truly practical philoſopher (and this is his higheſt panegyric) perſuaded many of his fellow-citizens ſincerely to embrace a virtuous courſe of life; and even thoſe who, like Critias and Alcibiades, allowed the current of their paſſions to prevail over the conviction of their ſober hours, were ſtill charmed with the wonderful extent, as well as the ſingular accuracy, of his various knowledge; with the acuteneſs and penetration of his arguments; the beauty, vivacity, and perſuaſiveneſs of his ſtyle; which, whether he aſſumed the tone of reaſon or of ridicule, ſurpaſſed whatever had been deemed moſt eloquent [54].

Its influence

Yet, how great ſoever might be the perſonal influence of Socrates, the triumph of his philoſophy became more illuſtrious and complete, after his principles were embraced by thoſe who cultivated the imitative arts, and directed the public amuſements, which in all countries, but particularly in Greece, have ever produced immediate and powerful effects on the national opinions and character. In Greece alone, the theatre was regarded as an object of the firſt

[54] Xenoph. Memor. l. iv. c. xv. Laert. l. ii. c. xix. & ſeqq. & Cicero de Orat. l. iii. c.

import-

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importance and magnitude; it formed an eſſential, and by far the moſt ſplendid, part of religious worſhip; the expence of ſupporting it exceeded that of the army and navy together; and this celebrated entertainment, which united the tragedy and opera of the moderns, was carried to perfection by a favourite diſciple of Socrates, whoſe works were ſo univerſally admired in Greece, that (as we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the Sicilian war) the Syracuſans releaſed from captivity thoſe Athenians, and thoſe only, who had learned to repeat the verſes of Euripides. This admired poet rendered the Grecian tragedy complete, by perfecting the chorus[*], the principal diſtinction between the ancient and the modern drama, and which, when properly conducted, rendered the former more regular, yet more varied; more magnificent, and at the ſame time more affecting; above all, more intereſting and inſtructive.

particularly Euripides;

From the prevailing manners of the times, when the principal citizens lived together in crowds, and daily frequented the public halls, the *gymnaſia*, the forums, and temples, it was natural to expect that the action of a Grecian tragedy ſhould conſiſt in ſome great public event, which intereſted the whole body of the people. The ſcene was uſually the portico of a temple, the gate of a palace, the wide expanſe of a forum, or market-place. In ſuch places many ſpectators muſt be ſuppoſed preſent, who would naturally take part in an action which concerned the public intereſt and happineſs[**]. On this principle was introduced the ancient chorus, conſiſting

who perfected the chorus.

[*] In this part of the drama, the philoſophy of Euripides excels the loftineſs of Æſchylus, and the richneſs of Sophocles. It is ſufficient to compare the works of the three rivals, to perceive that the chorus in Euripides moſt ſtrictly anſwers the deſcription of Horace.

Ille bonis faveatque, & conſilietur amicis,
Et regat iratos, & amet peccare timentes.
Ille dapes laudet menſæ brevis, ille ſalubrem
Juſtitiam, legeſque, & apertis otia portis;
Ille tegat commiſſa; deoſque precetur & oret,
Ut redeat miſeris, abeat fortuna ſuperbis.

[**] In the Oedipus Tyrannus, the chorus is compoſed of priests, ſenators, [illegible] youths, &c. Creon ſays to Oedipus,

[illegible]

The

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ing of ſuch perſons as moſt properly ſuited the occaſion, and who, though not immediately or principally concerned in the cataſtrophé, had ſuch general and indirect intereſt, as kept them continually on the ſcene, and made them approve or condemn, promote or oppoſe, the ſentiments and meaſures of the actors. The chorus, never quitting the ſtage, neceſſarily introduced the unity of place; and as their ſongs and dances between the acts expreſſed the feelings excited by the repreſentation, they connected the preceding act with that which immediately followed it, and rendered the whole ſpectacle uninterrupted and continuous. The muſic of the chorus was more rich and various, and the poetry more elevated and glowing, than what could be admitted into the acts, or ordinary dialogue, which was confined to the iambic meaſure; circumſtances which, together with the numbers, the dreſſes, the dances, and geſtures, of theſe fancied ſpectators, equally increaſed the magnificence and variety of the entertainment. They likewiſe rendered it more affecting; ſince nothing is more proper to intereſt us in any ſcene, than the beholding a great number of perſons deeply engaged by it, and expreſſing their feelings by natural tones and movements. But the principal advantage of the chorus was to furniſh the poet with an opportunity (without loading the dialogue, and rendering it too ſententious) of enforcing, by all the power of fancy and of numbers, that moral inſtruction, which was occaſionally attempted by Æſchylus and Sophocles, but which forms the continual end and aim of Euripides, who had a ſoul to feel, and a genius to expreſs, whatever is moſt lovely, and moſt excellent, in ſentiment and character. It is unneceſſary to mention the affecting delicacy of Admetus and his attendants towards his gueſt Hercules; the lively emotions of gratitude in that hero; the friendſhip of Pylades and Oreſtes; the amiable

The anſwer is,

Ες παντας αυδᾶ τωιδι γαρ πλειον φιρω
Πεσθος η και της ιμης ψυχης περι.

CREON. Shall I ſpeak in preſence of this numerous aſſembly? or ſhall we retire?

OEDIPUS. Speak before all preſent; for the public diſtreſs afflicts me more than my own danger.

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picture of conjugal affection in the character of Alceſtis; ſince the whole remains of that ineſtimable writer prove his unceaſing labours to warm his countrymen with all the virtues and charities that adorn private life, as well as to keep alive an ardent love of the republic, and a generous paſſion for its glory and liberty; while, in ſeveral paſſages, he deſcribes and refutes the philoſophy of Epicurus [38] (which, as we have already obſerved, was chiefly borrowed from the licentious maxims of the Sophiſts), with ſuch fulneſs and accuracy as entitled him to the appellation of the Philoſophic Tragedian.

His views counteracted by the authors of the old comedy.

That Euripides, though ten years older than Socrates, owed the characteriſtic excellencies of his works to the converſation and friendſhip of that unrivalled moraliſt, is univerſally acknowledged by antiquity [39]; though the character and intentions both of the poet and the philoſopher were groſsly miſrepreſented by ſome of their contemporaries. Before the commencement, and during the continuance of the Peloponneſian war, there flouriſhed at Athens a claſs of men who were the declared enemies, not only of Socrates and

[38] See particularly Alceſt. ver. 782, &c. and ver. 960, &c.

Euripides flouriſhed near an hundred years before Epicurus and Zeno, the reſpective founders of the Epicurean and Stoical philoſophy. Yet we find the tenets of both ſects in the tragedian; which may be eaſily explained, by conſidering that thoſe oppoſite kinds of philoſophy aroſe from different aſpects of nature, which muſt often preſent themſelves to an obſerving eye; and as the doctrines of the Sophiſts laid the foundation for the moral ſyſtem of Epicurus, ſo the moderate doubt of Socrates, and the old academy, was corrupted into different degrees of ſcepticiſm, according to the fancy of their ſucceſſors; and his rational preference of virtue to all other objects, degenerated into a pretended contempt for theſe objects, as things totally indifferent, the inſenſibility and pedantry of the Stoics.

[39] Εδοξεν συμποσιον Ευριπιδου. Diogen. Laert. in Vit. Socrat. The comic poets, who envied and hated Euripides, as the darling of the public, pretended that Socrates had even compoſed all the fineſt paſſages in his tragedies. Soon after the repreſentation of the Troes, Mneſilochus parodied it in a farce, which he called Φρυγες, Phrygians, probably to have an opportunity of playing on the word φρυγανον, fewel.

Φρυγες ισι καινον δραμα του Ευριπιδου
Ω και Σωκρατης τα φρυγανα υποτιθησι.

"The Phrygians is a new play of Euripides, to whom Socrates furniſhes the fewel." But the pun cannot be tranſlated. The ſame Mneſilochus calls Euripides a ſort of hammerman to Socrates.

Ευριπιδης Σωκρατογομφιος.

his diſciples, but of all order and decency. The reader will eaſily perceive, that I allude to Ariſtophanes, and the other writers of the old licentious comedy; an entertainment which was never carried to the ſame vicious exceſs in any other age or country. Yet this hideous ſpectre was the ſiſter of Tragedy, whoſe angelic ſweetneſs and dignity were long accompanied by this odious and diſguſting form; but to underſtand the natural connection between objects ſeemingly ſo different, it is neceſſary to remount to their ſource. CHAP. XIII.

Tragedy, the ſong of the goat[40], and Comedy, the ſong of the village, ſufficiently indicate, by the meanneſs of their ancient names, the humility of their firſt original. They aroſe amidſt the ſacrifices and joyous feſtivity of the vintage, in a country which ſeldom adopted the amuſements, any more than the arts and inſtitutions, of others, but which was deſtined to communicate her own to all the civiliſed portion of mankind. During the entertainments of a ſeaſon peculiarly dedicated to recreation and pleaſure, the ſuſceptible minds of the Greeks naturally yielded to two propenſities congenial to men in ſuch circumſtances, a diſpoſition to exerciſe their ſenſibility, and a deſire to amuſe their fancy. Availing himſelf of the former, the ſublime genius of Æſchylus[41] improved the ſong of the goat into a regular dramatic poem, agreeing with the Iliad and Odyſſey in thoſe unalterable rules of deſign and execution which are eſſential to the perfection of every literary performance, yet differing from thoſe immortal archetypes of art, in a circumſtance

History of that licentious entertainment.

[40] A goat, as the particular enemy of the vine, was very properly ſacrificed to Bacchus, whoſe praiſes compoſed the ſong. In the Antegonè of Sophocles, v. 1127.

Πολιωνυμε Καδμεια;
Νυμφας αγαλμα, και Διος
Βαρυβρεμετα γυιη, &c.

we have a ſpecimen of what formed the firſt buſineſs of tragedy.

[41] Æſchylus is ſaid by Ariſtotle (De Arte Poetica) to have introduced interlocutors, dialogue, &c. which is acknowledging him the father of tragedy. We know little of Theſpis, but from Horace.

Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe camænæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poëmata Theſpis.

The plauſtrum, however, has a more direct reference to comedy; ſince λαλειν ως εξ αμαξης, to ſpeak as from a cart, was a common Greek expreſſion for reviling with groſs indecent inſolence.

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naturally ſuggeſted by the occaſion for which tragedies were compoſed. It had been uſual with the Athenians, when they celebrated in the ſpring and autumn the great feſtivals of Bacchus, to perſonate the exploits and fables handed down by immemorial tradition concerning that bountiful divinity; this imitation was conſidered as a mark of gratitude due to the beneficence of the god, to whoſe honours they aſſociated the kindred worſhip of Pan, Silenus, and their attendant fawns and ſatyrs. When Æſchylus repreſented, therefore, inſtead of ſimply reciting, the real hiſtory, or agreeable fictions of antiquity, he only adopted a mode of imitation already practiſed in the religious ceremonies of his country; a mode of imitation more powerful than the epic, ſince, inſtead of barely deſcribing the deeds of gods and heroes, it ſhews thoſe diſtinguiſhed perſonages on the ſcene, makes them ſpeak and act for themſelves, and thus approaching nearer to reality, is ſtill more forcible and affecting.

Its characteriſtics, as diſtinguiſhed from tragedy;

As tragedy was introduced in imitation of the more ſerious ſpectacles of the Dionyſian feſtival, ſo comedy, which ſoon followed it, was owing to the more light and ludicrous parts of that ſolemnity[42]. Tragedy is the imitation of an important and ſerious action, adapted to affect the ſenſibility of the ſpectators, and to gratify their natural propenſity to fear, to weep, and to wonder. Comedy is the imitation of a light and ludicrous action, adapted to amuſe the fancy, and to gratify the natural diſpoſition of men to laughter and merriment. Terror and pity have in all ages been regarded as the main ſprings of tragedy, becauſe the laws of ſenſibility, founded

[42] Horace is authentic, and the moſt agreeable authority.

Agricolæ priſci, fortes, parvoque beati
Condita poſt frumenta, levantes tempore feſto
Corpus, & ipſum animum ſpe finis dura ferentem,
Cum ſociis operum, pueris, & conjuge fidâ,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus & vino Genium, memorem brevis ævi.
Feſcennina per hunc invecta licentia morem
Verſibus alternis opprobria ruſtica fudit, &c. &c.

and ſtill more directly, Ars Poetic. v. 220, &c.

ſolely

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ſolely in nature, are always the ſame. Comedy has been infinitely varied by the innumerable modes of wit, humour, and ridicule, which prevail in different ages and countries, and which agree ſcarcely in any one particular, unleſs it may be reckoned an agreement, that men have ſeldom indulged them, except at the expence of their good-nature, and often of their virtue. The Grecian comedy was uncommonly licentious; the profligate characters of Ariſtophanes and his contemporaries, Mneſilochus, Callias, Eupolis, and Cratinus, contributed, doubtleſs, to this deformity; yet theſe poets could not eaſily have rendered their new entertainment agreeable to the taſte[43] and prejudices of the public, without incorporating in them the ſubſtance of the *phallic* ſongs[44], which conſtituted an ancient and eſſential part of the amuſements of the vintage. The fond admirers of antiquity have defended the abominable ſtrains of theſe licentious poets, by pretending, that their intention was to reform vice, not to recommend it; an apology which, if admitted, might tend to exculpate the writers, but could never juſtify their performances, ſince it is known by experience, that lewd deſcriptions prove a poiſon rather than a remedy; and inſtead of correcting manners, tend only to corrupt them.

and from modern comedy.

Beſides the general licentiouſneſs of the ancient comedy, its more particular characteriſtics reſulted from the peculiar circumſtances of the Athenians, during the time of its introduction and continuance. The people of all ranks at Athens were then too deeply engaged in the military and political tranſactions of their country, to enjoy any amuſement which did not either directly flatter their paſſions, or bear an immediate relation to the great and important intereſts of the republic. It was during the confuſion and cala-

[43] Horace has expreſſed, with his uſual felicity, the ſituation of the ſpectators, and the fatal neceſſity of humouring it.

——— Aſper
Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit; eo quod
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus.
Spectator, functuſque ſacris, & potus & exlex.

[44] Φαλλος. Priapus ξυλον επιμηκες εχων εν τω ανω σκυτινον αιδοιον. Suidas. This was carried in proceſſion, accompanied with the φαλλικα ασματα.

mities

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mities of the Peloponneſian war, that all the comic pieces which remain were originally repreſented; a period too diſorderly and tumultuous to reliſh comedies, ſuch as are now written, or ſuch as were compoſed in Greece by Menander, in an age of greater moderation and tranquillity. The elegant and ingenious, the moral and inſtructive ſtrains of Moliere or Menander, may amuſe the idleneſs of wealth, and the ſecurity of peace. But amidſt the fermentation of war and danger, amidſt civil diſſentions and foreign invaſions, the minds of men are too little at eaſe to enjoy ſuch refined and delicate beauties, which then appear lifeleſs and inſipid. In ſuch turbulent circumſtances, the reluctant attention muſt be excited by real, inſtead of imaginary characters; by a true, inſtead of a fictitious event; by direct and particular advice concerning the actual ſtate of their affairs, inſtead of vague or abſtract leſſons of wiſdom and virtue. Coarſe buffoonery may often force them to laugh; delicate ridicule will ſeldom engage them to ſmile; they may be affected by the ſharpneſs of perſonal invective, but will remain impenetrable to the ſhafts of general ſatire.

General notion of the pieces of Ariſtophanes.

By combining the different parts of this deſcription, we may form a tolerably exact notion of the writings of Ariſtophanes, which commonly conceal, under a thin allegorical veil, the recent hiſtory of ſome public tranſaction, or the principal features of ſome diſtinguiſhed character, repreſented in ſuch a ludicrous light, as reflects on thoſe concerned, unexpected, and often unmerited, but not therefore the leſs ſtriking, flaſhes of inſolent ridicule. Such was the nature, and ſuch the materials of the ancient comedy, which, in its form, agreed entirely with tragedy, having borrowed from this entertainment (which was already in poſſeſſion of the theatre) the diſtribution of the whole, as well as the arrangement of the ſeveral parts; the muſic, the chorus, the dreſſes, decorations, and machinery; all of which were ſo modified and burleſqued as ſuited the purpoſes of the comic

comic writer, and often rendered his pieces little elſe than parodies of the more faſhionable tragedies of the times.

He and his aſſociates, encouraged at Athens by Pericles.

This ſingular ſpecies of drama, which, in its leſs perfect ſtate, had long ſtrolled the villages of Attica, was ſimply tolerated at Athens, until the profuſion of Pericles, and his complaiſance for the populace, firſt ſupplied from the exchequer the neceſſary expences for the repreſentation of comedies, and propoſed prizes for the comic, as well as for the tragic, poets and actors. But, by this injudicious encouragement, he unwarily cheriſhed a ſerpent in his boſom. Ariſtophanes and his licentious contemporaries having previouſly ridiculed virtue and genius, in the perſons of Socrates and Euripides, boldly proceeded to avail themſelves of the natural malignity of the vulgar, and their envy againſt whatever is elevated and illuſtrious, to traduce and calumniate Pericles himſelf; and though his ſucceſſors in the adminiſtration juſtly merited (as we ſhall have occaſion to relate) the ſevereſt laſhes of their invective, yet, had their characters been more pure, they would have been equally expoſed to the unprovoked ſatire of thoſe inſolent buffoons, who gratified the groſs appetites of the vulgar, by an undiſtinguiſhed maſs of ridicule, involving vice and virtue, things prophane and ſacred, men and gods.

The Grecian feſtivals;

Dramatic entertainments formed an eſſential part of the feſtivals conſecrated to the bountiful author of the vine. Minerva, who had given not only the olive, but what was deemed far more valuable, her peculiar protection to the city of Athens, was rewarded with innumerable ſolemnities. Jupiter enjoyed his appropriated honours; but more commonly, as is atteſted by Athenian medals, the worſhip of the father of the gods was aſſociated with that of his wife and warlike daughter. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of the feſtival and myſteries of Ceres, who taught the Athenians the important knowledge of agriculture, which they were ſuppoſed to have ſpread over the ancient world. It would be endleſs to

mention

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The ſplendor with which they were celebrated.

mention the inſtitutions in honour of the crowd of inferior or leſs propitious divinities, which rendered the feſtivals at Athens twice more numerous than in any other Grecian city. Nor did their frequency abate any thing of the expenſive ſplendor which accompanied them. The ſhops and courts of juſtice were ſhut; the mechanic quitted his tools, the huſbandman ceaſed from his labours, the mourner intermitted his ſorrow. The whole city was diſſolved in feaſting and jollity; the intervals of which were filled up by pompous ſhows and proceſſions, by concerts of muſic, by exhibitions of painting; and at ſeveral feſtivals, particularly the Panathenæan, by hearing and judging the nobleſt productions of eloquence and poetry [44]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome particular ceremonies of a more melancholy caſt; but the general character of the Grecian religion was as chearful and attractive, as the ſuperſtition of the Egyptians, from whom they are ſuppoſed to have borrowed it, was gloomy and forbidding. Even the Egyptian hymns conſiſted in diſmal complaints and lamentations [45]; the Grecian ſolemnities concluded with ſongs of joy and exultation. The feaſts which followed the ſacrifices were enriched by all the delicacies and luxuries of the ancient world; and, to uſe the words of Ariſtotle, many perſons thought it their duty, at thoſe religious entertainments, to get drunk in honour of the gods [46].

Manners of the Athenians in private life.

It ſeems extraordinary, that the revenues of Athens, notwithſtanding their improvement by Pericles, ſhould have ſufficed for this multitude of expences. But we muſt conſider, that the general ſimplicity of manners in private life, formed a ſtriking contraſt with the extravagance of public feſtivals and amuſements. The houſes and tables of the moſt wealthy Athenians were little diſtinguiſhed above thoſe of their pooreſt neighbours. Pericles himſelf, though never ſuſpected of avarice, lived with the exacteſt œconomy; and the ſuper-

[44] Iſocrat. Panegyr. & Panathen.
[45] Apuleius de Genio Socratis.
[46] Ariſtot. Ethic. ad Nichom. l. viii. c. iii.

abundance

abundance of private wealth, which would have created envy and danger to the owner, if he had employed it for his particular convenience and pleaſure, procured him public gratitude and eſteem, when expended for the ſatisfaction of the multitude.

Condition of the female ſex.

For reaſons which will immediately appear, we have not hitherto found it neceſſary particularly to deſcribe the manners and influence of the Grecian women; but the character and condition of the fair ſex will throw light on the preceding obſervations in this chapter, and preſent the moſt ſtriking contraſt of any to be met with in hiſtory. If we knew not the conſideration in which women were anciently held in Greece, and the advantages which they enjoyed at Sparta, after the laws of Lycurgus had revived the inſtitutions of the heroic ages[47], we ſhould be apt to ſuſpect that the ungenerous treatment of the feebler ſex, which afterwards ſo univerſally prevailed, had been derived from the Egyptian and Aſiatic colonies, which early ſettled in that part of Europe. Excluded from ſocial intercourſe, which nature had fitted them to adorn, the Grecian women were rigorouſly confined to the moſt retired apartments of the family, and employed in the meaneſt offices of domeſtic œconomy. It was thought indecent for them to venture abroad, unleſs to attend a proceſſion, to accompany a funeral[48], or to aſſiſt at certain other religious ſolemnities. Even on theſe occaſions, their behaviour was attentively watched, and often malignantly interpreted. The moſt innocent freedom was conſtrued into a breach of decorum; and their reputation, once ſullied by the ſlighteſt imprudence, could never afterwards be retrieved. If ſuch unreaſonable ſeverities had proceeded from that abſurd jealouſy which ſometimes accompanies a violent love, and of which a certain degree is nearly connected with the delicacy of paſſion between the ſexes, the condition of the Grecian women, though little leſs miſerable, would have been far leſs contemptible. But the Greeks were utter ſtrangers to that refinement of ſenti-

[47] Ariſtot. Politic. l. ii. p. 105.

[48] Lyſias, p. 420.

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ment[49], which, in the ages of chivalry, and which, ſtill in ſome ſouthern countries of Europe, renders women the objects of a ſuſpicious, but reſpectful paſſion, and leads men to gratify their vanity at the expence of their freedom. Married or unmarried, the Grecian females were kept in equal reſtraint; no pains were taken to render them, at any one period of their lives, agreeable members of ſociety; and their education was either entirely neglected, or confined at leaſt to ſuch humble objects, as, inſtead of elevating and enlarging the mind, tended only to narrow and to debaſe it. Though neither qualified for holding an honourable rank in ſociety, nor permitted to enjoy the company of their neareſt friends and relations, they were thought capable of ſuperintending or performing the drudgery of domeſtic labour, of acting as ſtewards for their huſbands, and thus relieving them from a multiplicity of little cares, which ſeemed unworthy their attention, and unſuitable to their dignity. The whole burden of ſuch mercenary cares being impoſed on the women, their firſt inſtructions and treatment were adapted to that lowly rank, beyond which they could never afterwards aſpire[50]. Nothing was allowed to divert their minds from thoſe ſervile occupations in which it was intended that their whole lives ſhould be ſpent; no liberal idea was preſented to their imagination, that might raiſe them above the ignoble arts in which they were ever deſtined to labour; the ſmalleſt familiarity with ſtrangers was deemed a dangerous offence; and any intimacy or connection beyond the walls of their own family, a heinous crime; ſince it might engage them to embezzle the houſehold furniture and effects committed to their care and cuſtody. Even the laws of Athens confirmed this miſerable degradation of women, holding the ſecurity of the huſband's property a matter of greater importance than defending the wife's perſon from outrage, and protecting her character from infamy[51].

[49] Lyſias, p. 435.

[50] Xenoph. Memorab. l. v. paſſim. particularly Socrates's Diſcourſe with Iſchomachus.

[51] See the laws quoted by Lyſias explained in my Introductory Diſcourſe to that orator, p. 100.

By

By ſuch illiberal inſtitutions were the moſt amiable part of the human ſpecies inſulted, among a people in other reſpects the moſt improved of all antiquity. They were totally debarred from thoſe refined arts and entertainments, to which their agreeable qualities might have added a new charm. Inſtead of directing the taſte and enlivening the pleaſures of ſociety, their value was eſtimated, like that of the ignobleſt objects, merely by profit or utility. Their chief virtue was reſerve, and their point of honour, œconomy.

Grecian courtezans;

The extreme depreſſion of women levelled the natural inequalities of their temper and diſpoſition; the prude, the coquette, with the various intermediate ſhades of female character, diſappeared; and all the modeſt and virtuous part of the ſex (if virtue and modeſty can ever be the effects of reſtraint) were reduced to humble imitation and inſipid uniformity. But, in the time of Pericles, there appeared and flouriſhed at Athens a bolder claſs of females, who diveſted themſelves of the natural modeſty, diſdained the artificial virtues, and avenged the violated privileges of their ſex. Aſia, the mother of voluptuouſneſs, produced this dangerous brood, whoſe meretricious arts and occupations met with no check or reſtraint from the laxity of Ionian morals, and were even promoted and encouraged by the corruptions of Pagan ſuperſtition. In moſt of the Greek colonies of Aſia, temples were erected to the *earthly* Venus; where courtezans were not merely tolerated, but honoured, as prieſteſſes of that condeſcending divinity [52]. The wealthy and commercial city of Corinth firſt imported this innovation from the eaſt; and ſuch is the extravagance of the human mind, that after the repulſe of Xerxes, the magiſtrates of that republic aſcribed the ſafety of their country to the powerful interceſſion of the votaries of Venus, whoſe portraits they cauſed to be painted at the public expence, as the Athenians had done thoſe of the warriors who gained

[52] Athenæus, l. xiii. & Plutarch. p. 637

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the battle of Marathon [53]. But the fame of all thoſe accompliſhed, but mercenary beauties, though highly celebrated by the poets and hiſtorians of the times, was eclipſed by the ſplendor of Aſpaſia of Miletus, who ſettled at Athens under the adminiſtration of Pericles, and is ſaid to have embarked in the fleet with which that fortunate commander ſubdued the powerful and wealthy iſland of Samos.

their artifices and influence.

The perſonal character of Aſpaſia gave temporary luſtre to a profeſſion, which, though exalted by the caſual caprices of ſuperſtition, muſt naturally have fallen into contempt; ſince later writers among the Greeks [54] acknowledge, that though ſhe carried on a very diſhonourable commerce in female virtue, yet her wit and eloquence, ſtill more than her beauty, gained her extraordinary conſideration among all ranks in the republic. The ſuſceptible minds of the Athenians were delighted with what their abſurd inſtitutions rendered a novelty, the beholding the native graces of the ſex, embelliſhed by education. Aſpaſia is ſaid to have acquired a powerful aſcendant over Pericles himſelf; ſhe certainly acquired his protection and friendſhip; which is leſs extraordinary than that her converſation and company ſhould have pleaſed the diſcernment of the ſage Socrates. She is accuſed (as we ſhall afterwards have an opportunity to mention) of having excited, from motives of perſonal reſentment, the war of Peloponneſus; yet, calamitous as that long and obſtinate conflict proved to Greece, and particularly to Athens, it may be ſuſpected that Aſpaſia occaſioned ſtill more incurable evils to both. Her example, and ſtill more her inſtructions, formed a ſchool at Athens, by which her dangerous profeſſion was reduced into ſyſtem. The companions of Aſpaſia ſerved as models for painting and ſtatuary, and themes for poetry and panegyric. Nor were they merely the objects, but the authors of many literary works, in which they eſtabliſhed rules for the behaviour of their lovers, particularly at table, and explained the art of gaining the heart, and

[53] Simonides apud. Athen. l. xiii.

[54] Plutarch. in Pericle.

captivating the affections [55]; which would have been an imprudence, had they not conſidered, that the myſteries of *their* calling alone, loſe little by being diſcloſed, ſince men may often perceive the ſnare, without having courage to avoid it. The dreſs, behaviour, and artifices of this claſs of women became continually more ſeductive and dangerous; and Athens thenceforth remained the chief ſchool of vice and pleaſure, as well as of literature and philoſophy.

It has been already hinted, that the fine arts, and particularly painting, were proſtituted to the honour of harlots, and the purpoſes of voluptuouſneſs. Licentious pictures are mentioned by ancient writers as a general ſource of corruption, and conſidered as the firſt ambuſh that beſet the ſafety of youth and innocence [56]. Yet this unhappy effect of the arts was only the vapour that accompanies the ſun; ſince painting, architecture, and above all, ſtatuary, attained their meridian ſplendor in the age of Pericles; and ſhed peculiar glory on this period of Athenian hiſtory, not only by the powers of genius which they diſplayed, but by the noble purpoſes to which they were directed. But the arts of deſign form ſo important a ſubject, that they merit to be examined apart, in the following Chapter.

[55] Athenæus, ibid.

[56] Euripid. in Hippolyt.

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History of the Arts of Design.—Superiority of the Greeks in those Arts.—Causes of that Superiority—Among the Asiatic Greeks—Who communicated their Inventions to Europe.—Bathycles the Magnesian—Dipenus and Scillis—Imitated in Greece, Italy, and Sicily.—The Athenians surpass their Masters.—Sublime Style of Art.—Works of Phidias, Polygnotus, &c.—Characteristic Excellence of Grecian Art.—Different Impressions made by Painters and Poets—Depended on the Nature of their respective Arts.

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History of the arts of design.

THAT the history of arts has been less cultivated than that of arms and politics, is a general and just complaint, to which writers will seldom be inclined to pay regard, because they will always find it an easier task to relate wars and negociations, debates and battles, than to describe the gradual and almost imperceptible progress of genius and taste, in works of elegance and beauty.

The origin of the imitative[1] arts (so congenial is imitation to man) reaches beyond the limits of profane history; and to dispute who were their inventors, is only to examine what nation is the most ancient. In this respect, the Egyptians and Phœnicians merit,

[1] Concerning the arts of the Greeks, the most copious materials are furnished by Pausanias throughout; and by the 34th and 35th books of Pliny. The best modern guides are Winckelman and Lessing in German, and Caylus in French. Many important errors of Winckelman are detected by the learned professor Heine, in his Antiquarische Abhandlungen.

doubtleſs, the pre-eminence. From the earlieſt ages of Heathen antiquity, both theſe nations ſeem to have cultivated the arts of deſign. In the remoteſt periods of their hiſtory, the Egyptians engraved on precious ſtones, and ſtrove to render their public tranſactions immortal, by recording them, in hieroglyphics, on the hardeſt bazaltes; nor can we ſufficiently admire the perfection to which the patience of that laborious people had carried the mechanical part of ſculpture, before the Perſian conqueſt, and the reign of Cambyſes. But beauty, the eſſence and the end of art, was never ſtudied by the natives of either Phœnicia or Egypt, who faithfully copied their national features, without attempting to improve them; until the traces of Grecian conqueſt and colonization appeared in the medals of the Ptolemies, particularly thoſe with the head of Jupiter Ammon.

Superiority of the Greeks in thoſe arts.

Allowance, doubtleſs, muſt be made for the prejudices of national vanity, when Euripides, Ariſtotle, and Epicurus endeavour to perſuade us, that the clear ſkies and happy temperature of Greece engendered a peculiar aptitude for arts, letters, and philoſophy. The teſtimony, however, of modern travellers confirms the evidence of antiquity, that the ſhores and iſlands of the Archipelago produce more elegant and liberal forms, and features more animated and expreſſive, with fewer individual imperfections, and more of general nature, than can be found in the other diviſions of the world [2]. Yet whatever the Greeks owed to their ſkies and climate, they were probably not leſs indebted to their active laborious education and way of life, and to the manly ſpirit of their religious, civil, and military inſtitutions. Long before the invaſion of Xerxes, the Grecian ſculpture was diſtinguiſhed by an air of majeſty peculiar to itſelf [3]; and the awful images of the gods, as yet rudely finiſhed, diſplayed a

[2] Belon. Obſervat. l. ii. 34. [3] Pauſan. Corinth. l. ii. 34. [3] Pauſan. ibid.

grandeur

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grandeur and ſublimity of expreſſion, that delighted and aſtoniſhed the beſt judges, in the moſt refined ages of art [4].

Cauſes of that ſuperiority,

This ſingularity might be expected from the deſcription already given of the religion and manners of Greece, and from the inimitable excellence of its poets. The divinities of Greece being imagined of the human form, though incomparably more noble and perfect, artiſts would naturally begin, at a very early period [5], to exalt and generaliſe their conceptions. The bold enthuſiaſm of poetry ſerved to elevate and ſupport their flight, and the native country of Homer was the firſt ſcene of their ſucceſs, the happy climate of Ionia rendering frequent and *natural*, in that delightful region, thoſe beautiful and lovely forms which are elſewhere merely *ideal*, while other circumſtances concurred to accelerate the progreſs of invention and genius in that highly favoured country.

among the Aſiatic Greeks;

In the eighth century before the Chriſtian æra, the Aſiatic colonies, as we already had occaſion to explain, far ſurpaſſed their mother country in ſplendour and proſperity. For this pre-eminence, they were indebted to the ſuperior fertility of their ſoil, the number and convenience of their harbours, the advantages of their ſituation and climate, the vicinity of the moſt wealthy and refined nations in Aſia; above all, to their perſevering diligence and ingenuity, by which they not only improved and ennobled the arts derived from the Lydians and Phrygians, but invented others long peculiar to themſelves, particularly painting, ſculpture in marble, together with the Doric and Ionic orders of architecture.

who communicated their inventions to Europe.

In the ſeventh century before Chriſt, the magnificent preſents which the far-famed oracle of Apollo received from the ſuperſtition

[4] Plato & Ariſtot. paſſim.

[5] We omit the fabulous accounts of Dedalus the Athenian, who is ſaid to have flouriſhed in the time of Hercules and Theſeus, and forty years before the Trojan war. It has been already proved that, during the heroic ages, the Greeks paid no adoration to ſtatues. Athenian writers, who lived a thouſand years after that period, might eaſily confound the ſuppoſed works of the ancient Dedalus with thoſe of Dedalus of Sicyon, eſpecially ſince the error was extremely flattering to their national vanity.

or

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or vanity of the Lydian kings, were the productions, not of Egyptian or Phœnician, but of Ionian artiſts; and, during both that and the following century, the Ionians diffuſed the elegant inventions of their country through the dominions of their anceſtors in Europe. Alarmed by the inroads of the Cimmerians, and diſturbed by the continual hoſtility of Lydia, many eaſtern artiſts ſought refuge in the commercial cities of Ægina, Sicyon, and Corinth, where the peaceful ſpirit of the inhabitants, comparatively wealthy and luxurious, afforded the Ionian artiſts both encouragement and ſecurity.

Bathycles, the Magneſian.

The Aſiatic fugitives, however, did not confine themſelves to theſe ſecondary republics. Bathycles, a native of Ionian Magneſia, a place early celebrated for painting [6], fixed his abode in Sparta, the moſt conſiderable community in Greece. By order of the magiſtrates of that illuſtrious republic he made the throne of Amyclean Apollo, the ſtatue of Diana Leucophryné, the figures of the Graces and Horæ, and all the other gifts and ornaments incloſed within the conſecrated ground ſurrounding the temple of Amyclæ. The ſtatue of Apollo, thirty cubits high, ſeemed to be the work of an ignorant ſculptor, and probably was the production of a far earlier age than that of Bathycles. But whoever conſiders the Coloſſean bulk of the principal figure, the baſe of which was formed into an altar, containing the tomb of Hyacinth, muſt admire the proportional magnitude of his throne, both ſides of which were adorned with ſculpture [7]. Among theſe ornaments many ſubjects of hiſtory or fable are mentioned by Pauſanias, which bear no known relation to Apollo

The throne of Amyclean Apollo.

[6] Plin. l. xxxv. I call it Ionian Magneſia, to diſtinguiſh it from other places of the ſame name. Vid. Plin. Edit. Berolin. tom. i. p. 167. & tom. iii. p. 136. 139. & 255.

[7] Winkelmann, who ſcarcely mentions the throne of Amyclean Apollo, though undoubtedly the greateſt ancient monument in Greece, confounds Bathycles the Magneſian, with a later artiſt of the ſame name, who made the celebrated cup which the ſeven ſages modeſtly ſent one to the other, as moſt worthy of ſuch a preſent, and which was finally conſecrated to Delphian Apollo. Diogenes Laertius, ſpeaking on this ſubject, ſays, Βαθυκλεα τον Αρχαδα; and that he was an Arcadian appears alſo from Plut. in Solon. & Caſaubon, ad Athenæum, l. xi. 4.

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or Hyacinth, to Bathycles or the Spartans; but the top of the throne contained a chorus of Magneſians, ſuppoſed to repreſent the artiſts who aſſiſted in the execution of this ſtupendous work. The altar repreſented a celeſtial group, Minerva, Venus, Diana, and ſeveral other divinities, conveying Hyacinth to the ſkies. Its ſides were adorned with the combat of Tyndareus and Eurytus; the exploits of Caſtor and Pollux; and the extraordinary ſcene between Menelaus and the Egyptian Proteus, as deſcribed in the Odyſſey[8]. Nor was this the only ſubject copied from the divine bard. It was eaſy to diſtinguiſh his favourite Demodocus ſinging among a chorus of Phæacians; a circumſtance confirming our obſervations in a former part of this work, that the poems of Homer were generally known in Sparta long before they had been collected by the Athenian tyrant Piſiſtratus.

Dipenus and Scillis.

Almoſt ſix centuries before the Chriſtian æra, the Cretans, Dipenus, and Scillis, adorned many Grecian cities in Europe as well as in Aſia; and about fifty years afterward the Chians, Bupalus, and Anthermus, diffuſed over Greece thoſe precious works in Parian marble, which were highly admired in the age of Auguſtus[9]. About the ſame time Polydorus of Samos, who ſeems to have been much employed by Cræſus, the laſt king of Lydia, made the famous ring for the Samian tyrant Polycrates, which is extolled by Pliny[10] as a maſter-piece of art.

Their works imitated in Greece, Italy, and Sicily.

The productions of thoſe eaſtern artiſts were imitated with ſucceſsful emulation by their diſciples in ancient Greece, and likewiſe by the Grecian colonies in Italy and Sicily; as ſufficiently appears from the medals of thoſe laſt-mentioned countries. Theſe more durable monuments, however, can afford but an imperfect idea of the innumerable ſtatues which were formed of turf or gravel ſtone[11], and of various kinds of wood. The moſt eſteemed were made of

[8] Pauſan. Lacon. p. 196, & ſeqq.
[9] Vid. Plin. l. xxxvi. § 4.
[10] L. xxxvii. § 4.
[11] Plut. in vit. Andoc.

ivory,

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ivory, which, like the teeth of other animals, calcines under ground; an unfortunate circumſtance for the arts, ſince, before the invaſion of Xerxes, Greece would boaſt an hundred ivory ſtatues of the gods, all of a Coloſſean magnitude, and many of them covered with gold [12]. The white marbles of Paros, together with thoſe of Cyprus and Ægina, furniſhed the chief materials for ſculpture, before the Athenians opened the hard ſparkling veins of Mount Penteticus. Ebony, cypreſs, and other materials were gradually brought into uſe, in conſequence of the more general diffuſion of the art, which was deſtined not only to repreſent gods and heroes, but to commemorate the uſeful merit of illuſtrious citizens [13]. At the four ſacred feſtivals, common to the Grecian name, the victors in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, as well as in the muſical and poetical entertainments, were frequently diſtinguiſhed by the honour of a ſtatue. The ſcenes of thoſe admired ſolemnities thus became the principal repoſitories of ſculpture; and the cities of Delphi and Olympia, in particular, long ſurpaſſed the reſt of Greece in the number and value of their ſtatues, as well as in the ſplendour and magnificence of all their other ornaments [14].

The Athenians ſurpaſs their maſters.

But the time approached when thoſe cities themſelves were to be eclipſed by the luſtre of Athens, which, in the courſe of forty years, became the ſeat not only of opulence, power, and politics, but of literature, philoſophy, and the fine arts, and thenceforth continued to be regarded as the ſovereign of Greece, rather than as the capital of the narrow and unfruitful territory of Attica. During that memorable period the Athenians, whoſe circumſtances had hitherto proved little favourable to the progreſs of taſte and elegance, acquired unrivalled power and renown. Having diſgraced the arms, they plundered the wealth of Perſia. Their valour gave them poſſeſſion of thoſe maritime provinces of Lower Aſia, which were juſtly regarded as

[12] Pauſanias.
[13] Lucian. Imagin.
[14] Pauſanias Phocic. and Eliac.

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the cradle of the arts. Their magnanimity and firmneſs commanded reſpect abroad, and enſured pre-eminence in Greece; while, by a rare felicity, their republic, amidſt this uninterrupted flow of external proſperity, produced men capable to improve the gifts of valour or fortune to the ſolid and permanent glory of their country.

Athenian artiſts,

It is difficult to determine whether the diſcerning encouragement of Pericles was more uſeful in animating the induſtry of Phidias, or the genius of Phidias in ſeconding the views of his illuſtrious protector. Their congenial minds ſeemed as happily formed for each other, as both were admirably adapted to the flouriſhing circumſtances of their country. In the language of Plutarch [15], this great *miniſter*, whoſe virtues gradually rendered him the *maſter* of the republic, found Athens well-furniſhed with marble, braſs, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypreſs, together with all the other materials fitted to adorn a city, which, having raiſed to the glory of empire, he wiſhed likewiſe to render the model of elegance. According to the popular principles which he profeſſed, he deemed it the duty of a ſtateſman to provide, not merely for the army, the navy, the judges, and others immediately employed in the public ſervice; the great body of the people he regarded as the conſtant and moſt important object of his miniſterial care. The immenſe revenues of the ſtate, which had hitherto been chiefly ſquandered in ſhows and feſtivals, in gaudy oſtentation or periſhing luxury, he directed to objects more ſolid and durable, which, while they embelliſhed the city, might exerciſe the induſtry and diſplay the talents of the citizens. Guided by ſuch motives he boldly opened the treaſury, and expended about four thouſand talents; a ſum which then might command as much labour as ſix or ſeven millions ſterling in the preſent age. By this liberal encouragement he animated every art, excited every hand, enlivened every exertion, and called forth into the public ſervice the whole dexterity, ſkill, and genius of his countrymen; while the

conſpire with the views of Pericles.

[15] Plut. in Pericle.

motives

motives of gain or glory which he propoſed, allured from all quarters the moſt ingenious ſtrangers, who readily tranſported their talents to Athens, as to the beſt market, and moſt conſpicuous theatre.

Sublime ſtyle of art,

But it was the peculiar felicity of Pericles, to find Athens provided, not only in all the materials of art, but in artiſts capable of employing them to the beſt advantage. In the inaccurate, but often expreſſive, language of Pliny, ſculpture and painting then firſt aroſe, under the plaſtic hands of Phidias and his brother Panænus. Both arts, however, are known to have flouriſhed at an earlier period; but in the age of Pericles, they aſſumed more elevation and majeſty. The inventive genius of man tried a new and nobler flight. The ſuperiority of Phidias and his contemporaries obſcured, and almoſt obliterated, the memory of their predeceſſors, and produced that ſublime ſtyle of art, which, having flouriſhed about an hundred and fifty years, decayed with the glory of Greece, and diſappeared ſoon after the reign of Alexander.

compared with that preceding it.

It appears from the gems and medals, and the few remains in marble, preceding the age of Pericles, that the mechanical part of engraving and ſculpture had already attained a high degree of perfection. In many of thoſe works, the minuteſt ornaments are finiſhed with care, the muſcles are boldly pronounced, the outline is faithful; but the deſign has more hardneſs than energy, the attitudes are too conſtrained to be graceful, and the ſtrength of the expreſſion diſtorts, and for the moſt part deſtroys, beauty. The ſculptors Phidias, Polycletus, Scopas, Alcamenes, and Myron, together with the contemporary painters, Panænus, Zeuxis, and Parrhaſius, ſoftened the aſperities of their predeceſſors [16], rendered their contours more natural and flowing, and by employing greater addreſs, to conceal the mechaniſm of their art, diſplayed ſuperior ſkill to the judgment, and afforded higher delight to the fancy, in proportion

[16] Plut. in Pericl. & Quintilian, l. xii. c. x. p. 573.

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as leſs care and labour appeared viſible to the eye. In the works of thoſe admired artiſts, the expreſſion was ſkilfully diffuſed through every part, without diſturbing the harmony of the whole. Pain and ſorrow were rather concentrated in the ſoul than diſplayed on the countenance; and even the more turbulent paſſions of indignation, anger, and reſentment, were ſo tempered and ennobled, that the indications of them became conſiſtent with the ſublimeſt grace and beauty. But the triumph of art conſiſted in repreſenting and recommending the ſocial affections: for, ſetting aſide the unwarranted aſſertions of Pliny, in his pretended epochs of painting, it appears from much higher authority, that as early as the age of Socrates, painters had diſcerned and attained that admired excellence of ſtyle, which has been called in modern times, the manner of Raphael; and had learned to expreſs, by the outward air, attitude, and features, whatever (in the words of Xenophon [17]), is moſt engaging, affectionate, ſweet, attractive, and amiable, in the inward ſentiments and character. Of theſe Grecian paintings, indeed, which were chiefly on wood, and other periſhing materials, no veſtige remains; but the ſtatuary of that celebrated age, while it diſplays its own excellence, is ſufficient to redeem from oblivion (as far at leaſt as invention, expreſſion, and ideal beauty, are concerned) the obliterated charms of the ſiſter art.

The works of Phidias. Olymp. lxxxiii. 4. A. C. 445.

In ſtatuary, the ſuperior merit of Phidias was acknowledged by the unanimous admiration of independent and rival communities. Intruſted by Pericles with the ſuperintendence of the public works, his own hands added to them their laſt and moſt valuable ornaments. Before he was called to this honourable employment, his ſtatues had adorned the moſt celebrated temples of Greece. His Olympian Jupiter we had already occaſion to deſcribe. In the awful temple of Delphi, ſtrangers admired his bronze ſtatues of Apollo and

[17] See the Converſation of Socrates with the painter Parrhaſius, in Memorab. l. iii.

Diana.

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Diana. He likewiſe made for the Delphians a group of twelve Grecian heroes, ſurrounding a figure of braſs, that repreſented the Trojan horſe. His admired ſtatue of the goddeſs Nemeſis, or Vengeance, was formed from a block of marble, which the vain confidence of the Perſians tranſported to Marathon for a trophy of victory, but which their diſgraceful and precipitate flight left for a monument of their cowardice on the Marathonian ſhore. The grateful piety of Greece adored his Venus Urania, and Parthenopean Apollo. His three Minervas were reſpectively made for the Pallenians, Platæans, and Lemnians, and all three preſented by thoſe tributary ſtates to their Athenian protectors and ſovereigns. Theſe inimitable works ſilenced the voice of envy. The moſt diſtinguiſhed artiſts of Greece, ſculptors, painters, and architects, were ambitious to receive the directions, and to ſecond the labours, of Phidias, which were uninterruptedly employed, during fifteen years, in the embelliſhment of his native city. A. C. 455—430.

The Odeum, Parthenon, and Propylæa.

During that ſhort period he completed the Odeum, or theatre of muſic; the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva; the Propylæa, or veſtibule and porticoes belonging to the citadel, together with the ſculptured and picturesque ornaments of theſe and other immortal works; which, when new (as Plutarch finely obſerves), expreſſed the mellowed beauties of time and maturity, and when old, ſtill preſerved the freſh charms and alluring graces of novelty. The Parthenon, which ſtill remains, atteſts the juſtice of this panegyric. It is two hundred and ſeventeen feet, nine inches long, compoſed of beautiful white marble, and acknowledged by modern travellers[18] to be the nobleſt piece of antiquity exiſting in the world. It appears at firſt ſight extraordinary, that the expence of two thouſand talents ſhould have been beſtowed on the Propylæa[19]. But we muſt conſider, that this extenſive name comprehended the temple of Minerva, the treaſury, and other public edifices.

[18] Sir George Wheeler's Travels, &c. [19] Plutarch in Pericle, & Demoſth. p. 71.

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Works of Panænus, Polygnotus, and Micon.

The Pœcile, or diverſified portico, which was painted by Panænus, the brother of Phidias, aſſiſted by Polygnotus and Micon, muſt have been a work of great time and expence. Its front and ceilings were of marble, like thoſe of all the other porticoes leading to the citadel, which ſtill remained in the time of Pauſanias, and were regarded, both on account of the workmanſhip and materials, as ſuperior to any thing extant. In the Pœcile, thoſe great painters, whoſe merit Pliny[20] forgets in his inaccurate epochs of art, had repreſented the moſt illuſtrious events of Grecian hiſtory; the victory of Theſeus over the Amazons the ſacking of Troy, and particularly the recent exploits againſt the Perſians. In the battle of Marathon, the Athenian and Platæan heroes were drawn from the life, or more probably from the innumerable ſtatues which preſerved the faithful lineaments of thoſe illuſtrious patriots. The whole extent of the Acropolis, above ſix miles in circumference, was ſo diverſified by works of painting and ſtatuary, that it became one continued ſcene of elegance and beauty.

The Minerva in the Acropolis.

But all theſe ornaments were ſurpaſſed by one production of Phidias, which probably was the laſt of that great maſter: his admired ſtatue of Minerva, the erecting of which ſerved to conſecrate the Parthenon, was compoſed of gold and ivory, twenty-ſix cubits high, being of inferior dimenſions to his Minerva Poliades of bronze, the ſpear and creſt of which was ſeen from the promontory of Sunium[21], at twenty-five miles diſtance. Parrhaſius had painted the ornaments of the latter[22], Phidias himſelf adorned every part of the former: and the compliment which, in this favourite work, he took an opportunity of paying to the merit of Pericles, occaſioned (as we ſhall have occaſion to explain[23]) his own baniſhment, a diſgrace which he ſeems not to have long ſurvived. Cicero, Plutarch, Pliny, and Pauſanias, had ſeen and admired this invaluable monu-

[20] He places the firſt epoch of great painters in the 90th Olymp. A. C. 420.
[21] Pauſanias Attic.
[22] Idem, ibid.
[23] Plutarch in Pericl. & Thucydid. l. ii.

ment

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ment of piety, as well as genius, ſince the Minerva of Phidias increaſed the devotion of Athens towards her protecting divinity. It belongs only to thoſe who have ſeen and ſtudied, to deſcribe ſuch maſter-pieces of art; and as they exiſt no more, it will better ſuit the deſign of this hiſtory, to confine ourſelves to ſuch works as we ourſelves have ſeen, and which are generally acknowledged to bear the impreſſion of the Socratic age, when reaſon gave law to painting and ſculpture, as well as to poetry and eloquence.

Characteriſtic excellence of Grecian art.

Were it allowed to make the melancholy ſuppoſition, that all the monuments of Grecian literature had periſhed in the general wreck of their nation and liberty, and that poſterity could collect nothing farther concerning that celebrated people, but what appeared from the Apollo Belvidere, the groupes of the Laocoon and Niobé, and other ſtatues, gems, or medals, now ſcattered over Italy and Europe, what opinion would mankind form of the genius and character of the Greeks? would it correſpond with the impreſſions made by their poets, orators, and hiſtorians? which impreſſion would be moſt favourable? and what would be the preciſe difference between them? The ſolution of theſe queſtions will throw much light on the preſent ſubject.

Circumſtances in which it agreed with poetry and eloquence.

The firſt obſervation that occurs on the moſt ſuperficial, and that is ſtrongly confirmed by a more attentive, ſurvey of the ancient marbles, is, that their authors perfectly underſtood proportion, anatomy, the art of clothing, without concealing, the naked figure, and whatever contributes to the juſtneſs and truth of deſign. The exact knowledge of form is as neceſſary to the painter or ſtatuary, whoſe buſineſs it is to repreſent *bodies*, as that of language to the poet or hiſtorian, who undertakes to deſcribe *actions*. In this particular, it would be unneceſſary to inſtitute a compariſon between Grecian writers and artiſts, ſince they are both allowed as perfect in their reſpective kinds as the condition of humanity renders poſſible.

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The expreſſion of paſſions, ſentiments, and character, in the works of poets and orators;

But when we advance a ſtep farther, and conſider the expreſſion of paſſions, ſentiments, and character, we find an extraordinary difference, or rather contrariety. Homer, Sophocles, and Demoſthenes, are not only the moſt original, but the moſt animated and glowing, of all writers. Every ſentence is energetic; all the parts are in motion; the paſſions are deſcribed in their utmoſt fury, and expreſſed by the boldeſt words and geſtures. To keep to the tragic poet, whoſe art approaches the neareſt to painting and ſculpture, the heroes, and even the gods of Sophocles, frequently diſplay the impetuoſity of the moſt ungoverned natures; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, ſometimes betray a momentary weakneſs, extremely inconſiſtent with their general character. The rocks of Lemnos reſound with the cries of Philoctetes; Oedipus, yielding to deſpair, plucks out his eyes; even Hercules, the model of fortitude, ſinks under the impreſſions of pain or ſorrow.

in thoſe of painters and ſtatuaries;

Nothing can be more oppoſite to the conduct of Grecian artiſts. *They* likewiſe have repreſented Philoctetes; but, inſtead of effeminate tears and lamentations, have given him the patient, concentrated woe of a ſuffering hero. The furious Ajax of Timomachus was painted, not in the moment when he deſtroyed the harmleſs ſheep inſtead of the hoſtile Greeks, but after he had committed this mad deed, and when his rage having ſubſided, he remained, like the ſea after a ſtorm, ſurrounded with the ſcattered fragments of mangled carcaſes, and reflecting with the ſilent anguiſh of deſpair on his uſeleſs and frantic brutality. The revenge of Medea againſt her huſband was not repreſented, as in Euripides, butchering her innocent children, but while ſhe was ſtill wavering and irreſolute, agitated between reſentment and pity. Even Clytemneſtra, whoſe unnatural, intrepid cruelty, poets and hiſtorians had ſo indignantly deſcribed and arraigned, was not deemed a proper ſubject for the pencil, when embruing her hands in the blood of Agamemnon.

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And although this may be referred to a rule of Ariſtotle, "that the characters of women ſhould not be repreſented as too daring or deciſive;" yet we ſhall find on examination, that it reſults from principles of nature, whoſe authority is ſtill more univerſal and indiſpenſable. The conſideration of the Apollo, Niobé, and Laocoon, whoſe copies have been infinitely multiplied, and are familiarly known, will ſet this matter in the cleareſt point of view.

illuſtrated by the Apollo Belvidere;

The Apollo Belvidere is univerſally felt and acknowledged to be the ſublimeſt figure that either ſkill can execute, or imagination conceive. That favourite divinity, whom ancient poets ſeem peculiarly fond of deſcribing in the warmeſt colours [24], is repreſented in the attitude of darting the fatal arrow againſt the ſerpent Pytho, or the giant Tityus. Animated by the nobleſt conception of heavenly powers, the artiſt has far outſtepped the perfections of humanity, and (if we may ſpeak without irreverence) made the corrupt put on incorruption, and the mortal immortality. His ſtature is above the human, his attitude majeſtic, the Elyſian ſpring of youth ſoftens the manly graces of his perſon, and the bold ſtructure of his limbs. Diſdain ſits on his lips, and indignation ſwells his noſtrils; but an unalterable ſerenity inveſts his front, and the ſublime elevation of his aſpect aſpires at deeds of renown ſtill ſurpaſſing the preſent object of his victory.

by the group of Niobé;

The iraſcible paſſions are not repreſented with more dignity in the Apollo, than are thoſe of fear, terror, and conſternation, in the Niobé. This group contained Niobé and her huſband Amphion, with ſeven ſons, and as many daughters. Their melancholy ſtory, which is too well known [25] to be related here, required the deepeſt expreſſion; and the genius of the artiſt has choſen the only moment when this expreſſion could be rendered conſiſtent with the higheſt beauty; a beauty not flattering the ſenſes by images of pleaſure, but

[24] Horace, b. iii. ode 4. ver. 60.

[25] Ovid. Metamorph. l. vi. ver. 146. & ſeqq.

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tranſporting the fancy into regions of purity and virtue. The exceſs and ſuddenneſs of their diſaſter, occaſioned a degree of amazement and horror, which, ſuſpending the faculties, involved them in that ſilence and inſenſibility, which neither breaks out in lamentable ſhrieks, nor diſtorts the countenance, but which leaves full play to the artiſt's ſkill to repreſent motion without diſorder, or, in other words, to render expreſſion graceful.

and by that of the Laocoon.

The Laocoon may be regarded as the triumph of Grecian ſculpture; ſince bodily pain, the groſſeſt and moſt ungovernable of all our paſſions, and that pain united with anguiſh and torture of mind, are yet expreſſed with ſuch propriety and dignity, as afford leſſons of fortitude ſuperior to any taught in the ſchools of philoſophy. The horrible ſhriek which Virgil's Laocoon[26] emits, is a proper circumſtance for poetry, which ſpeaks to the fancy by images and ideas borrowed from all the ſenſes, and has a thouſand ways of ennobling its object; but the expreſſion of this ſhriek would have totally degraded the ſtatue. It is ſoftened, therefore, into a patient ſigh, with eyes turned to heaven in ſearch of relief. The intolerable agony of ſuffering nature is repreſented in the lower part, and particularly in the extremities, of the body; but the manly breaſt ſtruggles againſt calamity. The contention is ſtill more plainly perceived in his furrowed forehead; and his languiſhing paternal eye demands aſſiſtance, leſs for himſelf, than for his miſerable children, who look up to him for help.

Different impreſſion made by the ſame objects, as exhibited by poets and painters.

If ſubjects of this nature are expreſſed without appearing hideous, ſhocking, or diſguſtful, we may well ſuppoſe that more temperate paſſions are repreſented with the greateſt moderation and dignity. The remark is juſtified by examining the remains or imitations of Grecian art; and were we to deduce from theſe alone the character of the nation, it would ſeem at firſt ſight, that the contemporaries of

[26] Æneid, l. ii. ver. 222.

Pericles

Pericles muſt have been a very ſuperior people in point of fortitude, ſelf-command, and every branch of practical philoſophy, to the Athenians who are deſcribed by poets and hiſtorians.

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But when we conſider the matter more deeply, we ſhall find that it is the buſineſs of hiſtory to deſcribe men as they are; of poetry and painting, to repreſent them as may afford moſt pleaſure and inſtruction to the reader or ſpectator. The aim of theſe imitative arts is the ſame, but they differ widely in the mode, the object, and extent, of their imitation. The poet who deſcribes *actions*, in *time*, may carry the reader through all the gradations of paſſion, and diſplay his genius moſt powerfully in its moſt furious exceſs. But the painter or ſtatuary, who repreſents *bodies* in *ſpace*, is confined to one moment, and muſt chooſe that which leaves the freeſt play to the imagination. This can ſeldom be the higheſt pitch of paſſion, which leaves nothing beyond it; and in contemplating which, the ſympathy of the ſpectator, after his firſt ſurpriſe ſubſides, can only deſcend into indifference. Every violent ſituation, moreover, is felt not to be laſting; and all extreme perturbation is inconſiſtent with beauty, without which no viſible object can long attract or pleaſe [27].

founded in the different nature of their reſpective arts.

[27] This ſubject is admirably treated in Leſſing's Laocoon, in which he treats of the *bounds* of painting and poetry; a work which, it is much to be regretted, that great genius did not finiſh.

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Cauſes of the Peloponneſian War.—Rupture between Corinth and its Colony Corcyra.—Sea Fights.—Inſolence and Cruelty of the Corcyreans.—They provoke the Reſentment of the Peloponneſians.—Obtain the Protection of Athens.—Are defeated by the Corinthians—Who dread the Reſentment of Athens.—Their Scheme for rendering it impotent.—Deſcription of the Macedonian Coaſt.—It revolts from Athens.—Siege of Potidæa.—General Confederacy againſt Athens.—Peloponneſian Embaſſy.—Its Demands firmly anſwered by Pericles.—His Speech to the Athenians.—The Thebans ſurpriſe Platæa.—Preparations for War on both Sides.—Invaſion of Attica.—Operations of the Athenian Fleet.—Plague in Athens.—Calamitous Situation of that Republic.—Magnanimity of Pericles.—Firmneſs of his laſt Advice.—His Death and Character.

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Pericles ſummons to Athens deputies from all the Grecian republics.

THE magnificence of Pericles had, by the luſtre of the elegant arts, diſplayed and ennobled the military glory of his country; and the pre-eminence of Athens ſeemed immoveably eſtabliſhed on the ſolid foundation of internal ſtrength, adorned by external ſplendour. But this abundant meaſure of proſperity ſatisfied neither the active ambition of the republic, nor the enterpriſing genius of its miniſter. The Greeks beheld and admired, but had not yet formally acknowledged, the full extent of Athenian greatneſs.

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...ng could more firmly ſecure to him the affectionate gratitude of his fellow-citizens, Pericles diſpatched ambaſſadors to the republics and colonies in Europe and in Aſia, requiring the preſence of their deputies in Athens, to concert meaſures for rebuilding their ruined temples, and for performing the ſolemn vows and ſacrifices promiſed, with devout thankfulneſs to the immortal gods, who had wonderfully protected the Grecian arms, during their long and dangerous conflict with the Perſian empire. This propoſal, which tended to render Athens the common centre of deliberation and of union, was readily accepted in ſuch foreignparts as had already ſubmitted to the authority of that republic. But in neighbouring ſtates, the ambaſſadors of Pericles were received coldly, and treated diſreſpectfully; in moſt aſſemblies of the Peloponneſus they were heard with ſecret diſguſt, and the pride of the Spartan ſenate openly derided the inſolence of their demands. When, at their return home, they explained the behaviour of the Spartans, Pericles exclaimed in his bold ſtyle of eloquence, that he "beheld war advancing with wide and rapid ſteps from the Peloponneſus[1]."

Introduction to the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war.

Such was the preparation of materials which the ſmalleſt ſpark might throw into combuſtion. But before we relate the events which immediately occaſioned the memorable war of twenty-ſeven years, it is impoſſible (if the calamities of our own times have taught us to compaſſionate the miſerable) not to drop a tear over the continual diſaſters which ſo long and ſo cruelly afflicted the moſt valuable and enlightened portion of mankind, and whoſe immortal genius was deſtined to enlighten the remoteſt ages of the world. When rude illiterate peaſants are ſummoned to mutual hoſtility, and, unaffected by perſonal motives of intereſt or honour, expend their ſtrength and blood to gratify the ſordid ambition of their reſpective tyrants, we may lament the general ſtupidity and wretchedneſs of

[1] Plutarch. in Pericle.

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human nature; but we cannot heartily ſympathiſe with men who have ſo little ſenſibility, nor very deeply and feelingly regret, that thoſe ſhould ſuffer pain, who ſeem both unwilling and incapable to reliſh pleaſure. Their heavy unmeaning aſpect, their barbarous language, and more barbarous manners, together with their total indifference to the objects and purſuits which form the dignity and glory of man; theſe circumſtances, interrupting the ordinary courſe of our ſentiments, divert or repel the natural current of ſympathy. Their victories or defeats are contemplated without emotion, coldly related, and read without intereſt or concern. But the war of Peloponneſus preſents a different ſpectacle. The adverſe parties took arms, not to ſupport the unjuſt pretenſions of a tyrant, whom they had reaſon to hate or to deſpiſe, but to vindicate their civil rights, and to maintain their political independence. The meaneſt Grecian ſoldier knew the duties of the citizen, the magiſtrate, and the general[1]. His life had been equally divided between the moſt agreeable amuſements of leiſure, and the moſt honourable employments of activity. Trained to thoſe exerciſes and accomplihments which give ſtrength and agility to the limbs, beauty to the ſhape, and grace to the motions, the dignity of his external appearance announced the liberal greatneſs of his mind; and his language, the moſt harmonious and expreſſive ever ſpoken by man, comprehended all that variety of conception, and all thoſe ſhades of ſentiment, that characteriſe the moſt exalted perfection of human manners.

Magnitude and importance of the ſubject.

Ennobled by ſuch actors, the ſcene itſelf was highly important, involving not only the ſtates of Greece, but the greateſt of the neighbouring kingdoms; and, together with the extent of a foreign war, exhibiting the intenſeneſs of domeſtic ſedition. As it exceeded

[1] Such is the teſtimony uniformly given of them in the panegyric of Athens by Iſocrates, and confirmed by the more impartial authority of Xenophon, in the expedition of Cyrus. Their exploits in that wonderful enterpriſe juſtify the higheſt praiſe; and yet the national character had rather degenerated than improved, in the long interval between the periods alluded to.

the

the ordinary duration of human power or reſentment, it was accompanied with unuſual circumſtances of terror, which, to the pious credulity of an unfortunate age, naturally announced the wrath of heaven, juſtly provoked by human cruelty. While peſtilence and famine multiplied the actual ſufferings, eclipſes and earthquakes increaſed the conſternation and horror of that lamentable period[3]. Several warlike communities were expelled from their hereditary poſſeſſions; others were not only driven from Greece, but utterly extirpated from the earth; ſome fell a prey to party-rage, others to the vengeance of foreign enemies; ſome were ſlowly exhauſted by the contagion of a malignant atmoſphere, others overwhelmed at once by ſudden violence; while the combined weight of calamity aſſailed the power of Athens, and precipitated the downfal of that republic from the pride of proſperous dominion, to the dejection of dependence and miſery[4].

Rupture between Corinth and its colony Corcyra.

The general, but latent hoſtility of the Greeks, of which we have already explained the cauſe, was firſt called into action by a rupture between the ancient republic of Corinth, and its flouriſhing colony Corcyra. The haughty diſdain of Corcyra, elated with the pride of wealth and naval greatneſs, had long denied and ſcorned thoſe marks of deference and reſpect which the uniform practice of Greece exacted from colonies towards their mother-country. At the Olympic and other ſolemn feſtivals, they yielded not the place of honour to the Corinthians; they appointed not a Corinthian high-

Olymp. lxxxv. 2. A. C. 439.

[3] Thucydid. l. i. p. 16. & ſeqq.

[4] For the Peloponneſian war we have not, indeed, a full ſtream of hiſtory, but a regular ſeries of annals in Thucydides and Xenophon; authors, of whom each might ſay,

Quæque ipſe miſerrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui: ———

Many material circumſtances may likewiſe be learned from the Greek orators, the writings of Plato and Ariſtotle, the comedies of Ariſtophanes, the twelfth and two following books of Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch's Lives of Pericles, Nicias, Alcibiades, Lyſander, and Ageſilaus. It is remarkable, that the heavy compiler, as well as the lively biographer, have both followed the long loſt works of Ephorus and Theopompus, in preference to thoſe of Thucydides and Xenophon; a circumſtance which ſtrongly marks their want of judgment, but which renders their information more intereſting to poſterity.

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priest to preside over their religion; and when they established new settlements on distant coasts, they requested not, as usual with the Greeks, the auspicious guidance of a Corinthian conductor [5].

The Corinthians protect Epidamnus.

While the ancient metropolis, incensed by those instances of contempt, longed for an opportunity to punish them, the citizens of Epidamnus, the most considerable sea-port on the coast of the Hadriatic, craved assistance at Corinth against the barbarous incursions of the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, who, having united with a powerful band of Epidamnian exiles, greatly infested that territory, and threatened to storm the city. As Epidamnus was a colony of Corcyra, its distressed inhabitants had first sought protection there; but although their petition was preferred with respectful deference, and urged with the most affecting demonstrations of abasement and calamity, by ambassadors who long remained under the melancholy garb of supplicants in the temple of Corcyrean Juno, the proud insensibility of these intractable islanders shewed not the smallest inclination to relieve them; partly restrained, it is probable, by the secret practices of the Epidamnian exiles, consisting of some of the principal and richest families of that maritime republic. The Corinthians readily embraced the cause of a people abandoned by *their* natural protectors, and *their own* inveterate enemies; and immediately supplied Epidamnus with a considerable body of troops, less with a view to defend its walls against the assaults of the Taulantii, than in order irrecoverably to detach and alienate its inhabitants from the interest of Corcyra.

Are defeated at sea by the Corcyreans. Olymp. lxxvi. 2. A. C. 435.

The indignation of the Corcyreans was inflamed into fury, when they understood that those whom they had long affected to consider as aliens and as rivals, had interfered in the affairs of their colony. They instantly launched a fleet of forty sail, proceeded in hostile array to the harbour of Epidamnus, summoned the inhabitants to re-admit

[5] Schol. in Thucydid. ad locum. He mentions the other circumstances which I have melted into the text, and which will afterwards be confirmed by more classic authority.

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re-admit their exiles, and to expel the foreign troops. With ſuch unconditional and arbitrary demands, the weakeſt and moſt puſillanimous garriſon could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to comply. The Epidamnians rejected them with ſcorn; in conſequence of which their city was inveſted and attacked with vigour, by land and ſea. The Corinthians were now doubly ſolicitous, both to defend the place, and to protect the troops already thrown into it, conſiſting partly of their Leucadian and Ambracian allies, but chiefly of Corinthian citizens. A proclamation, firſt publiſhed at Corinth, was induſtriouſly diſſeminated through Greece, inviting all who were unhappy at home, or who courted glory abroad, to undertake an expedition to Epidamnus, with aſſurance of enjoying the immunities and honours of a republic whoſe ſafety they had ventured to defend. Many exiles and military adventurers, at all times profuſely ſcattered over Greece, obeyed the welcome ſummons. Public aſſiſtance, likewiſe, was obtained, not only from Thebes and Megara, but from ſeveral ſtates of the Peloponneſus. In this manner the Corinthians were ſpeedily enabled to fit out an armament of ſeventy-five ſail; which, directing its courſe towards Epidamnus, anchored in the Ambracian gulph, near the friendly harbour of Actium, where, in a future age, Auguſtus and Antony decided the empire of the Roman world. Near this celebrated ſcene of action, the impetuous Corcyrians haſtened to meet the enemy. Forty ſhips were employed in the ſiege of Epidamnus. Twice that number ſailed towards the Ambracian gulph. The hoſtile armaments fought with equal animoſity; but the Corcyreans far ſurpaſſed in bravery and ſkill. Fifteen Corinthian veſſels were deſtroyed; the reſt eſcaped in diſorder, and the deciſive battle was ſoon followed by the ſurrender of Epidamnus. By a clemency little expected from the victors, the ancient inhabitants of the place were allowed their lives and liberties; but the Corinthians were made priſoners of war, and their allies condemned to death.

Epidamnus ſurrenders to the conquerors.

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Their insolence and cruelty, A. C. 434—433.

The Corcyreans thanked their gods, and erected a conspicuous trophy of victory on the promontory Leucimné, whose lofty ridges overlooked the distant scene of the engagement. During the two following years they reigned undisturbed masters of the neighbouring seas; and though a principle of fear, or perhaps a faint remnant of respect towards their ancient metropolis, prevented them from invading the territory of Corinth, they determined to make the confederates of that republic feel the full weight of their vengeance. For this purpose they ravaged the coast of Apollonia; plundered the city Ambracia; almost desolated the peninsula, now the island of Leucas; and, emboldened by success, ventured to land in the Peloponnesus, and set fire to the harbour of Cyllene, because in the late sea-fight the Elians, to whom that place belonged, had supplied Corinth with a few gallies[6].

which provoke the Peloponnesians.

The southern states of Greece, highly provoked by this outrage to the peaceable Elians, whose religious character had long commanded general respect, were still farther incensed by the active resentment of the Corinthians, who, exasperated at the disgrace of being vanquished by one of their own colonies, had, ever since their defeat, bent their whole attention, and employed the greatest part even of their private fortunes, to hire mercenaries, to gain allies, and especially to equip a new fleet, that they might be enabled to chastise the impious audacity (as they called it) of their rebellious children[7].

The Corcyreans and Corinthians send ambassadors to Athens.

The magistrates of Corcyra saw, and dreaded the tempest that threatened to burst on them, and which the unassisted strength of their island was totally unable to resist. They had not taken part in the late wars; they had not acceded to the last treaty of peace; they could not summon the aid of a single confederate. In this difficulty they sent ambassadors to Athens, well knowing the secret animosity between that republic and the enemies by whom their own safety was endangered. The Corinthians likewise sent ambassadors to de-

[6] Thucydid. l. i. p. 22. & seqq.

[7] Idem, ibid.

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Speech of the Corcyreans.

ſeat their purpoſe. Both were allowed a hearing in the Athenian aſſembly; but firſt the Corcyreans, who, in a ſtudied oration, acknowledged, "that having no previous claim of merit to urge, they expected not ſucceſs in their negociation, unleſs an alliance between Athens and Corcyra ſhould appear alike advantageous to thoſe who propoſed, and to thoſe who accepted it. Of this the Athenians would immediately become ſenſible, if they reflected that the people of Peloponneſus being equally hoſtile to both (the open enemies of Corcyra, the ſecret and more dangerous enemies of Athens), their country muſt derive a vaſt acceſſion of ſtrength by receiving, without trouble or expence, a rich and warlike iſland, which, unaſſiſted and alone, had defeated a numerous confederacy; and whoſe naval force, augmenting the fleet of Athens, would for ever render that republic ſovereign of the ſeas. If the Corinthians complained of the injuſtice of receiving their colony, let them remember, that colonies are preſerved by moderation, and alienated by oppreſſion; that men ſettle in foreign parts to better their ſituation, not to ſubmit their liberties; to continue the equals, not to become the ſlaves of their leſs adventurous fellow-citizens. If they pretended, that the demand of Corcyra was inconſiſtent with the laſt general treaty of peace, let the words of that treaty confound them, which expreſsly declare every Grecian city, not previouſly bound to follow the ſtandard of Athens or of Sparta, at full liberty to accede to the alliance of either of thoſe powers[8]. But it became the dignity of Athens to expect honour and ſafety, not from the punctilious obſervance of a ſlippery convention, but from the manly and prompt vigour of her councils. It ſuited the renowned wiſdom of a republic, which had ever anticipated her enemies, to prevent the fleet of Corcyra from falling a prey to that confederacy, with whoſe inveterate envy ſhe herſelf muſt be ſoon called to contend; and to merit the uſeful

[8] Ειρηται γαρ εν αυταις, των ελληνιδων πολεων αριστεται ὁ'. . The ἑκατερων juſtifies the paraphraſe in the text.

gratitude

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gratitude of an iſland poſſeſſing other valuable advantages, and moſt conveniently ſituate for intercepting the Sicilian and Italian ſupplies, which, in the approaching and inevitable war, would otherwiſe ſo powerfully aſſiſt their Doric anceſtors of Peloponneſus."

Speech of the Corinthians.

The Corinthians indirectly anſwered this diſcourſe by inveighing, with great bitterneſs, againſt the unexampled inſolence and unnatural cruelty of Corcyra: "That infamous iſland had hitherto declined connection with every Grecian ſtate, that ſhe might carry on her piratical depredations unobſerved, and alone enjoy the ſpoil of the unwary mariners who approached her inhoſpitable ſhores. Rendered at once wealthy and wicked by this inhuman practice, the Corcyreans had diveſted themſelves of all piety and gratitude towards their mother country, and embrued their parricidal hands in their parents blood. Their audacity having provoked a late vengeance, which they were unable to repel, they unſeaſonably ſought protection from Athens, deſiring thoſe who were not accomplices of their injuſtice to participate their danger, and deluding them through the vain terror of contingent evil, into certain and immediate calamity; for ſuch muſt every war be regarded, its event being always deſtructive, often fatal. The Corcyreans vainly chicaned as to *words*; Athens, it was clear, muſt violate the *ſenſe* and *ſpirit* of the laſt treaty of peace, if ſhe aſſiſted the enemies of any contracting power. Theſe fierce iſlanders acknowledged themſelves a colony of Corinth, but pretended that ſettlements abroad owe nothing to thoſe who eſtabliſhed them, to thoſe whoſe foſtering care reared their infancy, from whoſe blood they ſprung, by whoſe arms they have been defended. We affirm, on the contrary (and appeal to you, Athenians! who have planted ſo many colonies), that the mother country is entitled to that authority which the Corcyreans have long ſpurned, to that reſpect which their inſolence now refuſes and diſdains: that it belongs to us, their metropolis, to be their leaders in war, their magiſtrates in peace;

peace; nor can you, Athenians! oppoſe our juſt pretenſions, and protect our rebellious colony, without ſetting an example moſt dangerous to yourſelves."

The Athenians enter into a treaty of defence with the Corcyreans.

Theſe ſenſible obſervations made a deep impreſſion on the moderate portion of the aſſembly; but the ſpeech of the Corcyreans was more congenial to the ambitious views of the republic, and the daring ſpirit of Pericles. He wiſhed, however, to avoid the diſhonour of manifeſtly violating the peace, and therefore adviſed his countrymen to conclude with Corcyra, not a general or complete alliance, but only a treaty of defence, which, in caſe of invaſion, obliged the two ſtates reciprocally to aſſiſt each other.

Second ſea-fight between the Corinthians and Corcyreans. Olymp. lxxxvii. 1. A. C. 432.

This agreement was no ſooner ratified than ten Athenian ſhips reinforced the fleet of Corcyra, ſtationed on the *eaſtern* coaſt of the iſland; becauſe the Corinthians, with their numerous allies, already rendezvouſed on the oppoſite ſhore of Epirus. The hoſtile armaments met in line of battle, near the ſmall iſlands Sibota, which ſeem anciently to have been ſeparated from the continent by the impetuoſity of the deep and narrow ſea between Epirus and Corcyra. The bold iſlanders, with an hundred and ten ſail, furiouſly attacked the ſuperior fleet of the Corinthians, which was divided into three ſquadrons; the Megareans and Ambracians on the right, the Eleans and other allies in the centre, their own ſhips on the left, which compoſed the principal ſtrength of their line. The narrowneſs of the ſtrait, and the immenſe number of ſhips (far greater than had ever aſſembled in former battles between the Greeks) ſoon rendered it impoſſible, on either ſide, to diſplay any ſuperiority in ſailing, or any addreſs in manœuvre. The action was irregular and tumultuous, and maintained with more firmneſs and vigour than naval ſkill. The numerous troops, both heavy and light-armed, who were placed on the decks, advanced, engaged, grappled, and fought with obſtinate valour; while the ſhips, continuing motionleſs and inactive, made the ſea-fight reſemble a pitched battle. At length,

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twenty Corcyrean gallies, having broke the left wing of the enemy, and purſued them to the coaſt of Epirus, injudiciouſly landed there to burn or plunder the Corinthian camp.

The Corcyreans defeated.

This ineſſential ſervice too much weakened the ſmaller fleet, and rendered the inequality deciſive. The Corcyreans were defeated with great ſlaughter, their incenſed adverſaries diſregarding plunder and priſoners, and only thirſting for blood and revenge. In the blindneſs of their rage they deſtroyed many of their fellow-citizens, who had been captured by the enemy in the beginning of the engagement. Nor was their loſs of ſhips inconſiderable; thirty were ſunk, and the reſt ſo much ſhattered, that when they endeavoured to purſue the feeble remains of the Corcyrean fleet, which had loſt ſeventy gallies, they were effectually prevented from executing this deſign by the ſmall Athenian ſquadron, which, according to its inſtructions from the republic, had taken no ſhare in the battle, but, agreeably to the recent treaty between Athens and Corcyra, hindered the total deſtruction of their allies, firſt by hoſtile threats, at length by actual reſiſtance.

Arrival of an Athenian *ſquadron.*

The Corinthians having dragged up their wreck, and recovered the bodies of their ſlain, refitted on the coaſt of Epirus, and haſtened to Corcyra; conſiderably off which they beheld the enemy reinforced, and drawn up in line of battle, in order to defend their coaſt. They advanced, however, with intrepidity, till, to their ſurpriſe and terror, they perceived an unknown fleet preſſing towards them. This new appearance ſhook their reſolution, and made them change their courſe. The Corcyreans, whoſe ſituation at firſt prevented them from ſeeing the advancing ſquadron, were aſtoniſhed at the ſudden retreat of the enemy; but when they diſcovered its cauſe, their uncertainty and fears, increaſed by their late afflicting calamity, made them prefer the ſafeſt meaſure. *They*, alſo, turned their prows; and, while the Corinthians retired to Epirus, preſſed in an oppoſite direction to Corcyra. There, to their inexpreſſible joy,

joy, not unmixed with ſhame, they were joined by the unknown fleet, conſiſting of twenty Athenian gallies; a reinforcement which enabled them, next morning, to brave the late victorious armament off the coaſt of Sibota, a deſerted harbour of Epirus, oppoſite to the ſmall iſlands of the ſame name. CHAP. XV.

The Corinthians, unwilling to contend with the unbroken vigour of their new opponents, diſpatched a brigantine with the following remonſtrance: "You act moſt unjuſtly, men of Athens! in breaking the peace, and commencing unprovoked hoſtilities. On what pretence do you hinder the Corinthians from taking vengeance on an inſolent foe? If you are determined to perſiſt in iniquity and cruelty, ſeize us who addreſs you, and treat us as enemies." The words were ſcarcely ended when the Corcyreans exclaimed, with a loud and unanimous voice, "Seize, and kill them." But the Athenians anſwered with moderation: "Men of Corinth, we neither break the peace, nor act unjuſtly. We come to defend our allies of Corcyra: ſail unmoleſted by us to whatever friendly port you deem moſt convenient; but if you purpoſe making a deſcent on Corcyra, or on any of the dependencies of that iſland, we will exert our utmoſt power to fruſtrate your attempt [9]."

The Corinthians remonſtrate againſt the proceedings of the Athenians.

Their anſwer.

This menace, which prevented immediate hoſtility, did not deter the Corinthians from ſurpriſing, as they ſailed homeward, the town of Anactorium, on the Ambracian gulph, which, in the time of harmony between the colony and parent ſtate, had been built at the joint expence of Corinth and Corcyra. From this ſea-port they carried off two hundred and fifty Corcyrean citizens, and eight hundred ſlaves. The former, added to the captives ſaved during the fury of the ſea-fight, by the clemency or the avarice of a few Corinthian captains, made the whole priſoners of war amount to twelve hundred and fifty; a capture which, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate, pro-

The Corinthians ſurpriſe Anactorium, and take many Corcyrean priſoners.

[9] Thucydid. p. 37.

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duced moſt important and lamentable conſequences on the future fortune of Corcyra.

Their ſcheme for defeating the vengeance of Athens. Olymp. lxxxvii. 1. A. C. 432.

The Corinthians, having chaſtiſed the inſolence of their revolted colony, had reaſon to dread the vengeance of its powerful ally. Impreſſed with this terror, they laboured with great activity and with unuſual ſecrecy and addreſs, to find for the Athenian arms an employment ſtill more intereſting than the Corcyrean war. The domeſtic ſtrength of Athens defied aſſault; but a people who, on the baſis of a diminutive territory and ſcanty population, had reared ſuch an extenſive fabric of empire, might eaſily be wounded in their foreign dependencies, which, for obvious cauſes, were ever prone to novelty and rebellion.

Deſcription of the Macedonian coaſt.

The northern ſhores of the Ægean ſea, afterwards comprehended under the name of Macedon, and forming the moſt valuable portion of that kingdom, reluctantly acknowledged the ſtern authority of a ſovereign whom they obeyed and deteſted. This extenſive coaſt, of which the hiſtory will afterwards deſerve our attention, compoſed, next to the Ægean iſlands and colonies of Aſia, the principal foreign dominions of the Athenian republic. The whole country (naturally divided by the Thermaic and Strymonic gulphs into the provinces of Pieria, Chalcis, and Pangæus) ſtretched in a direct line only an hundred and fifty miles; but the winding intricacies of the coaſt, indented by two great, and by two ſmaller bays, extended three times that length; and almoſt every convenient ſituation was occupied by a Grecian ſea-port. But neither the extent of above four hundred miles, nor the extreme populouſneſs of the maritime parts, formed the chief importance of this valuable poſſeſſion. The middle diviſion, called the region of Chalcis, becauſe originally peopled by a city of that name in Eubœa, was equally fertile and delightful. The inland country, continually diverſified by lakes, rivers, and arms of the ſea, afforded an extreme facility of water carriage; Amphipolis, Acanthus, Potidæa, and many other towns, furniſhed conſiderable marts of commerce for the republics

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publics of Greece, as well as for the neighbouring kingdoms of Thrace and Macedon; and the conſtant demands of the merchant excited the patient induſtry of the huſbandman. This beautiful diſtrict had, on one ſide, the black mountains of Pangacus, and on the other, the green vales of Pieria. The former, extending ninety miles towards the eaſt and the river Neſſus, abounded neither in corn nor paſture, but produced variety of timber proper for building ſhips; and the ſouthern branches of the mountain contained rich veins of gold and ſilver, which were ſucceſſively wrought by the Thaſians and the Athenians, but of which the full value was firſt diſcovered by Philip of Macedon, who annually extracted from them the value of two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling [10]. The laſt and ſmalleſt diviſion, Pieria, extended fifty miles along the Thermaic gulph to the confines of Theſſaly and Mount Pindus. The towns of Pydna and Methoné enriched the ſhore with the benefits of arts and commerce. Nature had been peculiarly kind to the inland country, whoſe ſhady hills, ſequeſtered walks and fountains, lovely verdure, and tranquil ſolitude, rendered it, in the fanciful belief of antiquity, the favourite haunt of the Muſes; who borrowed from this diſtrict their favourite appellation of *Pierides*. According to the ſame poetical creed, theſe goddeſſes might well *envy* the mortal inhabitants, who led a paſtoral life, enjoyed happineſs, and are ſcarcely mentioned in hiſtory.

That country revolts from Athens.

Such was the nature and ſuch the diviſions of a territory, which the policy and reſentment of Corinth encouraged to ſucceſsful rebellion againſt the ſovereignty of Athens. Several maritime communities of the Chalcidicé [11] took refuge within the walls of Olynthus, a

[10] Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 514.

[11] In uſing the name of Chalcidicé I have followed the analogy of the Greek language rather than complied with cuſtom; yet that part of the Macedonian coaſt, uſually called the region of Chalcis, gave name to the province of Chalcidicé in Syria, as Strabo mentions in his ſixteenth book; wherein he explains how the principal diviſions of Syria, as well as Meſopotamia, came to be diſtinguiſhed, after the conqueſts of Alexander, by Grecian appellations, borrowed from the geography deſcribed in the text.

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town which they had built and fortified, at the diſtance of five miles from the ſea, in a fertile and ſecure ſituation, between the rivers Olynthus and Amnius, which flow into the lake Bolycé, the inmoſt receſs of the Toronaic gulph. The neighbouring city of Potidæa, a colony of Corinth, and governed by annual magiſtrates ſent from the mother country, yet like moſt eſtabliſhments in the Chalcidicé, a tributary confederate [12] of Athens, likewiſe ſtrengthened its walls, and prepared to revolt. But the Athenians anticipated this deſign by ſending a fleet of thirty ſail, which having entered the harbour of Potidæa, commanded the citizens to demoliſh their fortifications, to give hoſtages as ſecurity for their good behaviour, and to diſmiſs the Corinthian magiſtrates. The Potidæans artfully requeſted that the execution of theſe ſevere commands might be ſuſpended until they had time to ſend ambaſſadors to Athens, and to remove the unjuſt ſuſpicions of their fidelity.

The Athenians beſiege Potidæa. Olymp. lxxxvii. 2. A. C. 432.

The weakneſs or avarice of Ancheſtratus, the Athenian admiral, liſtened to this deceitful requeſt, and, leaving the coaſt of Potidæa, directed the operations of his ſquadron againſt places of leſs importance, not ſparing the dependencies of Macedon. Meanwhile the Potidæans ſent a public but illuſive embaſſy to Athens, while one more effectual was ſecretly diſpatched to Corinth, and other cities of the Peloponneſus, from which they were ſupplied with two thouſand men, commanded by the Corinthian Ariſteus, a brave and enterpriſing general. Theſe troops were thrown into the place during the abſence of the Athenian fleet; and the Potydæans, thus reinforced, ſet their enemies at defiance. Alarmed by this intelligence, the Athenians fitted out a new fleet of forty ſail, with a large body of troops, under the command of Callias; who, arriving on the coaſt of Macedon, found the ſquadron of Ancheſtratus employed in the ſiege of Pydna. Callias judiciouſly exhorted him to deſiſt from that enterpriſe, comparatively of little importance, that the united

[12] Συμμαχος ὑποτελης. Thucydid.

ſquadrons

ſquadrons might attack Potidæa by ſea, while an Athenian army of three thouſand citizens, with a due proportion of allies, aſſaulted it by land. This meaſure was adopted; but the ſpirit of the garriſon ſoon offered them battle, almoſt on equal terms, though with unequal ſucceſs. Callias however was ſlain, and ſucceeded by Phormio; who, conducting a freſh ſupply of troops, deſolated the hoſtile territory of Chalcis and Pieria; took ſeveral towns by ſtorm; and, having ravaged the adjoining diſtrict, beſieged the city of Potidæa.

The Corinthians endeavour to exaſperate the Lacedæmonians againſt Athens.

While thoſe tranſactions were carrying on in the north, the centre of Greece was ſhaken by the murmurs and complaints of the Corinthians and their Peloponneſian confederates, who loſt all patience when their citizens were blocked up by an Athenian army. Accompanied by the deputies of ſeveral republics beyond the iſthmus, who had recently experienced the arrogance of their imperious neighbour, they had recourſe to Sparta, whoſe actual power and ancient renown juſtly merited the firſt rank in the confederacy, but whoſe meaſures[13] were rendered ſlow and cautious by the foreſight and peaceful counſels of the prudent Archidamus. When introduced into the Spartan aſſembly, the repreſentatives of all the ſtates inveighed, with equal bitterneſs, againſt the injuſtice and cruelty of Athens, while each deſcribed and exaggerated the weight of its peculiar grievances. The Megareans complained that, by a recent decree of that ſtern unfeeling republic, they had been excluded from the ports and markets of Attica[14]; an excluſion, which,

[13] Plutarch (in Pericl.) aſcribes the backwardneſs of the Spartans to engage in war to the advice of their principal magiſtrates, bribed by Pericles, who wiſhed to gain time for his military preparations, a report as improbable as another calumny, that they were bribed by their allies to take arms againſt Athens (Ariſtoph. in Pace). The cauſe of their irreſolution, aſſigned in the text, is confirmed by the ſubſequent behaviour of Archidamus.

[14] The Megareans were accuſed of ploughing ſome conſecrated lands; they were accuſed of harbouring the Athenian ſlaves, fugitives

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which, conſidering the narrowneſs and poverty of their own rocky diſtrict, was equivalent to depriving them of the firſt neceſſaries of life. The inhabitants of Ægina explained and lamented that, in defiance of recent and ſolemn treaties, and diſregarding the liberal ſpirit of Grecian policy, the Athenians had reduced their unfortunate iſland into the moſt deplorable condition of ſervitude.

Speech of the Corinthians;

When other ſtates had deſcribed their particular ſufferings, the Corinthians laſt aroſe, and their ſpeaker thus addreſſed the Lacedæmonian aſſembly: "If we had come hither, men of Lacedæmon! to urge our private wrongs, it might be ſufficient barely to relate the tranſactions of the preceding, and preſent, years. The revolt of Corcyra, the ſiege of Potidæa, are facts which ſpeak for themſelves; but the thoughts of this aſſembly ſhould be directed to objects more important than particular injuries, however flagrant and enormous. The *general* oppreſſive ſyſtem of Athenian policy,—it is this which demands your moſt ſerious concern; a ſyſtem aiming at nothing leſs than the deſtruction of Grecian freedom, which is ready to periſh through your ſupine neglect. That moderation and probity, men of Sparta! for which your domeſtic counſels are juſtly famous, render you the dupes of foreign artifice, and expoſe you to become the victims of foreign ambition; which, inſtead of oppoſing with prompt alacrity, you have nouriſhed by unſeaſonable delay; and, in conſequence of this fatal error, are now called to contend, not with the infant weakneſs but with the matured vigour of your enemies, thoſe enemies, who, ever unſatisfied with their preſent meaſure

fugitives and exiles; other cauſes of complaint might eaſily have been diſcovered or invented by their powerful neighbours, who were provoked that ſuch a ſmall community on their frontier ſhould uniformly ſpurn their authority. But the malignity of the comic writers of the times aſcribed the ſevere decree againſt Megara to an event equally diſgraceful to the morals of their country, and injurious to the honour of Pericles. The following verſes are tranſlated from the Acharnenſes of Ariſtophanes:

Juvenes profecti Megaram ebrij auferunt
Simætham ex ſcortatione nobilem:
Megarenſis hinc populus dolore perictus
Furatur Aſpaſiæ duo ſcorta haud impiger:
Hinc initium belli prorupit
Univerſis Græcis ob tres meritriculas.

of

of prosperity, are continually intent on some new project of aggrandizement. How different from *your* slow procrastination is the ardent character of the Athenians. Fond of novelty, and fertile in resources, alike active and vigilant, the accomplishment of one design leads them to another more daring. Desire, hope, enterprise, success, follow in rapid succession. Already have they subdued half of Greece; their ambition grasps the whole. Rouse, then, from your lethargy, defend your allies, invade Attica, maintain the glory of Peloponnesus, that sacred deposit, with which being entrusted by your ancestors, you are bound to transmit unimpaired to posterity."

answered by the Athenians.

Several Athenians, then residing on other business at Sparta, desired to be heard in defence of their country. Equity could not deny the request of these voluntary advocates, who spoke in a style well becoming the loftiness of their republic [15]. With the pride of superiority, rather than indignation of innocence, they affected to despise the false aspersions of their adversaries; and, instead of answering directly the numerous accusations against their presumptuous abuse of power, described, with swelling encomiums, "the illustrious and memorable exploits of their countrymen; exploits which had justly raised them to a pre-eminence, acknowledged by their allies, uncontested by Sparta, and felt by Persia. When it became the dignity of Greece to chastise the repeated insults of that ambitious empire, the Spartans had declined the conduct of a distant war; Athens had assumed the abandoned helm, and, after demolishing the cruel dominion of Barbarians, had acquired a just and lawful sway over the coasts of Europe and of Asia. The new subjects of the republic were long treated rather as fellow-citizens, than as tributaries and slaves. But it was the nature of man to revolt against the *supposed* injustice of his equals, rather than against the *real* tyranny of

[15] Thucydid. I xliii. & seqq.

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his maſters. This circumſtance, ſo honourable to Athenian lenity, had occaſioned ſeveral unprovoked rebellions, which the republic had been compelled to puniſh with an exemplary ſeverity. The apprehenſion of future commotions had lately obliged her to hold, with a firmer hand, the reins of government, and to maintain with armed power an authority juſtly earned, and ſtrictly founded in nature, of which it is an unalterable law, that the ſtrong ſhould govern the weak. If the Spartans, in violation of the right of treaties, thought proper to oppoſe this immoveable purpoſe, Athens well knew how to redreſs her wrongs, and would, doubtleſs, uphold her empire with the ſame valour and activity by which it had been eſtabliſhed."

Pacific advice of king Archidamus;

Having heard both parties, the aſſembly adjourned, without forming any reſolution. But next day, it appeared to be the prevailing opinion, that the arrogance and uſurpation of Athens had already violated the peace, and that it became the prudence, as well as the dignity, of Sparta, no longer to defer hoſtilities. This popular current was vainly oppoſed by the experienced wiſdom of king Archidamus, who ſtill counſelled peace and moderation, though his courage had been conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed in every ſeaſon of danger. He exhorted his countrymen "not to ruſh blindly on war, without examining the reſources of the enemy and their own. The Athenians were powerful in ſhips, in money, in cavalry, and in arms; of all which the Lacædemonians were deſtitute, or, at leaſt, but feebly provided. Whatever provocation, therefore, they had received, they ought in prudence to diſſemble their reſentment, until they could effectually exert their vengeance. The preſent criſis required negociation; if that failed, the ſilent preparation of a few years would enable them to take the field with well-founded hopes of redreſſing the grievances of their confederates." Had this moderate language made any impreſſion on ſuch an aſſembly, it would have been ſpeedily obliterated by the blunt boldneſs of Sthenelaides,

oppoſed by Sthenelaides, one of the Ephori.

one

one of the Ephori, who closed the debate. "Men of Sparta! Of the long speeches of the Athenians I understand not the drift. While they dwell with studied eloquence on their own praises, they deny not their having injured our allies. If they behaved *well* in the Persian war, and now *otherwise*, their degeneracy is only the more apparent. But then, and now, we are still the same; and if we would support our character, we must not overlook their injustice. They have ships, money, and horses; but we have good allies, whose interests we must not abandon. Why do we deliberate, while our enemies are in arms? Let us take the field with speed, and fight with all our might." The acclamations of the people followed, and war was resolved.

War determined. Olymp. lxxxvii. 2. A. C. 431.

This resolution was taken in the fourteenth year after the conclusion of the general peace; but near a twelvemonth elapsed before the propereſt measures for invading Attica could be finally adjusted among the discordant members of so numerous a confederacy. It consisted of the seven republics of the Peloponnesus, except Argos and Achaia, the first of which from ambition, and the second perhaps from moderation [16], preserved, in the beginning of the war, a suspicious neutrality. Of the nine northern republics, Acarnania alone declined joining the allies, its coast being particularly exposed to the ravages of the Corcyrian fleets. The cities of Naupactus and Platæa, for reasons that will soon appear, were totally devoted to their Athenian protectors; whose cause was likewise embraced by several petty princes of Thessaly. But all the other states beyond the Isthmus longed to follow the standard of Sparta, and to humble the aspiring ambition of their too powerful neighbour.

General confederacy against Athens;

The representatives of these various communities having, according to the received practice of Greece, assembled in the principal city of the confederacy, were strongly encouraged by the Corin-

sends a menacing embassy to this republic;

[16] The ambition of Argos is confirmed by the subsequent measures of that republic; the moderation of Achaia is suspected, from the nature of the Achæan laws, which will afterwards be described.

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thians, who, as their colony of Potidæa was ſtill cloſely beſieged, laboured to accelerate repriſals on Attica, by exhibiting the moſt advantageous proſpect of the approaching war. They obſerved, "That the army of the confederacy, exceeding ſixty thouſand men, far outnumbered the enemy, whom they excelled ſtill more in merit, than they ſurpaſſed in number. The one was compoſed of national troops, fighting for the independence of thoſe countries in whoſe government they had a ſhare; the other chiefly conſiſted in vile mercenaries, whoſe pay was their government, and their country. If ſupplies of money were requiſite, the allied ſtates would doubtleſs be more liberal and forward to defend their intereſt and honour, than the reluctant tributaries of Athens to rivet their ſervitude and chains: and if ſtill more money ſhould be wanted, the Delphic and Olympic treaſures afforded an inexhauſtible reſource, which could not be better expended than in defending the ſacred cauſe of juſtice, and of Grecian freedom." In order to gain full time, however, for ſettling all matters among themſelves, the confederates diſpatched to Athens various overtures of accommodation, which they well knew would be indignantly rejected. In each embaſſy they roſe in their demands, ſucceſſively requiring the Athenians to raiſe the ſiege of Potidæa; to repeal their prohibitory decree againſt Megara; to withdraw their garriſon from Ægina; in fine, to declare the independence of their colonies [17].

[17] Beſides complying with the demands mentioned in the text, the Athenians were required "to expel the deſcendants of thoſe impious men who had prophaned the temple of Minerva." This alluded to an event which happened the firſt year of the 45th Olympiad, or 598 years before Chriſt. Cylon, a powerful Athenian, having ſeized the citadel, and aſpiring at royalty, was defeated in his purpoſe by Megacles, a maternal anceſtor of Pericles, who having decoyed the aſſociates of Cylon from the temple of Minerva, butchered them without mercy, and with too little reſpect for the privileges of that venerable ſanctuary. The whole tranſaction is particularly related by Plutarch in his life of Solon. The renewal of ſuch an antiquated complaint, at this juncture, pointed particularly at Pericles, and ſhewed the opinion which the Spartans entertained of his unrivalled influence and authority.

These

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which alarms the Athenians.

These last demands were heard at Athens with a mixture of rage and terror. The capricious multitude, who had hitherto approved and admired the aspiring views of Pericles, now trembled on the brink of the precipice to which he had conducted them. They had hitherto pushed the siege of Potidæa with great vigour, but without any near prospect of success. They must now contend with a numerous confederacy, expose their boasted grandeur to the doubtful chance of war, and exchange the amusements and pleasures of the city for the toils and hardships of a camp. Of these discontented murmurs the rivals and enemies of Pericles greedily availed themselves, to traduce the character and administration of that illustrious statesman. It was insinuated, that, sacrificing to private passion the interest of his country, he had enacted the imperious decree, of which the allies so justly complained, to resent the personal injury of his beloved Aspasia, whose family had been insulted by some licentious youths of Megara [17]. Diopeithes, Dracontides, and other demagogues, derided the folly of taking arms on such a frivolous pretence, and as preparatory to the impeachment of Pericles himself, the courts of justice were fatigued with prosecutions of his valuable friends.

Clamour excited against Pericles.

Persecution of his friends.

The philosopher Anaxagoras, and Phidias the statuary, reflected more lustre than they could derive, from the protection of any patron. The mixed character of Aspasia was of a more doubtful kind. To the natural and sprightly graces of Ionia, her native country, she added extraordinary accomplishments of mind and body; and having acquired in high perfection the virtues and talents of the other sex, was accused of being too indifferent to the honour of her own. Scarcely superior in modesty to Phryné, Thais, or Erigoné, her wit, her knowledge, and her eloquence, excited universal admiration or envy [18], while the beauty of her fancy and of

[17] See above, p. 526.

[18] Plato in Menex.

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her perſon, inſpired more tender ſentiments into the ſuſceptible breaſt of Pericles. She was reproached, not with entertaining free votaries of pleaſure in her family (which in that age was regarded as a very allowable commerce), but of ſeducing the virtue of Athenian matrons; a crime ſeverely puniſhed by the laws of every Grecian republic. But we have reaſon to conclude her innocent, ſince the arguments and tears of her lover ſaved her from the fury of an enraged populace, at a criſis when his moſt ſtrenuous exertions could not prevent the baniſhment of Anaxagoras and Phidias.

Baniſhment of Ariſtagoras and Phidias.

The former was accuſed of propagating doctrines inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſhed religion; the latter, of having indulged the very pardonable vanity (as it ſhould ſeem), of repreſenting himſelf, and his patron, on the ſhield of his admired ſtatue of Minerva. There, with inimitable art, Phidias had engraved the renowned victory of the Athenians over the warlike daughters of the Thermodon; he had delineated himſelf in the figure of a bald old man raiſing a heavy ſtone (an alluſion to his ſkill in architecture), while the features of Pericles were diſtinguiſhed in the countenance of an Athenian chief, bravely combating the queen of the Amazons, though his elevated arm hid part of the face, and in ſome meaſure concealed the reſemblance [19]. For this fictitious crime, Phidias was driven from a city which had been adorned by the unwearied labours of his long life, and debarred beholding thoſe wonders of art which his ſublime genius had created.

Accuſation of Pericles.

The accuſation of the principal friends of Pericles paved the way for his own. He was reproached with embezzling the public treaſure; but, on this occaſion, plain facts confounded the artifices of his enemies. It was proved, that his private expences were juſtly proportioned to the meaſure of his patrimony; many inſtances were brought of his generous contempt of wealth in the ſervice of his

[19] Plut. in Pericl. & Ariſtot. de Mund.

country;

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country; and it appeared, after the ſtricteſt examination, that his fortune had not increaſed ſince he was intruſted with the exchequer. This honourable diſplay of unſhaken probity, which had ever formed the baſis of the authority [20] of Pericles, again reconciled to him the unſteady affections of his countrymen, and gave irreſiſtible force to that famous and fatal ſpeech, which unalterably decided the war of Peloponneſus.

He juſtifies his meaſures, and maintains the neceſſity of the war;

" Often have I declared, Athenians, that we muſt not obey the unjuſt commands of our enemies. I am ſtill firmly of that mind, convinced as I am of the dangerous viciſſitudes of war and fortune; and that human hopes, deſigns, and purſuits, are all fleeting and fallacious. Yet, in the preſent criſis, neceſſity and glory ſhould alike fix us to this immoveable reſolution. The decree againſt Megara, which the firſt embaſſy required us to repeal, is not the cauſe of that hoſtile jealouſy which has long ſecretly envied our greatneſs, and which has now more openly conſpired our deſtruction. Yet that decree, of which ſome men have ſpoken ſo lightly, involved the honour of our councils, and the ſtability of our empire. By puſillanimouſly repealing it, we ſhould have emboldened that malignant enmity, which, notwithſtanding our proper firmneſs in the firſt inſtance, has yet ſucceſſively riſen to higher and more arbitrary demands; demands which merit to be anſwered, not by embaſſies, but by arms.

explains the ſtrength and reſources of the republic.

" The flouriſhing reſources, and actual ſtrength, of the republic, afford us the moſt flattering proſpect of military ſucceſs. Impreg-

[20] This teſtimony, which is given by the impartiality of Thucydides, deſtroys at once the numerous aſperſions of the comic poets of the times, which have been copied by Plutarch, and from him tranſcribed by modern compilers. Pericles, it is ſaid, raiſed the war of Peloponneſus, merely for his own convenience and ſafety; and was encouraged to this meaſure by the advice of his kinſman Alcibiades, then a boy; who calling one day at his houſe, was refuſed admittance, "becauſe Pericles was occupied in conſidering how he might beſt ſtate his accounts." "Let him rather conſider," ſaid the ſagacious ſtripling, "how to give no account at all." Pericles took the hint, and involved his country in a war, which allowed no time for examining the public expenditure. Such anecdotes may amuſe thoſe who can believe them.

nably

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nably fortified by land, our ſhores are defended by three hundred gallies; beſides a body of cavalry, to the number of twelve hundred, together with two thouſand archers, we can immediately take the field with thirteen thouſand pikemen, without draining our foreign garriſons, or diminiſhing the complete number of ſixteen thouſand men who defend the walls and fortreſſes in Attica. The wealthy ſea-ports of Thrace and Macedon; the flouriſhing colonies of Ionia, Eolia, and Doria; in a word, the whole extenſive coaſt of the Aſiatic peninſula, acknowledge, by annual contributions, the ſovereignty of our guardian navy, whoſe ſtrength is increaſed by the ſhips of Chios, Leſbos, and Corcyra, while the ſmaller iſlands furniſh us, according to their ability, with money and troops. Athens thus reigns queen of a thouſand [21] tributary republics, and notwithſtanding the expences incurred by the ſiege of Potidæa, and the architectural ornaments of the city, ſhe poſſeſſes ſix thouſand talents in her treaſury.

which he contraſts with the weakneſs of the enemy.

" The ſituation of our enemies is totally the reverſe. Animated by rage, and emboldened by numbers, they may be rouſed to a tranſient, deſultory aſſault; but deſtitute of reſources, and divided in intereſts, they are totally incapable of any ſteady, perſevering exertion. With ſixty thouſand men they may enter Attica; and if our unſeaſonable courage gives them an opportunity, may win a battle; but unleſs our raſh imprudence aſſiſts and enables them, they cannot poſſibly proſecute a ſucceſsful war. Indeed, Athenians! I leſs dread the power of the enemy, than your own ungovernable ſpirit. Inſtead of being ſeduced from your ſecurity, by a vain deſire to defend, againſt ſuperior numbers, your plantations and villas in the open country, you ought to deſtroy theſe ſuperfluous poſſeſſions with your own hands. To you who receive the conveniences of life from ſo many diſtant dependencies, the devaſtation of Attica is a matter of ſmall moment; but how can your enemies re-

[21] Ariſtoph. Veſp. He ſays, that twenty thouſand Athenians might live as in the Elyſian Fields, if each tributary city undertook to provide for twenty citizens. V. 705, &c.

pair,

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pair, how can they ſurvive, the devaſtation of the Peloponneſus! How can they prevent, or remedy, this fatal, this intolerable calamity, while the ſquadrons of Athens command the ſurrounding ſeas? If theſe conſiderations be allowed their full weight, if reaſon, not paſſion, conducts the war, it ſeems ſcarcely in the power of fortune to rob you of victory. Yet let us anſwer the Peloponneſians with moderation, "that we will not forbid the Megareans our ports and markets, if the Spartans, and other ſtates of Greece, aboliſh their excluſive and inhoſpitable laws: that we will reſtore independent governments to ſuch cities as were free at the laſt treaty of peace, provided the Spartans engage to follow our example: that we are ready to ſubmit all differences to the impartial deciſion of any equitable tribunal; and that, although theſe condeſcending overtures be rejected, we will not commence hoſtilities, but are prepared to repel them with our uſual vigour [22]." The aſſembly murmured applauſe; a decree was propoſed and ratified; the ambaſſadors returned home with the reply dictated by Pericles; which, moderate as it ſeemed to the Athenian ſtateſman, ſounded like an immediate declaration of war to the Spartans and their allies.

Dictates a reply to the Peloponneſians, which is taken for a declaration of war.

Six months after the battle of Potidæa, the Thebans, who were the moſt powerful and the moſt daring of theſe allies, undertook a military enterpriſe againſt the ſmall, but magnanimous republic of Platæa. Though ſituate in the heart of Bœotia, amidſt numerous and warlike enemies, the Platæans ſtill preſerved an unſhaken fidelity to Athens, whoſe toils and triumphs they had ſhared in the Perſian war. Yet even this feeble community, ſurrounded on every ſide by hoſtile Bœotians, was not exempted from domeſtic diſcord. Nauclides, the perfidious and bloody leader of an ariſtocratical faction,

The Thebans ſurpriſe Platæa. Olymp. lxxxvii. 2. A. C. 431. May the 7th.

[22] In examining the ſpeech aſcribed to Pericles, on this occaſion, by Thucydides, the attentive reader will perceive that it ſuppoſes the knowledge of ſeveral events omitted in the preceding narrative of that hiſtorian, but which are carefully related in the text. The Engliſh ſpeech is ſhorter than the Greek, but contains more information collected from Plutarch, Diodorus, Ariſtophanes, and the 2d book of Thucydides himſelf.

engaged.

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engaged to betray the Platæan gates to a body of foreign troops, provided they enabled him to overturn the democracy, and to take vengeance on his political adverſaries, whom he regarded as his perſonal foes. Eurymachus, a noble and wealthy Theban, with whom, in the name of his aſſociates, this ſanguinary agreement had been contracted, entered Platæa with three hundred of his countrymen, at the firſt watch of the night; but, regardleſs of their promiſe to Nauclides, who expected that they would break tumultuouſly into the houſes, and butcher his enemies, the Thebans formed regularly in arms, and remained quietly in the market-place, having iſſued a proclamation to invite all the citizens indiſcriminately to become allies to Thebes. The Platæans readily accepted a propoſal, which delivered them from the terror of immediate death. But while they ſucceſſively ratified the agreement, they obſerved, with mixed ſhame and joy, that darkneſs and ſurpriſe had greatly augmented the number of the conſpirators. Encouraged by this diſcovery, they ſecretly diſpatched a meſſenger to Athens; and, while they expected the aſſiſtance of their diſtant protector, determined to leave nothing untried for their own deliverance.

Daring enterprize of the Platæans.

The night was ſpent in an operation not leſs daring than extraordinary. As they could not aſſemble in the ſtreets without alarming ſuſpicion, they dug through the interior walls of their houſes, and fortified the outward in the beſt manner the time would allow, with their ploughs, carts, and other inſtruments of huſbandry. Before day-break the work was complete; when, with one conſent, they ruſhed furiouſly againſt the enemy, the women and children animating with horrid ſhrieks and geſtures the efforts of their rage. It was night, and a ſtorm of rain and thunder augmented the gloomy terrors of the battle. The Thebans were unacquainted with the ground; above an hundred fell; near two hundred fled in trepidation to a lofty and ſpacious tower adjoining the walls, which they miſtook

miſtook for one of the gates of the city. In the firſt movements of reſentment, the Platæans prepared to burn them alive; but a moment's reflection deterred them from this dangerous cruelty. Meanwhile, a conſiderable body of Thebans advanced towards Platæa, to co-operate with their countrymen. Their progreſs would have been haſtened by a fugitive who met them, and related the miſcarriage of the enterpriſe, had not the heavy rain ſo much ſwelled the Aſopus, that an unuſual time was ſpent in croſſing that river. They had ſcarcely entered the Platæan territory, when a ſecond meſſenger informed them, that their unfortunate companions were all killed or taken priſoners. Upon this intelligence they pauſed to conſider, whether, inſtead of proceeding to the Platæan walls, where they could not perform any immediate ſervice, they ought not, as an eaſier enterpriſe, to ſeize the citizens of that place, who were diſperſed over their villages in the open country.

Their ſtratagem for deſtroying the Thebans, without danger to themſelves.

But while they deliberated on this meaſure, a Platæan herald arrived, complaining of the unjuſt and moſt unexpected infraction of the peace, by a daring and atrocious conſpiracy; commanding the Thebans immediately to leave the territory of Platæa, if they hoped to deliver their fellow-citizens from captivity; and denouncing, if they refuſed compliance, that their countrymen would inevitably be puniſhed with a cruel death. This ſtratagem, not leſs audacious than artful, prevailed on the enemy to repaſs the Aſopus, while the Platæans loſt not a moment to aſſemble within their walls the ſcattered inhabitants of their fields and villas; and braving the Theban reſentment, the immediate effects of which they had rendered impotent, maſſacred the unhappy priſoners, to the number of an hundred and eighty, among whom was Eurymachus, the chief promoter of the expedition. After this ſignal act of vengeance, they ſtrengthened the works of the place; tranſported their wives and children to the tributary iſlands of Athens; and, that they might more ſecurely ſuſtain the expected ſiege, required and received from that republic a plentiful

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a plentiful ſupply of proviſions, and a conſiderable reinforcement of troops.

Preparations for war on both ſides. A. C. 431.

The ſword was now drawn, and both parties ſeemed eager to exert their utmoſt ſtrength. The Spartans ſummoned their confederates to the Iſthmus; demanded money and ſhips from their Italian and Sicilian colonies; and ſolicited aſſiſtance from the Perſian monarch Artaxerxes, and from Perdiccas king of Macedon; both of whom naturally regarded the Athenians as dangerous neighbours, and ambitious invaders of their coaſts. The people of Athens alſo condeſcended to crave the aid of Barbarians, and actually contracted an alliance with Sitalces, the warlike chief of the Odryſians, who formed the moſt powerful tribe in Upper Thrace. They required at the ſame time an immediate ſupply of cavalry from their Theſſalian allies, while their fleet already cruiſed along the coaſt of Peloponneſus, to confirm the fidelity of the ſurrounding iſlands; an object deemed eſſential to the ſucceſsful invaſion of that territory. The unexperienced youth, extremely numerous in moſt republics of Greece, rejoiced at the proſpect of war. The aged ſaw and dreaded the general commotion, darkly foretold, as they thought, by ancient oracles and propheſies, but clearly and recently announced, by an earthquake in the ſacred, and hitherto immoveable iſland of Delos. Such was the ardor of preparation, that only a few weeks after the ſurpriſe of Platæa, the Lacedæmonian confederates, to the number of ſixty thouſand, aſſembled from the north and ſouth, at the Corinthian Iſthmus. The ſeveral communities were reſpectively commanded by leaders of their own appointment; but the general conduct of the war was intruſted to Archidamus, the Spartan king.

Archidamus addreſſes the confederates.

In a council of the chiefs, that prince warmly approved their alacrity in taking the field, and extolled the greatneſs and bravery of an army, the moſt numerous and beſt provided, that had ever followed the ſtandard of any Grecian general. Yet their preparations, however

however extraordinary, were not greater than their enterprise required. They had waged war with a people not less powerful, than active and daring; who had discernment to perceive, and ability to improve, every opportunity of advantage; and whose resentment would be as much inflamed, as their pride would be wounded, by the approach of invasion and hostility. It seemed probable, that the Athenians would not allow their lands to be wasted, without attempting to defend them. The confederates, therefore, must be always on their guard; their discipline must be strict, regular, and uniform; to elude the skill, and to oppose the strength of Athens, demanded their utmost vigilance and activity.

Leads them to Attica.

Archidamus, after leading his army into Attica, seems blameable in allowing their martial ardor to evaporate in the fruitless siege of Oenoé, the strongest Athenian town towards the southern frontier of Bœotia. This tedious and unsuccessful operation enabled the Athenians to complete, without interruption, the singular plan of defence so ably traced by the bold genius of Pericles. They hastened the desolation of their own fields; demolished their delightful gardens and villas, which it had been their pride to adorn; and transported, either to Athens or the isles, their valuable effects, their cattle, furniture, and even the frames of their houses. The numerous inhabitants of the country towns and villages, where the more opulent Athenians commonly spent their time, flocked to the capital, which was well furnished with the means of subsistence, though not of accommodation, for such a promiscuous crowd of strangers, with their families, slaves, or servants. Many people of lower rank, destitute of private dwellings, were obliged to occupy the public halls, the groves and temples, the walls and battlements. Even persons of distinction were narrowly and meanly lodged; an inconvenience severely felt by men accustomed to live at large in the country, in rural ease and elegance. But resentment against the public enemy blunted the

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ſenſe of perſonal hardſhip, and ſilenced the voice of private complaint.

The confederates ravage Attica. Olymp. lxxxvii. 2. A. C. 431.

Meanwhile, the confederate army, having raiſed the ſiege of Oenoé, advanced along the eaſtern frontier of Attica; and, within eighty days after the ſurpriſe of Platæa, invaded the Thriaſian plain, the richeſt ornament of the Athenian territory. Having waſted that valuable diſtrict with fire and ſword, they proceeded to Eleuſis, and from thence to Acharnæ, the largeſt borough in the province, and only eight miles diſtant from the capital. There they continued an unuſual length of time, gradually demoliſhing the houſes and plantations, and daily exerciſing every act of rapacious cruelty, with a view either to draw the enemy to a battle, or to diſcover whether they were unalterably determined to keep within their walls; a reſolution, which, if clearly aſcertained, would enable the invaders to proceed with more boldneſs and effect, and to carry on their ravages with ſecurity, even to the gates of Athens.

The Athenians retort their injuries.

The Athenians, hitherto intent on their naval preparations, had exerted an uncommon degree of patience and ſelf-command. But their unruly paſſions could no longer be reſtrained, when they learned the proceedings in Acharnæ. The proprietors of that rich and extenſive diſtrict boaſted, that they alone could ſend three thouſand brave ſpearmen into the field, and lamented, that they ſhould remain cooped up in diſhonourable confinement, while their poſſeſſions fell a prey to an hoſtile invader. Their animated complaints inflamed the kindred ardor of the Athenian youth. It appeared unworthy of thoſe, who had ſo often ravaged with impunity the territories of their neighbours, patiently to behold the deſolation of their own. Intereſted prieſts announced approaching calamity; ſeditious orators clamoured againſt the timid counſels of Pericles; the impetuous youth required their general to lead them to battle. Amidſt this popular commotion, the accompliſhed general and ſtateſman remained

mained unmoved, bravely reſiſting the ſtorm, or dexterouſly eluding its force. Though determined not to riſk an engagement with the confederates, he ſeaſonably employed the Athenian and Theſſalian cavalry to beat up their quarters, to intercept their convoys, to haraſs, ſurpriſe, or cut off their advanced parties. While theſe enterpriſes tended to divert or appeaſe the tumult, a fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail ravaged the defenceleſs coaſt of Peloponneſus. A ſquadron, leſs numerous, made a deſcent on Locris. The rebellious inhabitants of Ægina were driven from their poſſeſſions; an Athenian colony was ſettled in that iſland. The wretched fugitives, whoſe country had long rivalled Athens itſelf in wealth, commerce, and naval power, received the maritime diſtrict of Thyria[23] from the bounty of their Spartan protectors.

The confederates evacuate Attica.

Intelligence of theſe proceedings, and ſtill more the ſcarcity of proviſions, engaged the confederates to return to their reſpective republics. Having advanced by the eaſtern, they retired along the weſtern, frontier of Attica; every place in their line of march experiencing the fatal effects of their reſentment or rapacity. Soon after their retreat, Pericles, towards the beginning of Autumn, led out the Athenians to ravage the neighbouring and hoſtile province of Megara. The invading army was accidentally obſerved by the fleet, while it returned from the coaſt of Peloponneſus. The ſailors haſtened to ſhare the danger and plunder. The whole Athenian force thus amounted to near twenty thouſand men; a number far more than ſufficient to deprive the induſtrious Megareans of the hope of a ſcanty harveſt, earned with infinite toil and care, in their narrow unfruitful territory.

Pericles invades Megara.

The winter was not diſtinguiſhed by any important expedition on either ſide. The Corinthians, long inured to the ſea in all ſeaſons, carried on indeciſive hoſtilities againſt the Athenian allies in Acarnania.

[23] This diſtrict lay on the frontier of the Argive and Lacedæmonian territory, and was long an object of contention between thoſe republics. See above, p. 230.

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nania. During this inactive portion of the year, the Athenians, as well as their enemies, were employed in celebrating the memory of the dead, with much funereal pomp, and high encomiums on their valour[24]; in distributing the prizes of merit among the surviving warriors; in confirming their respective alliances; and in fortifying such places on their frontier as seemed most exposed to military excursions, or naval descents.

The plague breaks out in Athens. A. C. 330.

The return of summer brought back into Attica the Peloponnesian invaders; but it likewise introduced a far more dreadful calamity. A destructive pestilence, engendered in Æthiopia, infected Egypt, and spread over great part of the dominions of the king of Persia. History does not explain by what means this fatal disorder was communicated to Greece. The year had been in other respects remarkably healthful. As the disease first appeared in the Piræus, the principal Athenian harbour, we may be allowed to conjecture, that it was imported from the east, either by the Athenian merchantmen, or by the ships of war, which annually sailed to that quarter, in order to levy money on the tributary cities. When its miserable symptoms broke out in the Piræus, the inhabitants suspected that the enemy

[24] This mournful solemnity, as practised by the Athenians, is described by Thucydides, l. ii. p. 120. & seqq. The bones of the deceased were brought to a tabernacle previously erected for receiving them. On the day appointed for the funeral, they were conveyed from thence in cypress coffins, drawn on carriages, one for each tribe, to the public sepulchre in the Ceramicus, the most beautiful suburb of the city. The relations of the dead decked out the remains of their friends, as they judged most proper (See Lysias against Agoratus). One empty bier was drawn along in honour of those whose bodies had not been recovered. Persons of every age, and of either sex, citizens and strangers, attended this solemnity. When the bones were deposited in the earth, some citizen of dignity and merit, named by the state, mounted a lofty pulpit, and pronounced the panegyric of the deceased, of their ancestors, and the Athenian republic. On this occasion, Pericles himself had been appointed to that solemn office. He performed it with great dignity. His speech, containing almost as many ideas as words, is incapable of abridgment; nor does its nature admit the insertion of it intire in the present history, in which eloquence is merely considered as an instrument of government, and such speeches only introduced as influenced public resolutions and measures. It is, however, worthy of observation, that his magnificent display of the advantages, the security, and the glory of Athens, forms a striking contrast with the unexpected calamities which soon overwhelmed his unhappy country.

had

had poiſoned their wells. But it ſoon extended over the adjoining diſtricts, and raged with peculiar violence in the populous ſtreets which ſurrounded the citadel. CHAP. XV.

The malady appeared under various forms, in different conſtitutions; but its ſpecific ſymptoms were invariably the ſame. It began with a burning heat in the head; the eyes were red and inflamed; the tongue and mouth had the colour of blood. The pain and inflammation deſcended to the breaſt with inexpreſſible anguiſh; the ſkin was covered with ulcers; the body of a livid red; the external heat not ſenſible to the touch, but the internal ſo violent, that the ſlighteſt covering could not be endured. An inſatiable thirſt was an univerſal ſymptom; and, when indulged, increaſed the diſorder. When the bowels were attacked, the patient expired in debility. Some exiſted ſeven or nine days, and died of a fever, with apparent remains of ſtrength. The life was ſaved, when the internal vigour diverted the courſe of the diſeaſe towards the extremities. Thoſe who once recovered were never dangerouſly attacked a ſecond time, from which they conceived a vain hope of proving thenceforth ſuperior to every bodily infirmity. The diſorder, which was always accompanied with an extreme dejection of ſpirits, often impaired the judgment, as well as the memory. All remedies, human and divine, were employed in vain to ſtop the progreſs of this fatal contagion. The miſerable crowds periſhed in the temples, preferring unavailing prayers to the gods. A ſhocking ſpectacle was ſeen round the ſacred fountains, where multitudes lay dead, or expired in agoniſing torture. At length all medical aſſiſtance was deſpiſed [25], Deſcription of that malady. Its effects on the mind;

[25] The ſuppoſed decree of the Athenians in favour of Hippocrates, ſays, that his ſcholars, ſhewed the means both of preventing and curing the plague. Τὸς χρὴ δοκεῖν ἐπιστᾶσθαι ἀφ' ὧν διαφυλάσσεσθαι τὸν λοιμὸν; and again, Ὅσα τε ἰατρικὴ δύναται ἀφ' ἁλὸς σωτηρίαν παρέχεται. Hippocrates, p. 120. This decree, therefore, as well as the letters of Hippocrates, mentioning the plague at Athens, are unqueſtionably ſpurious. The malady is minutely deſcribed by Thucydides, l. ii. c. xlvii. by Lucretius, l. vi. ver. 1136, & ſeqq. Diodorus, l. xii. differs widely from them both, probably having copied from Ephorus and Theopompus. Hippocrates has ſeveral caſes of the plague from Thaſos, Abdera, &c. but not one from Athens. See Hippocrat. de Morbis Epidem.

and

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on morals.

and all religious ceremonies neglected. Continually ſuffering or apprehending the moſt dreadful calamities, the Athenians became equally regardleſs of laws human and divine. The fleeting moment only was theirs. About the future they felt no concern, nor did they believe it of concern to the gods, ſince all alike periſhed, guilty or innocent. Decency no longer impoſing reſpect, the only purſuit was that of preſent pleaſure. To beings of an hour, the dread of puniſhment formed no reſtraint; to victims of miſery, conſcience preſented no terrors. Athens thus exhibited at once whatever is moſt afflicting in wretchedneſs, and moſt miſerable in vice, uniting to the rage of diſeaſe the more deſtructive fury of unbridled paſſions.

Devaſtation of Attica. Olymp. lxxxvii. 3. A. C. 430.

While the city fell a prey to theſe accumulated evils, the country was laid waſte by an implacable enemy. On the preſent occaſion, the confederates advanced beyond Athens; they deſtroyed the works of the miners on Mount Laurium; and, having ravaged all that ſouthern diſtrict, as well as the coaſt oppoſite to Eubœa and Naxos, they traced a line of devaſtation along the Marathonian ſhore, the glorious ſcene of an immortal victory, obtained by the valour of Athens, in defence of thoſe very ſtates by which her own territories were now ſo cruelly deſolated.

Magnanimity of Pericles.

If conſcious wiſdom and rectitude were not ſuperior to every aſſault of fortune, the manly ſoul of Pericles muſt have ſunk under the weight of ſuch multiplied calamities. But his fortitude ſtill ſupported him amidſt the flood of public and domeſtic woe. With decent and magnanimous compoſure, he beheld the unhappy fate of his numerous and flouriſhing family, ſucceſſively ſnatched away by the rapacious peſtilence. At the funeral of the laſt of his ſons, he dropped, indeed, a few reluctant tears of paternal tenderneſs. But, aſhamed of this momentary weakneſs, he bent his undejected mind to the defence of the republic. Having collected an hundred Athenian, together with fifty Chian or Leſbian veſſels, he ſailed through

through the Saronic gulph, and ravaged the unprotected coaſts of Elis, Argos, and Laconia. While this armament weighed anchor in the Piræus, there happened an eclipſe of the ſun [26], which terrified the ſuperſtitious mariners, whoſe minds were already clouded by calamity. The pilot of the admiral galley betrayed the moſt unmanly cowardice, when Pericles, throwing a cloak before his eyes, aſked, "whether the obſcurity ſurpriſed him?" the pilot anſwering in the negative, "Neither," rejoined Pericles, "ought an eclipſe of the ſun, occaſioned by the intervention of the revolving planet, which intercepts its light."

His unfortunate expedition to the Peloponneſus. Olymp. lxxxvii. 3. A. C. 430.

Having arrived on the Argolic coaſt, the Athenians laid ſiege to the ſacred city Epidaurus, whoſe inhabitants gloried in the peculiar favour of Æſculapius. The plague again breaking out in the fleet, was naturally aſcribed to the vengeance of that offended divinity. They raiſed the ſiege of Epidaurus; nor were their operations more ſucceſsful againſt Troezené, Hermioné, and other Peloponneſian cities. They took only the ſmall fortreſs of Praſiæ, a ſea-port of Laconia; after which they returned to the Piræus, afflicted with the peſtilence, and without having performed any thing that correſponded to the greatneſs of the armament, or the public expectation.

Athenians equally unfortunate in Thrace.

The Athenian expedition into Thrace was ſtill more unfortunate. Into that country Agnon conducted a body of four thouſand men, to co-operate with Phormio in the ſiege of Potidæa. But in the ſpace of forty days, he loſt one thouſand and fifty men in the plague; and the only conſequence of his expedition was, to infect the northern army with that melancholy diſorder.

Pericles traduced.

Theſe multiplied diſaſters reduced the Athenians to deſpair. Their ſufferings exceeded example and belief, while they were deprived of

[26] Plutarch. in Pericle. But as Thucydides mentions no ſuch eclipſe that ſummer, although extremely attentive in recording ſuch phænomena, I would not warrant the chronology of Plutarch.

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the only expected conſolation, the pleaſure of revenge. The bulk of the people deſired peace on any terms. Ambaſſadors were ſent to Sparta, but not admitted to an audience. The orators clamoured, and traduced Pericles. The undiſcerning populace aſcribed their misfortunes to the unhappy effect of his councils; but his magnanimity did not yet forſake him, and, for the laſt time, he addreſſed the aſſembly: "Your anger, Athenians! occaſions no ſurpriſe, becauſe it comes not unexpected. Your complaints excite no reſentment, becauſe to complain is the right of the miſerable. Yet as you miſtake both the cauſe and the meaſure of your preſent calamity, I will venture to expoſe ſuch dangerous, and, if not ſpeedily corrected, ſuch fatal errors. The juſtice and neceſſity of the war I have often had occaſion to explain: It is juſt that you, who have protected and ſaved, ſhould govern Greece: it is neceſſary, if you would aſſert your pre-eminence, that you ſhould now reſiſt the Peloponneſians. On maintaining this reſolution, not your honour only, but your ſafety, depends. The ſovereignty of Greece cannot, like an empty pageant of grandeur, be taken up with indifference, or without danger laid down. That well-earned dominion, which you have ſometimes exerciſed tyrannically, muſt be upheld and defended, otherwiſe you muſt ſubmit, without reſource, to the reſentment of your injured allies, and the animoſity of your inveterate enemies. The hardſhips, to which you were expoſed from the latter, I foreſaw and foretold; the peſtilence, that ſudden and improbable diſaſter, it was impoſſible for human prudence to conjecture; yet great and unexpected as our calamities have been, and continue, they are ſtill accidental and tranſitory, while the advantages of this neceſſary war are permanent, and its glory will be immortal. The greatneſs of that empire, which we ſtrive to uphold, extends beyond the territories of our moſt diſtant allies. Of the two elements, deſtined for the uſe of men, the ſea and the land, we abſolutely command the one, nor is there any kingdom, or republic, or confede-

The magnanimous firmneſs of his laſt advice to the Athenians.

racy that pretends to diſpute our dominion. Let this conſideration elevate our hopes; and perſonal afflictions will diſappear at the view of public proſperity. Let us bear, with reſignation, the ſtrokes of providence; and we ſhall repel, with vigour, the aſſaults of your enemies. It is the hereditary and glorious diſtinction of our republic, never to yield to adverſity. We have deſied danger, expended treaſure and blood; and, amidſt obſtinate and formidable wars, augmented the power, and extended the fame, of a city unrivalled in wealth, populouſneſs, and ſplendour, and governed by laws and inſtitutions worthy its magnificence and renown. If Athens muſt periſh (as what human grandeur is not ſubject to decay?) let her never fall, at leaſt, through *our* puſillanimity; a fall that would cancel the merit of our former virtue, and deſtroy at once that edifice of glory which it has been the work of ages to rear. When our walls and harbours are no more; when the terror of our navy ſhall have ceaſed, and our external magnificence fallen to decay, the glory of Athens ſhall remain. This is the prize which I have hitherto exhorted, and ſtill exhort you to defend, regardleſs of the clamours of ſloth, the ſuſpicions of cowardice, or the perſecution of envy."

Such were the ſentiments of Pericles, who, on this occaſion, declared to his aſſembled countrymen, with the freedom of conſcious merit, that he felt himſelf inferior to none in wiſdom to diſcover, and abilities to explain and promote, the meaſures moſt honourable and uſeful; that he was a ſincere and ardent lover of the republic, unbiaſſed by the dictates of ſelfiſhneſs, unſeduced by the allurements of partiality, and ſuperior to the temptations of avarice. The anger of the Athenians evaporated in impoſing on him a ſmall fine, and ſoon after they re-elected him general. The integrity and manly firmneſs of his mind reſtored the fainting courage of the republic. They reſcued the dignity of Pericles from the rage of popular frenzy; but they could not defend his life againſt the infectious

Death and character of Pericles. Olymp. lxxxvii. 4. A. C. 429.

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malignity of the peſtilence. He died two years and ſix months after the commencement of the war. The character which he draws of himſelf is confirmed by the impartial voice of hiſtory, which adds a few circumſtances proper to confirm the texture of a virtuous and laſting fame. During the firſt invaſion of the Peloponneſians, he declared that he would convey his extenſive and valuable eſtate to the public, if it ſhould be excepted from the general devaſtation, by the policy or the gratitude of Archidamus, his hereditary gueſt and friend [27]. Yet this generous patriot lived with the moſt exemplary œconomy in his perſonal and domeſtic expence. His death-bed was ſurrounded by his numerous admirers, who dwelt with complacence on the illuſtrious exploits of his glorious life. While they recounted the wiſdom of his government, and enumerated the long ſeries of his victories by ſea and land, "You forget," ſaid the dying ſtateſman and ſage, "you forget the only valuable part of my character: None of my fellow-citizens was ever compelled, through any action of mine, to aſſume a mourning robe [28]." He expired, teaching an invaluable leſſon to human kind, that in the laſt important hour, when all other objects diſappear, or loſe their value, the recollection of an innocent life is ſtill preſent to the mind, and ſtill affords conſolation, more valuable than Pericles could derive from his nine trophies erected over the enemies of his country, from his long and proſperous adminiſtration of forty years, the depth of his political wiſdom, the perfection of his military and naval ſkill, and the immortal fame of his unrivalled eloquence.

[27] Thucydid. p. 108.

[28] Plut. in Pericl.

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Subsequent Events of the War.—Platæa taken.—Revolt of Lesbos.—Description and History of that Island.—Nature of its Political Connection with Athens.—Address of Lesbos.—Its Capital besieged by the Athenians.—Measures of the Peloponnesians for relieving it.—Mitylené surrenders.—Deliberations in Athens concerning the Treatment of the Prisoners.—Resettlement of the Affairs of Lesbos.—The Corinthians foment Factions in Corcyra.—Sedition in that Island.—The contending Factions respectively supported by the Athenians and Peloponnesians.—Progress, Termination, and Consequences of the Sedition.

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Events of the four following years of the war. Olymp. lxxxvii. 4. A. C. 429—425.

THE dignity and vigour of the republic seemed to perish with Pericles, and several years elapsed scarcely distinguished by any event that tended to vary the uniformity, much less to decide the fortune, of the war. While the Peloponnesians invaded Attica the Athenian fleet annually ravaged the coast of Peloponnesus. In vain the inhabitants of that country, little accustomed to the sea, collected ships, and used their utmost endeavours to contend with the experienced skill of the Athenian mariners. They were always defeated, and often by an inferior force; one proof among many, that naval superiority is slowly acquired, and slowly lost. Neither the Athenians nor the Peloponnesians derived any effectual assistance from their respective alliances with Sitalces and Perdiccas. The former,

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former, reinforced by many independent tribes of Thrace, who were allured to his ſtandard by the hopes of plunder, poured down an hundred and fifty thouſand men on the Macedonian coaſt. But a haſty agreement between the two kings diſſipated that numerous and deſultory band with the ſame rapidity with which it had been collected [1].

One benefit indeed the Athenians received from Sitalces, if that can be reckoned a benefit, which enabled them to commit an action of atrocious cruelty: He put into their hands Ariſtæus, the Corinthian, a bold and determined enemy of their republic; and actually travelling through Thrace into Perſia, to ſolicit money from Artaxerxes to ſupport the war againſt them. Both Ariſtæus and his colleagues in the embaſſy ſuffered a painful and ignominious death.

Taking of Potidæa: Olymp. lxxxvii. 4. A. C. 429.

The ſucceſs of the adverſe parties was equally balanced in the ſieges of Potidæa and Platæa. The former, having ſurrendered on capitulation, was occupied by new inhabitants. The expelled citizens retired to Olynthus and other places of the Chalcidicé, where they ſtrengthened and exaſperated the foes of Athens. Platæa alſo capitulated after a long and ſpirited reſiſtance during five years. Notwithſtanding the warm and affecting remonſtrances of the citizens who had acted ſuch an illuſtrious part in the Perſian war, when the Thebans behaved moſt diſgracefully, the capitulation was ſhamefully violated by the Spartans, who ſacrificed to the reſentment of Thebes, the eternal enemy of Platæa, two hundred brave men, whoſe courage and fidelity merited a better fate. But the youth of Platæa ſtill flouriſhed in the boſom of Athens, and were deſtined, in a future age, to reaſſume the dignity of independent government, which always formed the higheſt ambition of their ſmall but magnanimous community.

Of Platæa. Olymp. lxxxviii. 2. A. C. 427.

[1] Thucydid. p. 167—170.

Among

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Revolt of Leſbos.

Among the tranſactions of this otherwiſe unimportant period, happened the revolt of Leſbos, and the ſedition of Corcyra. Both events deeply affected the intereſt of Athens; and the former is diſtinguiſhed by ſuch circumſtances as ſerve to explain the political condition of the times, while the latter exhibits a ſtriking but gloomy picture of Grecian manners.

Deſcription and hiſtory of that iſland.

The iſland of Leſbos, extending above an hundred and fifty miles in circumference, is the largeſt, except Eubœa, in the Ægean ſea. Originally planted by Eolians, Leſbos was the mother of many Eolic colonies. They were eſtabliſhed on the oppoſite continent, and ſeparated from their metropolis by a ſtrait of ſeven miles, which expands itſelf into the gulf of Thebe, and is beautifully diverſified by the Hecatonneſian and Arginuſſian iſles, of old ſacred to Apollo. The happy temperature of the climate of Leſbos conſpired with the rich fertility of the ſoil to produce thoſe delicious fruits, and thoſe exquiſite wines, which are ſtill acknowledged by modern travellers to deſerve the encomiums ſo liberally beſtowed on them by ancient writers [2]. The convenience of its harbours furniſhed another ſource of wealth and advantage to this delightful iſland, which, as early as the age of Homer, was reckoned populous and powerful, and, like the reſt of Greece at that time, governed by the moderate juriſdiction of hereditary princes. The abuſe of royal power occaſioned the diſſolution of monarchy in Leſbos, as well as in the neighbouring iſles. The rival cities of Mitylené and Methymna contended for republican pre-eminence. The former prevailed; and having reduced Methymna, as well as ſix cities of inferior note, began to extend its dominion beyond the narrow bounds of the iſland, and conquered a conſiderable part of Troas. Meanwhile the internal government of Mitylené was often diſturbed by ſedition, and ſometimes uſurped by tyrants. The wiſe Pittacus, contemporary and

[2] Monſ. de Guys, Tournefort, &c. agree with Horace (paſſim) and Strabo, l. xiii. p. 584—657, from which the following particulars, in the text, concerning Lesbos, are extracted.

rival

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rival of Solon, endeavoured to remedy theſe evils by giving his countrymen a body of laws, compriſed in ſix hundred verſes, which adjuſted their political rights, and regulated their behaviour and manners. The Leſbians afterwards underwent thoſe general revolutions, to which both the iſlands and the continent of Aſia Minor were expoſed from the Lydian and Perſian power. Delivered from the yoke of Perſia by the ſucceſsful valour of Athens and Sparta, the Leſbians, as well as all the Greek ſettlements around them, ſpurned the tyrannical authority of Sparta and Pauſanias, and ranged themſelves under the honourable colours of Athens, which they thenceforth continued to reſpect in peace, and to follow in war.

Nature of its political connection with Athens.

In the exerciſe of power the Athenians diſplayed principles totally different from thoſe by which they had attained it. The confederacy between Athens and Leſbos was ſtill ſupported, however, by mutual fear rather than by reciprocal affection. During peace, the Leſbians dreaded the navy of Athens; the Athenians feared to loſe the aſſiſtance of Leſbos in war. Beſides this, the Athenians were of the Ionic, the Leſbians of the Eolic, race; and the latter juſtly regretted that the allies of Athens ſhould be ſucceſſively reduced to the condition of ſubjects. They perceived the artful policy of that republic in allowing the Chians and Leſbians alone to retain the ſemblance of liberty. While the Chians and Leſbians, ſtill free in appearance, aſſiſted in ſubduing the other confederates of Athens, that ambitious republic was always furniſhed with a plauſible juſtification of her general oppreſſion and tyranny; ſince it was natural to imagine that men, left to the unreſtrained liberty of choice, ſhould, in matters indifferent to themſelves, prefer the cauſe of juſtice to that of uſurpation. But even the apparent freedom which the Leſbians enjoyed had become extremely precarious. They felt themſelves under the diſagreeable neceſſity to ſooth, to bribe, and to flatter the Athenian demagogues, and in all their tranſactions with that imperious people, to teſtify the moſt mortifying deference

deference and ſubmiſſion. Notwithſtanding their watchful attention never deſignedly to offend, they were continually endangered by the quarrelſome humour of a capricious multitude, and had reaſon to dread, leſt, in conſequence of ſome unexpected guſt of paſſion, they ſhould be compelled to demoliſh their walls, and to ſurrender their ſhipping, the puniſhments already inflicted on ſuch of the neighbouring iſlands as had incurred the diſpleaſure of Athens.

Meaſures of the Leſbians previous to their revolt.

This uneaſy ſituation naturally diſpoſed the Leſbians, amidſt the calamities of the ſecond Peloponneſian invaſion, heightened by the plague at Athens, to watch an opportunity to revolt. The following year was employed in aſſembling the ſcattered inhabitants of the iſland within the walls of Mitylené, in ſtrengthening theſe walls, in fortifying their harbours, in augmenting their fleet, and in collecting troops and proviſions from the fertile ſhores of the Euxine ſea. But in the fourth year of the war, their deſign, yet unripe for execution, was made known to the Athenians by the inhabitants of Tenedos, the neighbours and enemies of Leſbos, as well as by the citizens of Methymna, the ancient rival of Mitylené, and by ſeveral malcontents in the Leſbian capital. Notwithſtanding the concurrence of ſuch powerful teſtimonies, the Athenian magiſtrates affected to diſbelieve intelligence, which their diſtreſſed circumſtances rendered peculiarly alarming. The Leſbians, it was ſaid, could never think of forſaking the alliance of a country, which had always treated them with ſuch diſtinguiſhed favour, how powerfully ſoever they might be urged to that meaſure by the Thebans, their Eolian brethren, and the Spartans, their ancient confederates. Ambaſſadors, however, were ſent to Leſbos, deſiring an explanation of rumours ſo diſhonourable to the fidelity and gratitude of the iſland.

Olymp. lxxxviii. 1. A. C. 428.

Activity of Athens.

The ambaſſadors having confirmed the report, Athens equipped a fleet of forty ſail, intending to attack the enemy by ſurpriſe, while they celebrated, with univerſal conſent, the anniverſary feſtival of Apollo, on the promontory of Malea. But this deſign was rendered

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abortive by the diligence of a Mitylenian traveller, who paſſing from Athens to Eubœa, advanced northward to Geraiſtos, and embarking in a merchant veſſel, reached Leſbos in leſs than three days from the time that he undertook this important ſervice. His ſeaſonable advice not only prevented the Mytelenians from leaving their city, but prepared them to appear, at the arrival of the enemy, in a tolerable poſture of defence. This ſtate of preparation enabled them to obtain from Cleippidas, the Athenian admiral, a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, until they diſpatched an embaſſy to Athens, to remove, as they pretended, the groundleſs reſentment of the people, and to give ample ſatisfaction to the magiſtrates.

Addreſs of Leſbos. Olymp. lxxxviii. 1. A. C. 428.

On the part of the Leſbians, this tranſaction was nothing more than a contrivance to gain time. They expected no favour or forgiveneſs from the Athenian aſſembly: and while this illuſive negociation was carrying on at Athens, other ambaſſadors went ſecretly to Sparta, requeſting that the Leſbians might be admitted into the Peloponneſian confederacy, and thus entitled to the protection of that powerful league. The Spartans referred them to the general aſſembly, which was to be ſoon held at Olympia, to ſolemnize the moſt ſplendid of all the Grecian feſtivals. After the games were ended, and the Athenians, who little expected that ſuch matters were in agitation, had returned home, the Leſbian ambaſſadors were favourably heard in a general convention of the Peloponneſian repreſentatives or deputies, from whom they received aſſurance of immediate and effectual aſſiſtance.

Mitylené beſieged.

This promiſe, however, was not punctually performed. The eyes of the Athenians were at length opened; and while the Peloponneſians prepared or deliberated, their more active enemies had already taken the field. Various ſkirmiſhes, in which the iſlanders ſhewed little vigour in their own defence, engaged the neighbouring ſtates of Lemnos and Imbros to ſend, on the firſt ſummons, conſiderable ſupplies of troops to their Athenian confederates; but as the combined

bined forces were ſtill inſufficient completely to inveſt Mitylené, a powerful reinforcement was ſent from Athens; and before the beginning of winter, the place was blocked up by land, while an Athenian fleet occupied the harbour.

Meaſures of the Peloponneſians for relieving it.

The unfavourable ſeaſon, and ſtill more, that dilatorineſs which ſo often obſtructed the meaſures of the confederates, prevented timely aid from arriving at Mitylené. But in order to make a diverſion in favour of their new allies, the Peloponneſians aſſembled a conſiderable armament at the Iſthmus, intending to convey their ſhips over land from Corinth to the ſea of Athens, that they might thus infeſt the Athenian ſhores with their fleet, while the army carried on its uſual ravages in the central parts of Attica. The activity of the Athenians defeated this deſign. Notwithſtanding their numerous ſquadrons on the coaſts of Peloponneſus, Thrace, and Leſbos, they immediately fitted out an hundred ſail to defend their own ſhores. The Peloponneſian ſailors, who had been haſtily collected from the maritime towns, ſoon became diſguſted with an expedition, attended with unforeſeen difficulties; and, as autumn advanced, the militia from the inland country grew impatient for returning to their fields and vineyards. During winter, the Mytelenians were ſtill diſappointed in their hope of relief. They were encouraged, however, to perſevere in reſiſtance, by the arrival of Salæthus, a Spartan general of conſiderable merit, who having landed in an obſcure harbour of the iſland, travelled by land towards Mitylené; and, during the obſcurity of night, paſſed the Athenian wall of circumvallation, by favour of a breach made by a torrent. Salæthus gave the beſieged freſh aſſurances, that a powerful fleet would be ſent to their aſſiſtance early in the ſpring; and that, at the ſame time, the Athenians ſhould be haraſſed by an invaſion more terrible and deſtructive, than any which they had yet experienced.

Imprudent conduct of Alcidas.

The latter part of the promiſe was indeed performed. The Peloponneſians invaded Attica. Whatever had been ſpared in former in-

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curſions, now fell a prey to their fury. But after the ſpring was conſiderably advanced, the long-expected fleet was looked for in vain. The ſame procraſtination and difficulties ſtill retarded the preparations of the confederates; and when at length forty ſail were collected, the command was beſtowed on the Spartan Alcidas, a man totally devoid of that ſpirit and judgment eſſential to the character of a naval commander. Inſtead of ſailing directly to the relief of Mitylené, he waſted much precious time in purſuing the Athenian merchantmen, in haraſſing the unfortified iſlands, and in alarming the defenceleſs and unwarlike inhabitants of Ionia, who could ſcarcely recover from their aſtoniſhment, at ſeeing a Peloponneſian fleet in thoſe ſeas. Many trading veſſels, that ſailed between the numerous iſlands and harbours of that extenſive coaſt, fell into the hands of Alcidas; for when they deſcried his ſquadron, they attempted not to avoid it; many fearleſsly approached it, as certainly Athenian. In conſequence of this imprudence, Alcidas took a great number of priſoners, whom he butchered in cold blood at Myoneſus.

Olymp. lxxxviii. 2. A. C. 427.

Mitylené ſurrenders. Olymp. lxxxviii. 2. A. C. 427.

This barbarity only diſgraced himſelf, and injured the Spartan cauſe in Aſia, many cities of which were previouſly ripe for revolt. Before he attempted to accompliſh the main object of his expedition, the opportunity was for ever loſt by the ſurrender of Mitylené. Deſpair of aſſiſtance, and ſcarcity of proviſions, had obliged Salæthus, who began himſelf by this time to ſuſpect that the Peloponneſians had laid aſide all thoughts of ſuccouring the place, to arm [3] the populace, in order to make a vigorous aſſault on the Athenian lines. But the lower ranks of men, who in Leſbos, as well as in all the Grecian iſles, naturally favoured the cauſe of Athens, the avowed patron of democracy, no ſooner received their armour, than they refuſed obeying their ſuperiors, and threatened, that unleſs the corn

[3] He gave the populace, who were before light armed, heavy armour. Thucydid. p. 188. Engliſh cannot imitate his expreſſion: ὡπλιζε τον δημον προτερον ψιλον ονται.

were

were ſpeedily brought to the market-place, and equally divided among all the citizens, they would inſtantly ſubmit to the beſiegers. The ariſtocratical party prudently yielded to the torrent of popular fury, which they had not ſtrength to reſiſt; and juſtly apprehenſive leſt a more obſtinate defence might totally exclude them from the benefit of capitulation, they ſurrendered to Paches, the Athenian commander, on condition that none of the priſoners ſhould be enſlaved or put to death, until their agents, who were immediately ſent to implore the clemency of Athens, ſhould return with the ſentence of that republic.

Terror of the Leſbian captives.

The terms were accepted and ratified; but ſuch were the furious reſentments which prevailed in that age, ſuch the dark ſuſpicions, and ſuch the total diſregard to all laws of juſtice and humanity, that the Athenian army had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the place, than the chief authors and abettors of the revolt, judging it imprudent to truſt their ſafety to the faith of treaties, and the ſanctity of oaths, flew for protection to their temples and altars. This unſeaſonable diffidence (for Paches appears to have united uncommon humanity with a daring ſpirit, and great military abilities) diſcovered conſcious guilt, and enabled the Athenians to diſtinguiſh between their friends and enemies. The latter were protected by Paches, and prevailed on to withdraw from their ſanctuaries. He afterwards ſent them to the iſle of Tenedos, until their fate, as well as that of their fellow-citizens, ſhould be finally determined by the Athenian republic.

They are doomed to death by an Athenian decree.

Immediately after the arrival of the Mitylenian ambaſſadors, the people of Athens had aſſembled to deliberate on this important ſubject. Agitated by the giddy tranſports of triumph over the rebellious ingratitude and perfidy of a people, who, though diſtinguiſhed by peculiar favours, had abandoned and betrayed their protectors in the ſeaſon of danger, the Athenians doomed to death all the Mitylenian citizens, and condemned the women and children to perpetual ſervitude.

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tude. In one day the bill was propoſed, the decree paſſed, and the ſame evening a galley was diſpatched to Paches, conveying this cruel and bloody reſolution. But the night left room for reflection; the feelings of humanity were awakened by the ſtings of remorſe. In the morning having aſſembled, as uſual, in the public ſquare, men were ſurpriſed and pleaſed to find the ſentiments of their neighbours exactly correſponding with their own. Their dejected countenances met each other; they lamented, with one accord, the raſhneſs and ferocity of their paſſion, and bewailed the unhappy fate of Mitylené, the deſtined object of their miſguided frenzy. The Mitylenian ambaſſadors availed themſelves of this ſudden change of ſentiment; a new aſſembly was convened, and the queſtion ſubmitted to a ſecond deliberation.

Character of Cleon.

A turbulent impetuous eloquence had raiſed the audacious profligacy of Cleon, from the loweſt rank of life, to a high degree of authority in the Athenian aſſembly. The multitude were deceived with his artifices, and pleaſed with his frontleſs impudence, which they called boldneſs, and manly openneſs of character. His manners they approved, in proportion as they reſembled their own; and the worſt of his vices found advocates among the dupes of his pretended patriotiſm. This violent demagogue, whoſe arrogant[4] preſumption ſo unworthily ſucceeded the enlightened magnanimity of Pericles, had, in the former aſſembly, propoſed and carried the ſanguinary decree againſt Mitylené. He ſtill perſevered in ſupporting that atrocious meaſure, and upbraided the weak and wavering counſels of his countrymen, liable to be ſhaken by every guſt of paſſion, and totally incapable of that ſtability eſſential in the management of great affairs, and particularly indiſpenſable in the government of diſtant dependencies.

[4] The character of Cleon, ſketched in miniature by Thucydides, pp. 193, and 266, is painted at full length by Ariſtophanes, in his comedy of the Ἱππεῖς, "The Horſemen." Yet we could not ſafely truſt the deſcription of the angry ſatiriſt, who bore a perſonal grudge to Cleon, unleſs the principal ſtrokes were juſtified by the impartial narrative of Thucydides.

"Such

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Cleon enforces that decree.

"Such a temper of mind (he had often ventured to declare, and would repeat the ſame diſagreeable truth as often as their folly obliged him) was alike unworthy, and incapable, of command. That a democracy was unfit for ſovereign rule, paſt experience convinced him, and the preſent inſtance now confirmed his opinion. The empire of Athens could not be maintained without an undivided attachment, an unalterable adherence, to the intereſt and honour of the republic. But the maſters of Greece were the ſlaves of their own capricious paſſions; excited at will by the perfidious voice of venal ſpeakers, bribed to betray them. Lulled to a fatal repoſe by the ſoftneſs of melodious words, they forgot the dignity of the ſtate, and reſtrained their perſonal reſentment againſt multiplied and unprovoked injuries. What was ſtill more dangerous, they invited, by an ill-judged lenity, the imitation and continuance of ſuch crimes as muſt terminate in public diſgrace, and inevitable ruin. What elſe can be expected from pardoning the aggravated guilt of Mitylené? Encouraged by this weakneſs, muſt not the neighbouring cities and iſlands, whoſe reſources form the principal vigour of the republic, greedily ſeize the firſt opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke, which they have long reluctantly borne; and follow the example of a revolt, which, without preſenting them with the fear of danger, promiſes them the hope of deliverance?"

Deodatus oppoſes it with equal addreſs and ſpirit.

This ſanguinary ſpeech was anſwered by Deodatus, a man endowed with an amiable moderation of mind, joined to a profound knowledge of government, and a deep inſight into human nature. In the former aſſembly, this reſpectable character had ventured, almoſt ſingle and alone, to plead the cauſe of the Mityleneans, and to aſſert the rights of humanity. He obſerved, "that aſſemblies were liable to be miſled by the fury of reſentment, as well as by the weakneſs of compaſſion; and that errors of the former kind were often attended by conſequences no leſs deſtructive, and always followed by a far more bitter repentance. Againſt vague ſlanders and calumny

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calumny no man is ſecure; but a true patriot muſt learn to deſpiſe ſuch unmanly reproaches. Undaunted by oppoſition, he will offer good counſel, to which there are no greater enemies than haſte and anger. For my part, I ſtand up neither to defend the Mitylenians, nor to waſte time in fruitleſs accuſations. They have injured us moſt outrageouſly, yet I would not adviſe you to butcher them, unleſs *that* can be proved expedient; neither were they objects of forgiveneſs, would I adviſe you to pardon them [5], unleſs that were conducive to the public intereſt, the only point on which our preſent deliberation turns. Guided by vulgar prejudices, Cleon has loudly aſſerted, that the deſtruction of the Mitylenians is neceſſary to deter neighbouring cities from rebellion. But diſtant ſubjects muſt be kept in obedience by the mildneſs of diſcretionary caution, not by the rigour of ſanguinary examples. What people were ever ſo mad as to revolt, without expecting, either through their domeſtic ſtrength, or the aſſiſtance of foreign powers, to make good their pretenſions? Men who have known liberty, how ſweet it is, ought not to be puniſhed too ſeverely for aſpiring at that ineſtimable enjoyment. But their growing diſaffection muſt be watched with care, and anticipated by diligence; they muſt be prevented from taking the firſt ſteps towards emancipation; and taught, if poſſible, to regard it as a thing altogether unattainable."

"Yet ſuch is the nature of man, conſidered either individually or collectively, that a law of infallible prevention will never be enacted. Of all crimes that any reaſonable creature can commit, Deſire is the forerunner, and Hope the attendant. Theſe inviſible principles within, are too powerful for theſe external terrors; nor has the increaſing ſeverity of laws rendered crimes leſs frequent in latter times, than during the mildneſs of the heroic ages, when few puniſhments were capital. While human nature continues the ſame,

[5] This is ſpeaking like an orator. It will appear in the ſequel, that Deodatus by no means conſidered the innocence or guilt of the Mityleneans as things indifferent.

weakneſs will be diſtruſtful, neceſſity will be daring, poverty will excite injuſtice, power will urge to rapacity, miſery will ſink into meanneſs, and proſperity ſwell into preſumption. There are other contingencies, which ſtir up the mutiny of paſſions, too ſtubborn for controul. The authority of government can neither change the combination of events, nor interrupt the occaſions of fortune. Impelled by ſuch cauſes, the ſelfiſh deſires of men will hurry them into wickedneſs and vice, whatever penalties await them. The imagination becomes familiar with one degree of puniſhment, as well as with another; and, in every degree, hope renders it alike ineffectual and impotent; ſince neither individuals nor communities would be guilty of injuſtice, if they believed that it muſt infallibly ſubject them to puniſhment, ſmall or great. When individuals commit crimes, they always expect to elude the vengeance of law. When communities rebel, they expect to render their revolt, not the occaſion of triumph to their enemies, but the means of their own deliverance and ſecurity.

" The ſevere puniſhment of Mitylené cannot, therefore, produce the good conſequences with which Cleon has flattered you. But this cruel meaſure will be attended with irreparable prejudice to your intereſt. It will eſtrange the affections of your allies; provoke the reſentment of Greece; excite the indignation of mankind; and, inſtead of preventing rebellion, render it more frequent and more dangerous. When all hopes of ſucceſs have vaniſhed, your rebellious ſubjects will never be perſuaded to return to their duty. They will ſeek death in the field, rather than await it from the hand of the executioner. Though reduced to the laſt extremity, they will ſpurn ſubmiſſion, and gathering courage from deſpair, either repel your aſſaults, or fall an uſeleſs prey, weak and exhauſted, incapable of indemnifying you for the expence of the war, or of raiſing thoſe ſubſidies and contributions, which rendered their ſubjugation a reaſonable object either of intereſt or ambition.

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" The revolt of Mitylené was the work of an ariſtocratical faction, fomented by the Lacedæmonians and Thebans. The great body of the people were no ſooner provided with arms, than they diſcovered their affection for Athens. It would be moſt cruel and ungrateful, to confound the innocent with the guilty, to involve friends and foes in undiſtinguiſhed ruin. Yet this odious meaſure would ſhew more weakneſs than cruelty, more folly than injuſtice. What advantage could the enemies of Athens more earneſtly deſire? What boon could the ariſtocratical factions, ſo profuſely ſcattered over Greece, more anxiouſly requeſt from Heaven? Furniſhed with your ſanguinary decree againſt Mitylené, they might for ever alienate from the republic the affections of her ſubjects and confederates; for having once ſeduced them to revolt, they might unanſwerably convince them, that ſafety could only be purchaſed by perſevering in rebellion, and that to return to duty was to ſubmit to death."

His opinion prevails.

The moderation and good ſenſe of Deodatus (ſuch was the influence of Cleon) was approved only by a ſmall majority of voices. Yet it remained uncertain, whether this late and reluctant repentance would avail the Mitylenians, who, before any advice of it arrived, might be condemned and executed in conſequence of the former decree. A galley was inſtantly furniſhed with every thing that might promote expedition. The Mitylenian deputies promiſed invaluable rewards to the rowers. But the fate of a numerous, and lately flouriſhing community, ſtill depended on the uncertainty of winds and currents. The firſt advice boat had ſailed, as the meſſenger of bad news, with a ſlow and melancholy progreſs. The ſecond advanced with the rapid movement of joy. Not an adverſe blaſt oppoſed her courſe. The neceſſity of food and ſleep never reſtrained a moment the labour of the oar: And her diligence was rewarded by reaching Leſbos in time to check the cruel hand of the executioner.

The

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The bloody ſentence had been juſt read, even the orders had been iſſued for its execution, when the critical arrival of the Athenian galley converted the lamentable outcries, or gloomy deſpair of a whole republic, into expreſſions of admiration and gratitude.

Narrow eſcape of the Mitylenians.

The puniſhment, however, of Mitylené was ſtill ſufficiently ſevere, even according to the rigorous maxims of Grecian policy. The priſoners, who had been ſent to Tenedos, were tranſported to Athens. They exceeded a thouſand in number, and were indiſcriminately condemned to death. Salæthus, the Spartan general, ſhared the ſame fate, after deſcending to many mean contrivances to ſave his life. The walls of Mitylené were demoliſhed, its ſhipping was ſent to Athens, and its territory divided into three thouſand portions, of which three hundred were conſecrated to the gods, and the reſt diſtributed by lot among the people of Athens. The Leſbians were ſtill allowed to cultivate, as tenants, their own fields, paying for each ſhare an annual-rent of about ſix pounds nine ſhillings ſterling [6].

Reſettlement of affairs in Leſbos. Olymp. lxxxviii. 2. A. C. 427.

Merit and perſecution of Paches.

The activity and judgment of Paches thus effected an important conqueſt to his country. Though the affairs of Leſbos might have required his undivided attention, he no ſooner was appriſed of the appearance of the Peloponneſian fleet, than he immediately put to ſea, protected the allies of Athens, and chaſed the enemy from thoſe ſhores. During the whole time of his command, he behaved with firmneſs tempered by humanity. But, at his return to Athens, he met with the uſual reward of ſuperior merit. He was accuſed of miſconduct; and finding ſentence ready to be pronounced againſt him, his indignation roſe ſo high, that he ſlew himſelf in court [7].

Operations of the Spartan fleet.

The Spartan admiral, Alcidas, met, on the other hand, with a reception (ſuch is the blindneſs of popular prejudice!) far better than his behaviour deſerved. The Peloponneſian fleet of forty ſail, imprudently intruſted to his command, retired ingloriouſly, after a

[6] Thucydid. p. 173—206.

[7] Plutarch. in Nicia, & in Ariſtid.

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moſt expenſive and fruitleſs expedition, to the protection of their friendly harbours. A northerly wind, however, drove them on the ſhores of Crete; from whence they dropped in ſucceſſively to the port of Cyllené, which had recovered the diſaſter inflicted on it by the Corcyreans at the beginning of the war, and become the ordinary rendezvous of the Peloponneſian fleet. In this place Alcidas found thirteen gallies, commanded by Braſidas, a Spartan of diſtinguiſhed valour and abilities, purpoſely choſen to aſſiſt the admiral with his counſels. This ſmall ſquadron had orders to join the principal armament; with which the confederates, as their deſign had miſcarried at Leſbos, purpoſed to undertake an expedition to Corcyra, then agitated by the tumult of a moſt dangerous ſedition.

Intrigues of the Corinthians with the Corcyrean priſoners,

Among the hoſtilities already related between the republics of Corinth and Corcyra, we deſcribed the enterpriſes by which the Corinthians took above twelve hundred Corcyrean priſoners. Many of theſe perſons were deſcended from the firſt families in the iſland; a circumſtance on which the policy of Corinth founded an extenſive plan of artifice and ambition. The Corcyreans, inſtead of feeling the rigours of captivity, or experiencing the ſtern ſeverity of republican reſentment, were treated with the liberal and endearing kindneſs of Grecian hoſpitality. Having acquired their confidence by good offices, the Corinthians inſinuated to them in the unguarded hours of convivial merriment, the danger as well as the diſgrace of their connection with Athens, the univerſal tyrant of her allies; and repreſented their ſhameful ingratitude in deſerting Corinth, to which the colony of Corcyra owed not only its early happineſs and proſperity, but its original eſtabliſhment and exiſtence. Theſe arguments, ſeaſonably repeated, and urged with much addreſs, at length proved effectual. The Corcyreans recovered their freedom, and returned to their native country; and while they pretended to be collecting the ſum of eight hundred talents (about an hundred and fifty

fifty thouſand pounds ſterling) to pay their ranſom, they left nothing untried to detach Corcyra from the Athenian intereſt.

excite dangerous factions in Corcyra.

Their firſt expedient for accompliſhing this purpoſe was, to traduce the popular leaders, who were the moſt ſtedfaſt partizans of that republic. Accuſations, impeachments, all the artifices and chicane of legal perſecution, were directed and played off againſt them. The demagogues, who were not of a temper to brook ſuch injuries, retorted on their antagoniſts with equal ingenuity, and far ſuperior ſucceſs. Peithias, the moſt diſtinguiſhed advocate of the Athenian or democratic party, accuſed five ringleaders of the oppoſite faction of having deſtroyed the fence which incloſed the grove of Jupiter; a treſpaſs eſtimated by the Corcyrean law at a ſevere pecuniary puniſhment[8]. In vain the perſons accuſed denied the charge; in vain, after conviction before the ſenate, they fled as ſupplicants to the altars. They could obtain no mitigation of the amercement. The demagogue was inflexible; and his influence with his colleagues in the ſenate, of which he happened that year to be a member, determined them to execute the law in its utmoſt rigour.

Aſſaſſination of the demagogues.

Exaſperated by this ſeverity, and not doubting that during the adminiſtration of the preſent ſenate, many ſimilar proſecutions would be raiſed againſt them, the ariſtocratical party entered into a conſpiracy for defending themſelves and their country againſt the oppreſſive injuſtice of Athens, and Athenian partizans. On this emergency they acted like men who knew the danger of delay. Having fortified their cauſe with a ſufficient number of adherents, they armed themſelves with concealed daggers, ſuddenly ruſhed into the ſenate-houſe, and aſſaſſinated Peithias, with ſixty of his friends. This boldneſs ſtruck their opponents with terror. Such perſons as

[8] The fine was, for every pale a ſtater (one pound and nine pence ſterling). Such cauſes were frequent in other parts of Greece, as we learn from the oration of Lyſias in defence of a citizen accuſed of cutting down a conſecrated olive. See the tranſlation of Lyſias and Iſocrates, p. 377.

felt

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felt themſelves moſt obnoxious to the conſpirators, immediately fled to the harbour, embarked, and ſailed to Athens.

Sedition in Corcyra. Olymp. lxxxviii. 2. A. C. 427.

The people of Corcyra, thus deprived of their leaders by an event equally unexpected and atrocious, were ſeized with ſuch aſtoniſhment as ſuſpended their power of action. Before they had ſufficiently recovered themſelves to take the proper meaſures for revenge, or even for defence, the arrival of a Corinthian veſſel, and a Lacedæmonian embaſſy, encouraged their opponents to attempt their deſtruction. The attack was made at the hour of full aſſembly; the forum, or public ſquare, preſented a ſcene of horror; the ſtreets of Corcyra ſtreamed with blood. The unguarded citizens were incapable of making reſiſtance againſt ſuch ſudden and unforeſeen fury. They fled in trepidation from the forum, and the more ſpacious ſtreets. Some took poſſeſſion of the citadel; others of the Hillæan harbour; and in general occupied, before evening, the higher and more remote parts of the town. Their adverſaries kept poſſeſſion of the market-place, around which moſt of their houſes ſtood, or aſſembled in the principal harbour, that points towards Epirus, from which they expected ſuccour. The day following was ſpent in doubtful ſkirmiſhes, and in ſummoning from the country the aſſiſtance of the peaſants, or rather ſlaves, by whom chiefly the lands of the iſland were cultivated. Theſe naturally ranged themſelves on the ſide of the people: the Corcyrean women zealouſly embraced the ſame party, and ſuſtained the tumult with more than female courage. One inactive day intervened. The partizans of ariſtocracy were reinforced by eight hundred auxiliaries from the continent of Epirus. But in the ſucceeding engagement, the numbers and fury of the ſlaves, who ſeized the preſent opportunity to reſent the barbarous cruelty of their reſpective maſters, and the generous ardor of the women, rendered the friends of liberty completely victorious. The vanquiſhed fled towards the forum, and the great harbour. Even theſe poſts they ſoon deſpaired of being able

to maintain; and, to eſcape immediate death, ſet fire to the ſurrounding houſes, which being ſoon thrown into a blaze, preſented an impervious obſtacle to the rage of the aſſailants. The moſt beautiful part of Corcyra was thus deſtroyed in one night; the houſes, ſhops, magazines, and much valuable merchandiſe, were totally conſumed; and had an eaſterly wind aided the conflagration, the whole city muſt in a ſhort time have been reduced to aſhes. Amidſt this ſcene of confuſion and horror, the Corinthian galley, together with the auxiliaries from Epirus, retired in conſternation from a place that ſeemed doomed to inevitable deſtruction.

An Athenian ſquadron arrives at Corcyra.

Next day twelve Athenian gallies arrived from Naupactus, containing, beſides their ordinary complement of men, five hundred heavy-armed Meſſenians. Nicoſtratus, who commanded this armament, had, upon the firſt intelligence of the ſedition, haſtened with the utmoſt celerity to ſupport the cauſe of Athens and democracy. He had the good fortune not only to anticipate the Peloponneſian ſquadron, which was ſo anxiouſly expected by the enemy, but to find his friends triumphant. They had obtained, however, a melancholy triumph over the ſplendor of their country, which, if its factions were not ſpeedily reconciled, was threatened with total ruin. Nicoſtratus omitted nothing that ſeemed proper to heal the wounds of that afflicted commonwealth. By authority, entreaties, and commands, he perſuaded the contending parties to accommodate matters between themſelves, and to renew their alliance with Athens. Having happily terminated this buſineſs, he was intent on immediate departure; but the managers for the people propoſed, that he ſhould leave five of his ſhips with them, to deter the enemy from any freſh commotion, and take in exchange five of theirs, which ſhould be inſtantly manned to attend him on his ſtation. With this propoſal he complied; and the Corcyreans ſelected the mariners deſtined to ſail with Nicoſtratus. Thoſe named for this ſervice were, to a man,

partizans

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partizans of the oligarchy and Lacedæmon: a circumſtance which created in them juſt alarm, leſt they ſhould be tranſported to Athens, and, notwithſtanding the faith of treaties, condemned to death. They took refuge in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux: the aſſurances of Nicoſtratus could ſcarcely remove them from this ſanctuary; and all his declarations and oaths were incapable to prevail on them to embark. The oppoſite party aſſerted, that this want of confidence betrayed not only the conſciouſneſs of paſt, but the fixed purpoſe of future, guilt; and would have immediately diſpatched them with their daggers, had not Nicoſtratus interpoſed. Terrified at theſe proceedings, the unhappy victims of popular malice and ſuſpicion aſſembled, to the number of four hundred, and retired with one accord, as ſupplicants, to the temple of Juno. From this ſanctuary they were perſuaded to ariſe, and tranſported to a neighbouring iſland, or rather rock, ſmall, barren, and uninhabited. There they remained four days, ſupplied barely with the means of ſubſiſtence, and impatiently waiting their fate.

The Peloponneſian fleet appears off the coaſt.

In this poſture of affairs a numerous fleet was ſeen approaching from the ſouth. This was the long-expected ſquadron of fifty-three ſhips commanded by Alcidas and Braſidas. With the unfortunate ſlowneſs inherent in all the meaſures of the confederacy, this armament arrived too late to ſupport the ruined cauſe of their friends. The Peloponneſian commanders, however, might ſtill expect to take an uſeleſs but agreeable vengeance on their enemies. To accompliſh this deſign they prepared to attack the harbour of Corcyra, while all was hurry and confuſion. The iſlanders had ſixty veſſels fit for ſea, in which they embarked with the utmoſt expedition, and ſucceſſively ſailed forth as each happened to be ready. Their ardour and impatience diſdained the judicious advice of Nicoſtratus, who alone, calm and unmoved amidſt a ſcene of unexpected danger, exhorted them to keep the harbour until they were all prepared to advance in line

line of battle, generouſly offering, with his twelve Athenian gallies, to ſuſtain the firſt aſſaults of the enemy. CHAP. XVI.

A ſea fight, in which the Peloponneſians prevail.

The Peloponneſians, obſerving the hoſtile armament ſcattered and unſupported, divided their own fleet into two ſquadrons. The one, conſiſting of twenty gallies, attacked the Corcyreans; the other, amounting to thirty-three, endeavoured to ſurround the Athenians. But the addreſs of the Athenian mariners fruſtrated this attempt. Their front was extended with equal order and celerity. They aſſaulted, at once, the oppoſite wings of the Peloponneſian fleet, intercepted their motion, and ſkilfully encircled them around, hoping to drive their ſhips againſt each other, and to throw them into univerſal diſorder. Perceiving theſe manœuvres, the ſhips which followed the Corcyreans left off the purſuit, and ſteered to ſupport the main ſquadron: and now, with their whole embodied ſtrength, they prepared to pour on the Athenians. Theſe prudently declined the ſhock of ſuperior force: but the glory of their retreat was equal to a victory. They ſeaſonably ſhifted their helms, ſlowly and regularly gave way, and thus covered the retreat of their Corcyrean allies, who, having already loſt thirteen veſſels, were totally incapable to renew the engagement.

The miſconduct of Alcidas ſaves Corcyra.

Having reached the harbour, the Corcyreans ſtill feared leſt the enemy, in purſuance of their victory, ſhould make a deſcent on the coaſt, and even aſſault the city. But the manly counſels of Braſidas, who ſtrongly recommended the latter meaſure, were defeated by the timidity and incapacity of Alcidas. The Corcyreans ſeized, therefore, the preſent opportunity to remove the ſupplicants from the uninhabited iſland to the temple of Juno, as leſs expoſed there to be diſcovered and taken up by the Peloponneſian fleet. Next day they entered into accommodation with theſe unhappy men, and even admitted ſeveral of them to embark in thirty veſſels, which they haſtily equipped, as the laſt defence of the iſland. The Peloponneſians, meanwhile, ſtill prevented, by the daſtardly counſels of Al-

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cidas, from attacking the capital, wrecked their reſentment on the adjacent territory. But before the dawn of the ſucceeding day, they were alarmed by lights on the northern ſhore of Leucadia, which, by their number and diſpoſition, ſignified the approach of an Athenian fleet of ſixty ſail.

The Athenians reinforced.

The ſituation of the invaders was now extremely dangerous. If they ſtretched out to ſea, they might be obliged to encounter the unbroken vigour of the Athenians: if they cruiſed off the coaſt, they would be compelled to contend, not only with the power of Athens, but with the reſentment of Corcyra. One meaſure alone promiſed the hope of ſafety: it was immediately adopted. Having crept along the ſhore to Leucadia, they carried their veſſels acroſs the iſthmus, afterwards buried in the ſea, but which then joined the peninſula, now the iſland of Leucas, to the adjacent coaſt of Acarnania. From thence ſailing through the narrow ſeas, which ſeparate the neighbouring iſles from the continent, they eſcaped without diſcovery, and ſafely arrived in the harbour of Cyllené.

The Peloponneſians retire from Corcyra.

Maſſacre of the Lacedæmonian partizans.

The democratical party in Corcyra ſoon perceived the flight of the enemy, and deſcried the approach of the Athenian fleet, commanded by Eurymedon. Theſe fortunate events, which ought in generous minds to have effaced the dark impreſſions of enmity and revenge, only enabled the Corcyreans to diſplay the deep malignity of their character. They commanded the thirty gallies, recently manned, to paſs in review, and in proportion as they diſcovered their enemies, puniſhed them with immediate death. Fifty of the principal citizens, who ſtill clung to the altars in the temple of Juno, they ſeduced from their aſylum, and inſtantly butchered.

Malignant paſſions of the Corcyreans.

Politics and party formed the pretence for violence, while individuals gratified their private paſſions, and wrecked vengeance on their perſonal foes. The ſedition became every hour more fierce: the confuſion thickened; the whole city was filled with conſternation and horror. The altars and images of the gods were ſurrounded by

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by votaries, whom even the terrors of a ſuperſtitious age could no longer protect. The miſerable victims were dragged from the moſt revered temples, whoſe walls and pavement were now firſt ſtained with civil blood. Many withdrew themſelves by a voluntary death from the fury of their enemies. In every houſe, and in every family, ſcenes were tranſacted too horrid for deſcription. Parents, children, brothers, and pretended friends, ſeized the deſired moment for gratifying their latent malignity, and perpetrating crimes without a name. The unfeeling Eurymedon (whoſe character, as will ſhortly appear, was a diſgrace to human nature) ſhewed neither ability or inclination to ſtop the carnage. During the ſpace of ſix days that his fleet continued in the Corcyrean harbour, the actors in this lamentable tragedy continually aggravated the enormity of their guilt, and improved in the refinement of their cruelty. A dreadful calm ſucceeded this violent agitation. Five hundred partizans of ariſtocracy eſcaped to the coaſt of Epirus; and the Athenian fleet retired.

The fugitives, inſtead of rejoicing in their ſafety, thought only of revenge. They ſent agents to Lacedæmon and Corinth. By deſcribing their ſufferings to the aſtoniſhed Epirots, they excited their compaſſion, and acquired their aſſiſtance. The ſeverity of the prevailing party in Corcyra increaſed the number of outlaws; who, at length, finding themſelves ſufficiently powerful to attack and conquer the iſland, which from the moment of their baniſhment they had infeſted by naval deſcents, ſailed with their whole ſtrength for that purpoſe in boats provided by the Barbarians. In landing at Corcyra, the rowers drove with ſuch violence againſt the ſhore, as broke many of their veſſels in pieces; the reſt they immediately burned, diſdaining ſafety unleſs purchaſed by victory. This deſperate meaſure deterred oppoſition: they advanced, ſeized, and fortified, Mount Iſoné; a ſtrong poſt in the neighbourhood of the city, from which

The ariſtocratical party receive aſſiſtance from Epirus.

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they ravaged the territory, and subjected their enemies to the multiplied evils of war and famine.

The Athenians again arrive in the island. Olymp. lxxxviii. 4. A. C. 425.

An epidemical disorder increased the measure of their calamities. The flames of civil discord, which had never been thoroughly extinguished, again broke out within the walls. The misery of the Corcyreans was verging to despair, when an Athenian fleet of forty sail appeared off the coast. This armament was commanded by Eurymedon and Sophocles. It was principally destined against Sicily, as we shall have occasion to relate, but ordered in its voyage thither to touch at Corcyra, and regulate the affairs of that island. This unexpected assistance enabled the besieged to become the besiegers. The outworks and defences of Mount Istoné were successively taken, the parties who defended them gradually retiring to the more elevated branches, and, at length, to the very summit, of the mountain. They were on the point of being driven from thence, and of falling into the hands of enemies exasperated by innumerable injuries suffered and inflicted. Alarmed by this reflection, they called out to the Athenians for quarter, and surrendered to Eurymedon and Sophocles, on condition that their fate should be decided by the people of Athens. They were sent prisoners to the small island of Ptychia, till it should be found convenient to transport them to Athens, and commanded not to make any attempt to stir from thence under pain of annulling the capitulation which had been granted them.

Perfidious cruelty of the Corcyreans;

If the malignity of the Corcyrean populace had not exceeded the ordinary standard of human pravity, their resentment must have been softened by the sudden transition wrought by accident in their favour. But their first concern was to intercept the precarious clemency of Athens, and to assure the destruction of their adversaries. This atrocious design was executed by a stratagem equally detestable, uniting, by a singular combination, whatever is savage in ferocity, and base in perfidy. By means of proper agents dispatched secretly

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to Ptychia, the leaders of the popular faction acquainted thoſe of the priſoners, with whom, in peaceable times, they had reſpectively lived in ſome habits of intimacy, that the Athenians had determined to give them up indiſcriminately to the fury of the populace. Pretending much regret that perſons in whom they once had ſo tender a concern, ſhould ſhare the common calamity, they exhorted them, by all poſſible means, to contrive their eſcape, and offered to provide them with a bark for that purpoſe. The known cruelty of Eurymedon made the artifice ſucceed. The bark was already launched from the iſland; the terms of the capitulation were thus infringed; the deluded victims were apprehended in the very act of departure, ſeized, bound, and delivered into the hands of their inexorable enemies.

and of the Athenian commanders, Eurymedon and Sophocles.

The Athenian commanders, Eurymedon and Sophocles, favoured the deceit, becauſe, as they were themſelves obliged to proceed towards Sicily, they envied the honour that would accrue to their ſucceſſors in conducting the captives to Athens. To gratify this meanneſs of ſoul without example, they permitted barbarities beyond belief.

Unexampled barbarities committed in Corcyra.

The unhappy priſoners were firſt confined in a dungeon. Dragged ſucceſſively from thence, in parties of twenty at a time, they were compelled to paſs in pairs, their hands tied behind their backs, between two ranks of their enemies, armed with whips, prongs, and every inſtrument of licentious and diſgraceful torture. The wretches left in priſon were long ignorant of the ignominious cruelty inflicted on their companions: but, as ſoon as they learned the abominable ſcenes tranſacted without, they refuſed to quit their confinement, guarded the entrance, and invited, with one conſent, the Athenians to murder them. But the Athenians wanted either humanity or firmneſs to commit this kind cruelty. The Corcyrean populace ventured not to force a paſſage from deſpair. They mounted the priſon walls, uncovered the roof, and overwhelmed thoſe below with ſtones, darts,

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darts, and arrows. Theſe weapons were deſtructive to many, and furniſhed others with the means of deſtroying themſelves, or each other. They laid down their heads, opened their breaſts, expoſed their necks, mutually ſoliciting, in plaintive or frantic accents, the fatal ſtroke. The whole night (for the night intervened) was ſpent in this horrid ſcene; and the morning preſented a ſpectacle too ſhocking for deſcription. The obdurate hearts of the Corcyreans were incapable of pity or remorſe; but their relenting eyes could not bear the ſight; and they commanded the bodies of their fellow-citizens, now breathleſs or expiring, to be thrown on carts, and conveyed without the walls.

The conſequences of the ſedition permanent.

Thus ended the ſedition of Corcyra [a]; but its conſequences were not ſoon to end. The contagion of that unhappy iſland engendered a political malady, which ſpread its baneful influence over Greece. The ariſtocratical, and ſtill more, the popular governments of that country, had always been liable to faction, which occaſionally blazed into ſedition. But this morbid tendency, congenial to the conſtitution of republics, thenceforth aſſumed a more dangerous appearance, and betrayed more alarming ſymptoms. In every republic, and almoſt in every city, the intriguing and ambitious found the ready protection of Athens, or of Sparta, according as their ſelfiſh and guilty deſigns were ſcreened under the pretence of maintaining the prerogatives of the nobles, or aſſerting the privileges of the people. A virtuous and moderate ariſtocracy, an equal impartial freedom, theſe were the colourings which ſerved to juſtify violence, and varniſh guilt. Sheltered by the ſpecious coverings of fair names, the prodigal aſſaſſin delivered himſelf from the importunity of his creditor. The father, with unnatural cruelty, puniſhed the licentious extravagance of his ſon: the ſon avenged, by parricide, the ſtern ſeverity of his father. The debates of the public aſſembly

[a] Thucydid. p. 220—285.

were

were decided by the ſword. Not ſatisfied with victory, men thirſted for blood. This general diſorder overwhelmed laws human and divine. The ordinary courſe of events was reverſed: ſentiments loſt their natural force, and words their uſual meaning[10]. Dulneſs and ſtupidity triumphed over abilities and refinement; for while the crafty and ingenious were laying fine-ſpun ſnares for their enemies, men of blunter minds had immediate recourſe to the ſword and poignard. This ſucceſsful audacity was termed manly enterpriſe; ferocity aſſumed the name of courage; faction and ambition paſſed for patriotiſm and magnanimity; ſtratagem was called prudence; cunning, wiſdom; every vice was clothed in the garb of every virtue: while juſtice, moderation, and candour, were branded as weakneſs, cowardice; meanneſs of ſoul, and indifference to the public intereſt. Such was the perverſion of ſentiment, and ſuch the corruption of language, firſt engendered amidſt the turbulence of Grecian factions, and too faithfully imitated, as far as the ſoft effeminacy of modern manners will permit, by the diſcontented and ſeditious of later times—Wretched and deteſtable deluſions, by which wicked men deceive and ruin the public and themſelves!

[10] Thucydid. p. 227. & ſeqq.

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Phyſical Calamities conſpire with the Evils of War.—Athenian Expedition into Ætolia.—Victories of Demoſthenes.—He fortifies Pylus.—Blocks up the Spartans in Sphacteria.—The Spartans ſolicit Peace.—Artifices and Imprudence of Cleon.—His unmerited Succeſs.—Ridiculed by Ariſtophanes.—Athenian Conqueſts.—Battle of Delium.—Commotions in Thrace.—Expedition of Braſidas.—Truce for a Year.—The War renewed.—Battle of Amphipolis.—Peace of Nicias.—Diſſatisfaction of the Spartan Allies.

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Phyſical calamities conſpire with the evils of war. Olymp. lxxxviii. 2. A. C. 427.

IT would be agreeable to diverſify the dark and melancholy ſcenes of the Peloponneſian war, by introducing occurrences and tranſactions of a different and more pleaſing kind. But ſuch, unfortunately, is the ſettled gloom of our preſent ſubject, that the epiſodes commonly reflect the ſame colour with the principal action. The miſerable period now under our review, and already diſtinguiſhed by revolt and ſedition, was ſtill farther deformed by a return of the peſtilence, and by innumerable earthquakes. The diſeaſe carried off five thouſand Athenian troops, and a great but uncertain number of other citizens. It raged, during a twelvemonth, with unabating violence; many remedies were employed, but all equally ineffectual. The poiſon at length ſpent its force, and the malady diſappeared by a ſlow and inſenſible progreſs, ſimilar to that obſerved in the Levant, and other parts of the world, which are ſtill liable to be viſited by this

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this dreadful calamity[1]. The earthquakes alarmed Attica and Bœotia, but proved moſt deſtructive in the neighbouring iſles. The dreadful concuſſions of the land were accompanied, or perhaps produced, by a violent agitation of the ſea. The reflux of the waves overwhelmed the flouriſhing city of Orobia, on the weſtern coaſt of Eubœa. Similar diſaſters happened in the ſmall iſlands of Atalanta and Peperathus. Nor did theſe alarming events terminate the afflictions of the Greeks; for Nature, as if ſhe had delighted to produce at one period every thing moſt awful, poured forth a torrent of fire from Mount Ætna, which demoliſhed the induſtrious labours of the Cataneans. A dreadful eruption had happened fifty years before this period; and the preſent was the third, and moſt memorable, by which Sicily had been agitated and inflamed, ſince the coaſts of that iſland were adorned by Grecian colonies[2].

Olymp. lxxxviii. 3. A. C. 426.

If the Peloponneſian war had not been carried on with an animoſity unknown to the mildneſs of modern times, the long-ſufferings of the contending parties would have diſpoſed them eagerly to deſire the bleſſiugs of tranquillity. But ſuch virulent paſſions rankled in Athens and Sparta, that while calamities were equally balanced, and the capitals of both republics were ſecure, no combination of adverſe circumſtances ſeemed capable to determine either ſide to purchaſe peace by the ſmalleſt diminution of honour. Yet to this neceſſity Sparta was, in the following year, reduced by a train of events, equally ſudden and ſingular. Demoſthenes, a general of merit and enterpriſe, commanded the Athenian forces at Naupactus. This town, as related above, had been beſtowed on the unfortunate Meſſenians; by whoſe aſſiſtance, together with that of the Athenian allies in Acarnania, Cephallenia, and Zacynthus, Demoſthenes undertook to reduce the hoſtile provinces of Ætolia, Ambracia, and Leucadia. But the operations neceſſary for this purpoſe

Expedition of Demoſthenes to Ætolia. Olymp. lxxxviii. 4. A. C. 425.

[1] Voyage de Tourneſort, vol. ii. Diſcourſe on the Plague, in the Phil. Tranſ. vol. lxiv.
[2] Thucydid. p. 250.

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were obſtructed by the jealouſies and diſſentions which prevailed among the confederates; each ſtate inſiſting, that the whole force of the war ſhould be immediately directed againſt its particular enemies.

Miſunderſtanding among the Athenian allies.

The allied army, thus diſtracted by contrariety, and weakened by defection, performed nothing deciſive againſt Leucadia or Ambracia. In Ætolia they were extremely unfortunate. The Meſſenians, who were continually haraſſed by the natives of that barbarous province, perſuaded Demoſthenes that it would be eaſy to over-run their country, before the inhabitants, who lived in ſcattered villages, widely ſeparated from each other, could collect their force, or attempt reſiſtance. In purſuance of this advice, Demoſthenes entered Ætolia, took and plundered the towns, and drove the inhabitants before him. During ſeveral days he marched unreſiſted; but having proceeded to Ægitium, the principal, or rather only city in the province, he found that his deſign had by no means eſcaped the notice of the enemy. Ægitium is ſituate among lofty mountains, and about ten miles diſtant from the Corinthian gulf. Among theſe intricate and almoſt inacceſſible heights the flower of the Ætolian nation were poſted. Even the moſt diſtant tribes had come up, before the confederate army entered their borders.

Singular mode of battle.

Ægitium was ſtormed; but the inhabitants eſcaped to their countrymen concealed among the mountains. While the Athenians and their allies purſued them, the Ætolians ruſhed, in ſeparate bodies, from different eminences, and checked the purſuers with their darts and javelins. Having diſcharged their miſſile weapons, they retired, being light-armed, and incapable to reſiſt the impreſſion of pikemen. New detachments continually poured forth from the mountains, and, in all directions, annoyed the confederates. The latter loſt no ground, as long as their archers had darts, and were able to uſe them. But when the greateſt part of their light troops were wounded or ſlain, the heavy-armed men began to give way. They

ſtill,

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ſtill, however, maintained their order; and the battle long continued, in alternate purſuits and retreats, the Ætolians always flying before the enemy as ſoon as they had diſcharged their javelins. But at length the confederates were exhauſted by ſo many repeated charges, and totally defeated by opponents who durſt not wait their approach.

Unfortunate iſſue of the expedition.

Their conductors, through this intricate country, had all periſhed. They miſtook their road to the ſea. The enemy were light-armed, and in their own territories. The purſuit, therefore, was unuſually deſtructive. Many fell into caverns, or tumbled headlong from precipices. A large party wandered into an impervious wood, which being ſet on fire by the enemy, conſumed them in its flames. A miſerable remnant returned to Naupactus, afflicted by the loſs of their companions, and highly mortified at being defeated by barbarians, alike ignorant of the rules of war, and of the laws of civil ſociety, who ſpoke an unknown dialect, and fed on raw fleſh [3].

Demoſthenes defends Naupactus, &c.

This diſaſter deterred Demoſthenes from returning to Athens, till fortune gave him an opportunity to retrieve the honour of his arms. The Ætolians and Ambraciots, the moſt formidable enemies of the republic on that weſtern coaſt of Greece, ſolicited and obtained aſſiſtance from Lacedæmon and Corinth, vigorouſly attacked the towns of Naupactus and Amphilochian Argos, and threatened to reduce the whole province of Acarnania, in which the latter was ſituated. The vigilance and activity of Demoſthenes not only ſaved theſe important cities, but obtained the moſt ſignal advantages over the aſſailants. With profound military ſkill he divided the ſtrength of the enemy, and by a well-conducted ſtratagem, totally defeated the Ambraciots among the heights of Idomené. A ſtrong detachment of that brave nation had advanced the preceding day to Olpæ, a place fortified by the Acarnanians, and the ſeat of their courts of

Defeats the Ætolians and Ambraciots.

[3] Thucydid. p. 237, & ſeqq.

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juſtice. Demoſthenes obliged them to retreat with conſiderable loſs, and intercepted their return homeward. Meanwhile the collected force of the Ambraciots marched to ſupport their detachment, with whoſe misfortunes they were totally unacquainted. Appriſed of this deſign, Demoſthenes beſet the paſſes, and ſeized the moſt advantageous poſts on their route. With the remainder of his force he advanced to attack them in front. They had already proceeded to Idomené, and encamped on the loweſt ridge of that mountain [4].

Surpriſes their camp.

Demoſthenes placed his Meſſenians in the van, and commanded them, as they marched along, to diſcourſe in their Doric dialect. This circumſtance, as the morning was yet in its dawn, effectually prevented the advanced guards from ſuſpecting them to be enemies. Demoſthenes then ruſhed forward with the Meſſenians and Acarnanians. The Ambraciots were yet in their beds. The camp was no ſooner aſſaulted, than the route began. Many were ſlain on the ſpot; the reſt fled amain; but the paſſes were beſet, and the purſuers light-armed. Some ran to the ſea, and beheld a new object of terror, in ſome Athenian ſhips then cruiſing on the coaſt. In this complication of calamities, they plunged into the water, and ſwam to the hoſtile ſquadron, chooſing rather to be deſtroyed by the Athenians, than by the enemies from whom they had eſcaped.

Conſternation of an Ambracian herald.

On the following day, the victors, who remained at Idomené, ſtripping the dead, and erecting a trophy, were addreſſed by a herald ſent on the part of the detachment who had ſo much ſuffered in its retreat from Olpæ. This herald knew nothing of the freſh diſaſter that had befallen his countrymen. Obſerving the arms of the Ambraciots, he was aſtoniſhed at their number. The victors perceiving his ſurpriſe, aſked him, before he explained his commiſſion, "What he judged to be the amount of the ſlain?" "Not more than two hundred," replied the herald. The demander then ſaid,

[4] Thucydid. p. 244, & ſeqq.

"It

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"It ſhould ſeem otherwiſe, for there are the arms of more than a thouſand men." The herald rejoined, "They cannot then belong to our party." The other replied, "They muſt, if you fought yeſterday at Idomené." "We fought nowhere yeſterday; we ſuffered the day before, in our retreat from Olpæ." "But *we* fought yeſterday againſt theſe Ambraciots, who were marching to your relief." When the herald heard this, he burſt into a groan, and went abruptly off, without further explaining his commiſſion [s].

Demoſthenes ſails to the Peloponneſus. Olymp. lxxxviii. 4. A. C. 425.

Theſe important ſucceſſes enabled Demoſthenes to return with honour to Athens. The term of his military command had expired; but his mind could not brook inactivity. He therefore ſolicited permiſſion to accompany, as a volunteer, the armament which ſailed to Corcyra, the ſucceſs of which has already been related, with leave to employ the Meſſenians, whom he carried along with him, on the coaſt of Peloponneſus, if any opportunity ſhould offer of thereby promoting the public ſervice. While the fleet ſlowly coaſted along the ſouthern ſhores of that peninſula, the Meſſenians viewed, with mingled joy and ſorrow, the long loſt, but ſtill beloved, ſeats of their anceſtors. They regretted, in particular, the decay of ancient Pylus, the royal reſidence of their admired Neſtor, whoſe youth had been adorned by valour, and his age renowned for wiſdom. Their immortal reſentment againſt Sparta was inflamed by beholding the ruins of Meſſené. A thouſand ideas and ſentiments, which time had obliterated, revived at the ſight of their native ſhores.

Emotions of the Meſſenians at the ſight of their native ſhores.

The Athenians and Meſſenians fortify Pylus.

When the tumult of their emotions ſubſided, they explained their feelings to Demoſthenes, and to each other. He ſuggeſted, or at leaſt warmly approved, the deſign of landing, and rebuilding Pylus, which had been abandoned by the Spartans, though it enjoyed a convenient harbour, and was ſtrongly fortified by nature. Demoſthenes propoſed this meaſure to Eurymedon and

[s] Thucydid. 244, & ſeqq.

Sophocles,

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Sophocles, who anſwered him with the inſolence congenial to their character, "That there were many barren capes on the coaſt of Peloponneſus, which thoſe might fortify who wiſhed to entail an uſeleſs expence on their country." He next applied to the ſeveral captains of the fleet, and even to the inferior officers, but without better ſucceſs, although he aſſured them that the place abounded in wood and ſtone, with which a wall ſufficient for defence might ſpeedily be completed. He had deſiſted from farther intreaties, when a fortunate ſtorm drove the whole fleet towards the Pylian harbour. This circumſtance enabled him to renew his inſtances with greater force, alleging that the events of fortune confirmed the expediency of the undertaking. At length the ſailors and ſoldiers, weary of idleneſs (for the weather prevented them from putting to ſea), began the work of their own accord, and carried it on with ſuch vigour and activity, that in ſix days the place was ſtrongly fortified on every ſide [6]. The Athenian fleet then proceeded to Corcyra, Demoſthenes retaining only five ſhips to guard this new acquiſition.

The Spartans attempt to diſlodge them.

The Spartans were no ſooner appriſed of this daring meaſure, than they withdrew their army from its annual incurſion into Attica, and recalled their fleet from Corcyra. The citizens, reſiding at home, immediately flew to arms, and marched towards Pylus, which was only fifty miles diſtant from their capital. They found the new fortreſs ſo well prepared for defence, that nothing could be undertaken againſt it with any proſpect of ſucceſs, until their whole forces had aſſembled. This occaſioned but a ſhort delay; after which Pylus was vigorouſly aſſaulted by ſea and land. The walls were weakeſt towards the harbour; the entrance of which, however, was ſo narrow, that only two ſhips could ſail into it abreaſt. Here the attack was moſt furious, and the reſiſtance moſt obſtinate.

[6] Thucydid. p. 256, & ſeqq.

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Gallantry of Braſidas.

Demoſthenes encouraged his troops by his voice and arm. The gallant Braſidas, a man deſtined to act ſuch an illuſtrious part in the following ſcenes of the war, called out to the Lacedæmonian pilots to drive againſt the beach; and exhorted them, by the deſtruction of their ſhips, to ſave the honour of their country. He farther recommended this boldneſs by his example, but, in performing it, received a wound which rendered him inſenſible. His body dropped into the ſea, ſeemingly deprived of life, but was recovered by the affectionate zeal of his attendants. When his ſenſes returned, he perceived the loſs of his ſhield, a matter highly puniſhable by the Spartan laws, if the ſhield of Braſidas had not been loſt with more glory than ever ſhield was defended [7].

About four hundred Spartans blocked up in Sphacteria.

During three days Demoſthenes, with very unequal ſtrength, reſiſted the enemy; when the approach of the Athenian fleet from Corcyra, which he had appriſed of his danger, terminated the incredible labours of his exhauſted garriſon. A naval engagement enſued, in which the Lacedæmonians were defeated. But neither this defeat, nor the loſs of five ſhips, nor the total diſperſion of their fleet, nor the unexpected relief of Pylus, gave them ſo much uneaſineſs, as an event principally occaſioned by their own imprudence. The iſland of Sphacteria, ſcarce two miles in circumference, barren, woody, and uninhabited, lies before the harbour of Pylus. In this iſland the Spartans had poſted four hundred and twenty heavy-armed men, with a much greater proportion of Helots, not reflecting that the Athenians, as ſoon as they had reſumed the command of the neighbouring ſea, muſt have theſe forces at their devotion. This circumſtance occurred not to the Spartans till after their defeat; and then affected them the more deeply, becauſe the troops blocked up in the iſland belonged to the firſt families of the republic.

[7] Thucydid. p. 258.

Advice

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Conſternation in Sparta.

Advice of this misfortune was immediately ſent to the capital. The annual magiſtrates, attended by a deputation of the ſenate, haſtened to examine matters on the ſpot. The evil appeared to be incapable of remedy; and of ſuch importance was this body of Spartans to the community, that all preſent agreed in the neceſſity of ſoliciting a truce, until ambaſſadors were ſent to Athens to treat of a general peace. The Athenians granted a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, on condition that the Spartans, as a pledge of their ſincerity, ſurrendered their whole fleet (conſiſting of about ſixty veſſels) into the harbour of Pylus. Even this mortifying propoſal was accepted. Twenty days were conſumed in the embaſſy; during which time the troops intercepted in Sphacteria were ſupplied with a ſtated proportion of meal, meat, and wine [a], that of the freemen amounting to double the quantity allowed to the ſlaves.

The Spartans ſolicit peace.

When the Spartan ambaſſadors were admitted to an audience at Athens, they artfully apologiſed for the intended length of their diſcourſes. In all their tranſactions with the Greeks, they had hitherto affected the dignified brevity [b] inſpired by conſcious pre-eminence: "Yet on the preſent occaſion, they allowed that it was neceſſary to explain, at ſome length, the advantages which would reſult to all Greece, and particularly to Athens herſelf, if the latter accepted the treaty and alliance, the free gifts of unfeigned friendſhip, ſpontaneouſly offered by Sparta. They pretended not to conceal or extenuate the greatneſs of their misfortune; but the Athenians ought alſo to remember the viciſſitudes of war. It was full time to embrace a hearty reconcilement, and to terminate the calamities of their com-

[a] Thucydides does not aſcertain the quantity of meat. He ſays, two chæmixes of meal, and two cotyls of wine; that is, two pints of meal, and one pint of wine, Engliſh meaſure, a very ſmall allowance; but the Athenians were afraid leſt the beſieged might hoard their proviſions, if allowed more for daily ſupport; which, if the negociation failed, would enable them to hold out the place longer than they could otherwiſe have done.

[b] Imperatoria veritas. TACITUS.

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mon country. The war had as yet been carried on with more emulation than hatred; neither party had been reduced to extremity, nor had any incurable evil been yet inflicted or ſuffered. Terms of agreement, if accepted in the moment of victory, would redound to the glory of Athens; if rejected, would aſcertain who were the authors of the war, and to whom the public calamities ought thenceforth to be imputed; ſince it was well known, that if Athens and Sparta were unanimous, no power in Greece would venture to diſpute their commands [10]."

Arrogant demands of the Athenians.

The meek ſpirit of this diſcourſe only diſcovered to the Athenians the full extent of their good fortune, of which they determined completely to avail themſelves. Inſtigated by the violence of Cleon, they anſwered the ambaſſadors with great haughtineſs; demanding, as preliminaries to the treaty, that the Spartans in Sphacteria ſhould be ſent to Athens; and that ſeveral places of great importance, belonging to the Spartans or their allies, ſhould be delivered into their hands. Theſe lofty pretenſions, which were by no means juſtified by military ſucceſs, appeared totally inadmiſſible to the ambaſſadors, who returned in diſguſt to the Spartan camp.

The negociation fruitleſs.

Nothing, it was evident, could be expected from the moderation of Athens; but it was expected from her juſtice, that ſhe would reſtore the fleet, which had been ſurrendered as a pledge of the treaty. Even this was, on various pretences, denied [11]. Both parties, therefore, prepared for hoſtilities; the Athenians to maintain their arrogance, the Spartans to avenge it.

Obſtinate defence of Sphacteria.

The former employed the operation of famine, as the readieſt and leaſt dangerous mode of reducing the ſoldiers in Sphacteria. The Athenian fleet, now greatly augmented, carefully guarded the iſland night and day. But notwithſtanding their utmoſt vigilance, ſmall

[10] Thucydid. p. 262, & ſeqq.

[11] The Athenians objected, "an incurſion towards their fortreſs, during the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, και αλλα ουκ αξιολογα," and other matters of little moment, ſays Thucydides, with his uſual impartiality, p. 266.

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veſſels availed themſelves of ſtorms and darkneſs to throw proviſions into the place; a ſervice undertaken by ſlaves from the promiſe of liberty; and by freemen from the proſpect of great pecuniary rewards. The Athenians redoubled their diligence, and often intercepted theſe victuallers; but they found it more difficult to interrupt the expert divers, who, plunging deep under water, dragged after them bottles of leather, filled with honey and flour. The blockade was thus fruitleſsly protracted ſeveral weeks. Demoſthenes was averſe to attack an iſland difficult of acceſs, covered with wood, deſtitute of roads, and defended on the ſide of Pylus by a natural fortification, ſtrengthened by art. Meanwhile the Athenians began to ſuffer inconveniencies in their turn. Their garriſon in Pylus was cloſely preſſed by the enemy; there was but one ſource of freſh water, and that but ſcanty, in the place; proviſions grew ſcarce; the barrenneſs of the neighbouring coaſt afforded no ſupply: while they beſieged the Spartans, they themſelves experienced the hardſhips of a ſiege.

Artifices and impudence of Cleon.

When their ſituation was reported at Athens, the aſſembly fell into commotion: many clamoured againſt Demoſthenes; ſeveral accuſed Cleon. The artful demagogue, whoſe oppoſition chiefly had prevented an advantageous peace with Sparta, affected to diſbelieve the intelligence, and adviſed ſending men of approved confidence to Pylus, in order to detect the impoſture. The populace called aloud "that Cleon himſelf ſhould undertake that commiſſion." But the diſſembler dreaded to become the dupe of his own artifice. He perceived that, if he went to Pylus, he muſt, at his return, either acknowledge the truth of the report, and thus be ſubjected to immediate ſhame, or fabricate falſe intelligence, and thus be expoſed to future puniſhment. He therefore eluded his own propoſal, by declaring, "that it ill became the dignity of Athens to ſtoop to a formal and tedious examination; and that whatever were the ſtate of the armament, if the commanders acted like men, they might take

Sphacteria

Sphacteria in a few days. That if *he* had the honour to be general, he would ſail to the iſland with a ſmall body of light infantry, and take it at the firſt onſet."

Character of Nicias.

Theſe ſarcaſtic obſervations were chiefly directed againſt Nicias, one of the generals actually preſent in the aſſembly; a man of a virtuous, but timid diſpoſition; endowed with much prudence, and little enterpriſe; poſſeſſed of moderate abilities, and immoderate riches; a zealous partizan of ariſtocracy, and an avowed enemy to Cleon, whom he regarded as the worſt enemy of his country.

He cedes the command to Cleon.

A perſon of this character could not be much inclined to engage in the hazardous expedition to Sphacteria. When the Athenians, with the uſual licentiouſneſs that prevailed in their aſſemblies, called out to Cleon, "that if the enterpriſe appeared ſo eaſy, it would better ſuit the extent of his abilities;" Nicias roſe up, and immediately offered to cede to him the command. Cleon at firſt accepted it, thinking Nicias's propoſal merely a feint; but when the latter appeared in earneſt, his adverſary drew back, alleging, "that Nicias, not Cleon, was general." The Athenians, with the malicious pleaſantry natural to the multitude, preſſed Cleon the cloſer, the more eagerly he receded. He was at length overcome by their importunity, but not forſaken by his impudence [12]. Advancing to the middle of the aſſembly, he declared, "that he was not afraid of the Lacedæmonians; and engaged, in twenty days, to bring the Spartans as priſoners to Athens, or to die in the attempt [13]." This heroical language excited laughter among the multitude; the wiſe rejoiced in thinking, that they muſt obtain one of two advantages, either the deſtruction of a turbulent demagogue (which they rather hoped), or the capture of the Spartans in Sphacteria.

Boaſtful promiſe of the latter;

[12] Thucydid. p. 271.

[13] Η αυτου αποκτινυι, or, "kill them on the ſpot." A little alteration in the text will give the meaning which I preferred as moſt agreeable to what follows; but the other tranſlation better ſuits the boaſtful character of Cleon.

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which is performed by accident. Olymp. lxxxviii. 4. A. C. 425.

The latter event was haſtened by an accident; while ſome ſoldiers were preparing their victuals, the wood was ſet on fire, and long burned unperceived, till a briſk gale ariſing, the conflagration raged with ſuch violence, as threatened to conſume the iſland. This unforeſeen diſaſter diſcloſed the ſtrength and poſition of the Spartans; and Demoſthenes was actually preparing to attack them, when Cleon, with his light-armed troops, arrived in the camp. The iſland was invaded during night; the advanced guards were taken or ſlain. At the dawn, the Athenians made a deſcent from ſeventy ſhips. The main body of the enemy retired to the ſtrong poſt oppoſite to Pylus, haraſſed in their march by ſhowers of arrows, ſtones, and darts, involved in the aſhes of the burnt wood, which, mounting widely into the air, on all ſides intercepted their ſight, and increaſed the gloom of battle. The Spartans, cloſely embodied, and preſenting a dreadful front to the aſſailants, made good their retreat. Having occupied the deſtined poſt, they boldly defended it wherever the enemy approached, for the nature of the ground hindered it from being ſurrounded. The Athenians uſed their utmoſt efforts to repel and overcome them; and during the greateſt part of the day, both parties obſtinately perſevered in their purpoſe, under the painful preſſures of battle, thirſt, and a burning ſun. At length the Meſſenians, whoſe ardor had been ſignally diſtinguiſhed in every part of this enterpriſe, diſcovered an unknown path leading to the eminence, which defended the Lacedæmonian rear. The Spartans were thus encompaſſed on all ſides, and reduced to a ſimilar ſituation to that of their illuſtrious countrymen who fell at Thermopylæ.

The Spartans in Sphacteria carried priſoners to Athens.

Nor did their commanders diſgrace the country of Leonidas. Their general, Epitades, was ſlain. Hippagretes was dying of his wounds. Styphon, the third in command, ſtill exhorted them to perſevere. But Demoſthenes and Cleon, deſirous rather to carry them priſoners to Athens, than to put them to death, invited them, by the loud proclamation of a herald, to lay down their arms. The

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greater part dropped their ſhields, and waved their hands, in token of compliance. A conference followed between Demoſthenes and Cleon on one ſide, and Styphon on the other. Styphon deſired leave to ſend over to the Lacedæmonians on the continent for advice. Several meſſages paſſed between them; in the laſt of which it was ſaid, "the Lacedæmonians permit you to conſult your own utility, provided you ſubmit to nothing baſe:" in conſequence of which determination, they ſurrendered their arms and their perſons. They were conducted to Athens, within the time aſſigned by Cleon; having held out fifty-two days after the expiration of the truce, during which time they had been ſo ſparing of the proviſions conveyed to them by the extraordinary means above-mentioned, that, when the place was taken, they had ſtill ſomething in reſerve[74].

Humiliation of Sparta.

The Athenians withdrew their fleet, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Pylus, which was ſoon reinforced by an enterpriſing body of Meſſenians from Naupactus. The Meſſenians, though poſſeſſed of but a barren cape on their native and once happy coaſt, reſumed their unextinguiſhed hatred againſt Sparta, whoſe territories they continually infeſted by incurſions, or haraſſed by alarms. This ſpecies of war, deſtructive in itſelf, was rendered ſtill more dangerous by the revolts of the Helots, attracted by every motive of affection towards their ancient kinſmen, and animated by every principle of reſentment againſt their tyrannical maſters. Meanwhile the Athenian fleet renewed and multiplied their ravages on the coaſt of Peloponneſus. Reduced to extremity by ſuch proceedings, the Spartans ſent to Athens repeated overtures of accommodation. But the good fortune of the Athenians had only nouriſhed their ambition. At the inſtigation of Cleon, they diſmiſſed the Spartan ambaſſadors more infolently than ever[75]. Such was their deference to the opinion of this arrogant demagogue; at the ſame time that, with the moſt inconſiſtent levity, they liſtened with pleaſure to the plays of Ariſto-

Authority and infolence of Cleon.

[74] Thucydid. p. 271—279.

[75] Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 794.

phanes,

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phanes, which laſhed the character and adminiſtration of Cleon with the boldeſt ſeverity of ſatire, ſharpened by the edge of the moſt poignant ridicule.

Expoſed by Ariſtophanes.

The taking of Pylus, the triumphant return of Cleon, a notorious coward transformed by caprice and accident into a brave and ſucceſsful commander, were topics well ſuiting the comic vein of Ariſtophanes. The imperious demagogue had deſerved the perſonal reſentment of the poet, by denying the legitimacy of his birth [16], and thereby conteſting his title to vote in the aſſembly. On former occaſions, Ariſtophanes had ſtigmatiſed the incapacity and inſolence of Cleon, together with his perfidious ſelfiſhneſs in embroiling the affairs of the republic. In the comedy [17] firſt repreſented in the ſeventh year of the war, he attacks him in the moment of victory, when fortune had rendered him the idol of a licentious multitude, when no comedian was ſo daring as to play his character, and no painter ſo bold as to deſign his maſk [18].

Account of his comedy intitled the Knights.

Ariſtophanes, therefore, appeared for the firſt time on the ſtage, only diſguiſing his own face, the better to repreſent the part of Cleon. In this ludicrous piece, which ſeems to have been celebrated even beyond its merit, the people of Athens are deſcribed under the allegory of a capricious old dotard, whoſe credulity, abuſed by a malicious ſlave lately admitted into his houſe [19], perſecutes and torments his faithful old ſervants. Demoſthenes bitterly complains, that, intending to gratify the palate of the old man, he had brought a delicate morſel from Pylus; but that it had been ſtolen by Cleon, and by him ſerved up to their common maſter. After lamenting, with his companion Nicias, the hardſhips of their condition, they hold counſel together, and contrive various expedients for putting

[16] Vit. Anonym. Ariſtoph. [17] The Ἱππεις. [19] Νεοκτητον κακον, "the new-bought miſchief."

[18] Ὑπο τη δ' ημ; γαρ αιτον ουδ' ηθελε
Των σκευοποιων ουδεις αν. Equites, v. 231.

an

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an end to their common calamities. The deſponding Nicias propoſes drinking bull's blood, after the example of Themiſtocles; Demoſthenes, with more courage, adviſes a hearty draught of wine. Finding Cleon aſleep, they ſeize this opportunity not only to purloin this liquor, but to rifle his pockets, in which they diſcover ſome ancient oracles, typically repreſenting the ſucceſſion of Athenian magiſtrates. Towards the end of the prophecy, it was ſaid, that the dragon ſhould overcome the devouring vulture. The rapacious avarice of Cleon correſponded to the type of the vulture; and the dragon darkly ſhadowed out Agoracritus, an eminent maker of puddings and ſauſages, the ſhape and contents of which alluded to the figure and food of that terrible ſerpent. Nicias and Demoſthenes hail this favourite of fortune, as the deſtined maſter of the republic. Agoracritus alleges in vain, that he is totally unacquainted with political affairs, ignorant of every liberal art, and has hardly learned to read. They reply by announcing to him the oracle, and by proving that his pretended imperfections better qualified him to conduct the government of Athens. This office required none of the talents, the want of which he lamented. He matched Cleon in impudence, and ſurpaſſed him in ſtrength of lungs. His profeſſion had taught him to ſqueeze, to amaſs, to bruiſe, to embroil, and to confound; and long experience had accompliſhed him in all the frauds and chicane of the market [20]. He might therefore boldly enter the liſts with Cleon, being aſſured of aſſiſtance from the whole body of Athenian knights [21]. Agoracritus, thus encouraged, prepares for encountering his adverſary. The conteſt, long doubtful, is maintained in a ſtyle of the loweſt buffoonery, always ludicrous, often indecent. The old dotard, or rather the Athenians whom he repreſents, finally acknowledge their paſt errors;

[20] The ſame word in Greek denotes the market and the forum. Indeed the ſame place uſually ſerved for both.

[21] The ἱππεις, or Equites, the ſecond rank of citizens at Athens, who deteſted Cleon, and from whom the play takes its name.

and

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and regret being ſo long deceived by an upſtart ſlave, through whoſe obſtinacy in continuing the war, they had been cooped up within the walls of an unwholeſome city, and hindered from enjoying their beautiful fields, and happy rural amuſements. Agoracritus ſeizes this favourable moment to produce two ancient treaties with the Lacedæmonians, perſonified by two beautiful women, whom he had found cloſely mewed up in the houſe of Cleon. Of theſe females the old Athenian becomes ſuddenly enamoured, and they retire together to the country.

The Athenians take Cythera. Olymp. lxxxix. 1. A. C. 424.

The people of Athens permitted, and even approved, the licentious boldneſs of Ariſtophanes; but neither the ſtrength of reaſon, nor the ſharpneſs of ſatire, could reſiſt the impetuoſity of their ambition. The war was rendered popular by ſucceſs; they prepared for carrying it on with redoubled vigour. The firſt operations of the enſuing ſummer gratified their utmoſt hopes. The principal diviſion of the fleet, conducted by the prudence of Nicias, took the fertile and populous iſland of Cythera, ſtretching from the ſouthern promontory of Laconia towards the Cretan ſea, and long enriched by the commerce of Egypt and Libya. The Lacedæmonian garriſon, as well as the Spartan magiſtrates in the iſland, ſurrendered priſoners of war. The more dangerous part of the inhabitants were removed to the Athenian iſles; the remainder were ſubjected to an annual tribute of eight hundred pounds ſterling; an Athenian garriſon took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs.

Reduce Niſæa, and ravage Peloponneſus.

Soon after this important conqueſt, the arms of Demoſthenes and Hippocrates reduced the town of Nicæa, the principal ſea-port of the Megareans; and the Athenian fleet ravaged with impunity ſeveral maritime cities on the eaſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus. Thyrea was condemned to a harder fate. This city, together with the ſurrounding diſtrict, had been granted, by the compaſſion of Sparta, to the miſerable natives of Ægina, who (as above-mentioned) had been driven

driven from their once powerful iſland by the cruelty of Athens. This cruelty ſtill continued to purſue them. Their newly-raiſed walls were taken by aſſault; their houſes burned; and the inhabitants, without diſtinction, put to the ſword.

Endeavour to produce a revolution in Bœotia.

Hitherto all the enterpriſes of the Athenians were crowned with ſucceſs. Fortune firſt deſerted them in Bœotia. During ſeveral months their generals, Demoſthenes and Hippocrates, availing themſelves of the political factions of that country, had been carrying on ſecret intrigues with Chæronæa, Siphæ, and Orchomenus, places abounding in declared partizans of democracy, and eternally hoſtile to the ambition of Thebes. The inſurgents had agreed to take arms, in order to betray the weſtern parts of Bœotia to Demoſthenes, who ſailed with forty gallies from Naupactus; while Hippocrates, at the head of ſeven thouſand heavy-armed Athenians, and a much greater proportion of light-armed auxiliaries, invaded the caſtern frontier of that province. It was expected, that, before the Thebans could bring a ſufficient force into the field, the invaders and inſurgents, advancing from oppoſite extremities of the country, might unite in the centre, and perhaps ſubdue Thebes itſelf, the moſt powerful, as well as moſt zealous, ally of Sparta.

Their plan too complicated for execution.

This plan, though concerted with much ability, was found too complicated for execution. Demoſthenes ſteered towards Siphæ, before his coadjutor was ready to take the field; ſome miſtake, it is ſaid, having happened about the time appointed for action; and the whole contrivance was betrayed by Nichomachus, a Phocian, to the Spartans, and by them communicated to the Bœotians. The cities which meditated revolt were thus ſecured, before Demoſthenes appeared at Siphæ, and before Hippocrates had even marched from Attica.

They are defeated in the battle of Delium.

The latter at length entered the caſtern frontier of Bœotia; and, as the principal deſign had miſcarried, contented himſelf with

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Olymp. lxxxix. 1. A. C. 424.

taking and fortifying Delium, a place ſacred to Apollo. Having garriſoned this poſt, he prepared for returning home. But while his army ſtill lay in the neighbourhood of Delium, the Thebans, encouraged by Pagondas, a brave and ſkilful leader, marched with great rapidity from Tanagra, in order to intercept his retreat. Their forces amounted to eighteen thouſand; the Athenians were little leſs numerous. An engagement enſued, which national emulation rendered bloody and obſtinate. Before the battle, Pagondas had detached a ſmall ſquadron of horſe, with orders to ride up after the commencement of the action. This ſtratagem was deciſive. The Athenians, terrified at the ſight of a reinforcement, which their fears magnified into a new army, were thrown into diſorder, and put to flight. Approaching darkneſs ſaved them from total deſtruction. They eſcaped diſgracefully into Attica, after leaving in the field of battle a thouſand pikemen, with their commander Hippocrates.

The Thebans take Delium by means of a machine invented for that purpoſe.

The victorious army immediately formed the ſiege of Delium, which was taken by means of a machine firſt contrived for that purpoſe. Several parts of the fortification, which had been raiſed in great haſte, conſiſted chiefly of wood. The beſiegers, therefore, joining together a number of large beams, formed a huge maſt, perforated in the middle; to one of its extremities they appended a prodigious maſs of pitch and ſulphur; and to the other a bellows, which, when this unuſual inſtrument of deſtruction was raiſed above the wooden rampart, immediately threw the whole into flames. The Athenian garriſon, diminiſhed by death or deſertion to two hundred men, ſurrendered priſoners of war[22].

Commotions in Thrace.

The Athenians had ſcarcely time to lament their loſſes in Bœotia, when they received intelligence of a calamity in another quarter, equally unexpected, and ſtill more alarming. This event is the more remarkable, becauſe it naturally aroſe out of the preceding

[22] Thucydid. p. 301–320.

proſperity

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prosperity of Athens, and the past misfortunes of Sparta. The uninterrupted train of success which attended the arms of Nicias and Demosthenes in the eighth year of the war, alarmed the citizens of Olynthus and other places of the Chalcidicé, which having embraced the earliest opportunity of revolting from the Athenians, justly dreaded the vengeance of an incensed and victorious people. Every southerly wind threatened them with the approach of an Athenian fleet. Their apprehensions were not less painful on the side of Thessaly. The slightest movement in that country terrified them with the apprehensions of an Athenian army, which, victorious in the south, should advance to punish its northern enemies. But as none of these dreaded dangers were realised, the inhabitants of the Chalcidicé gradually resumed courage, put their towns in a posture of defence, and craved assistance from their Peloponnesian allies. At the same time Perdiccas, king of Macedon, who regarded the Athenians as his ancient and natural enemies, and the rapacious invaders of his coast, sent money into the south of Greece, for the purpose of hiring soldiers, whom he intended to employ in resisting the encroachments of that ambitious people, as well as in subduing the Elymeans, Lyncestæ, and other barbarous tribes, not yet incorporated in the Macedonian kingdom.

Such were the enemies, whose activity the good fortune of Athens had roused; while the calamities of Sparta prompted her to supply the reinforcement of troops, which both Perdiccas and the Chalcidians demanded. During the seventh and eighth years of the war, that republic fatally experienced the truth of Pericles's maxim, "that those who command the sea, may also become masters at land." The Athenian fleets domineered over the coast of Peloponnesus. It was impossible to foresee what places would be the next objects of their continual descents. The maritime parts were successively laid waste, and finally abandoned by the inhabitants, who found resistance ineffectual and useless. These misfortunes were increased by the

Fomented by the Spartans.

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frequent defertion of the Helots to the neighbouring garrifons in Pylus and Cythera, and by the dread of a general inſurrection among thoſe numerous and unhappy victims of Spartan tyranny. To prevent this evil, the Spartans had recourſe to ſuch expedients as excite aſtoniſhment and horror. They commanded the Helots to chooſe two thouſand of their braveſt and moſt meritorious youths, who, by the general conſent of their companions, deſerved the crown of liberty; and when inveſted with this perfidious ornament, the unſuſpecting freemen had paraded the ſtreets, and ſacrificed in the temples, exulting in their late emancipation, theſe new members of the community gradually diſappeared from the ſight of men, nor was it ever known by what means they had been deſtroyed. But the veil of myſtery, which concealed that dark and bloody ſtratagem, prevented neither the reſentment of the ſlaves, nor the juſt ſuſpicion of their maſters. The latter were eager to embrace any meaſure that might deliver their country from its dangerous domeſtic foes. With much ſatisfaction, therefore, they ſent ſeven hundred Helots to the ſtandard of Braſidas, whoſe merit had recommended him to Perdiccas and the Chalcidians, as the general beſt qualified to manage the Macedonian war. About a thouſand ſoldiers were levied in the neighbouring cities of Peloponneſus. Several Spartans cheerfully accompanied a leader whom they admired. With this inconſiderable force Braſidas, towards the beginning of autumn, undertook an expedition highly important in its conſequences, and conducted with conſummate prudence and bravery[21].

Braſidas's expedition to Thrace. Olymp. lxxxix. 1. A. C. 424.

Having traverſed the friendly countries of Bœotia and Phocis, he arrived at the foot of Mount Oëta, and penetrated through the narrow defiles confined between that ſteep and woody range of hills, and the boiſterous waves of the Malian gulf. The ſight of Thermopylæ animated the enthuſiaſm of the Spartans, and encouraged

[21] Thucydid. p. 304.

them

them to force their way through the hoſtile plains of Theſſaly; a country actually torn by domeſtic diſcord, but always friendly to the Athenians. The celerity of Braſidas anticipated the ſlow oppoſition of a divided enemy. Having reached the Macedonian town of Dium, he joined forces with Perdiccas, who propoſed directing the firſt operations of the combined army againſt Arribæus, the king or leader of the barbarous Lyncestæ. But even this Barbarian knew the valour of the Spartans, and the equity of Braſidas. To the deciſion of the Grecian general he offered to ſubmit the differences between Perdiccas and himſelf, and engaged to abide by the award, however unfavourable to his intereſt. The Spartan liſtened to a propoſal extremely reaſonable in itſelf, though altogether inconſiſtent with the ambitious views of Perdiccas, who diſdained to accept as a judge the man whom he paid as an auxiliary. Braſidas, on the other hand, declined in firm but decent terms, to employ his valour againſt thoſe who implored his juſtice. The generals thus ſeparated in mutual diſguſt; and Perdiccas thenceforth reduced his contribution of ſubſidy from a moiety to a third; but even that was extorted from his fears, not beſtowed by his munificence.

His tranſactions with the Acanthians.

Braſidas haſtened to join the Chalcidians, by whom he was received with a degree of joy ſuitable to the impatience with which he had been expected. Amidſt the general defection of their neighbours, the towns of Acanthus and Stagirus ſtill maintained their allegiance to Athens. Braſidas appeared before the gates of Acanthus, while the peaceful inhabitants were preparing for the labours of the vintage. He ſent a meſſenger, craving leave to enter the place, and to addreſs the aſſembly. The Acanthians were divided in opinion; but the majority, fearing to expoſe their ripe fields and vineyards to the reſentment of his army, agreed to admit the general alone and unattended, and impartially to weigh whatever he propoſed for their deliberation. Braſidas, though a Spartan, was an able ſpeaker. He obſerved to the Acanthians, convened in full aſſembly,

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bly, "That, in compliance with the generous reſolution of Sparta, he had undertaken, and finally accompliſhed, a long and dangerous journey, to deliver them from the tyranny of Athenian magiſtrates and garriſons, and to reſtore them, what the common oppreſſors of Greece had ſo long withheld, the independent government of their own equitable laws. This was the object which, amidſt all the calamities of war, the Spartans had ever kept in view; this was the purpoſe, which, before his departure from home, the principal magiſtrates had ſworn unanimouſly to maintain. *That* freedom and independence, which formed the domeſtic happineſs of Sparta, his countrymen were ambitious to communicate to all their allies. But if the Acanthians refuſed to ſhare the general benefit, they muſt not complain of experiencing the unhappy effects of their obſtinacy. The arms of Sparta would compel thoſe whom her arguments had failed to perſuade. Nor could this be blamed as injuſtice; firſt, becauſe the reſources with which the Acanthians furniſhed Athens, under the ignominious name of tribute, ſerved to rivet the chains of Greece; and ſecondly, becauſe the example of a people, ſo wealthy and flouriſhing, and long renowned for their penetration and ſagacity, might influence the reſolutions of neighbouring ſtates, and deter them from concurring with the meaſures neceſſary to promote the public welfare and ſecurity."

His merit and ſucceſs.

This judicious diſcourſe, enforced by the terror of the Spartan army, engaged the Acanthians to accept the friendſhip of Braſidas. Stagirus, another city on the Strymonic gulf, readily followed the example, and opened its gates to the deliverer. During the enſuing winter, the meaſures of the Spartan general were conducted with equal ability and enterpriſe. His ſucceſsful operations againſt the inland towns facilitated the ſurrender of ſuch places, as, by their maritime or inſular ſituation, were moſt expoſed to the vengeance of Athens, and therefore moſt averſe to revolt. His moderate uſe of victory enſured the good-will of the vanquiſhed. The various parts of a plan, thus

thus artfully combined, mutually aſſiſted each other; the ſucceſs of one undertaking contributed to that of the next which followed it; and, at length, without any conſiderable miſcarriage, he had rendered himſelf maſter of moſt places in the peninſulas of Acta, Sithonia, and Pallené.

Amphipolis revolts to Braſidas,

The loſs of Amphipolis was that which moſt deeply afflicted the Athenians. A rich and populous city, beautifully ſituate on a ſmall but well cultivated iſland, ſurrounded by the river Strymon, the banks of which ſupplied excellent timber, and other materials of naval ſtrength. By poſſeſſing this town, the Spartans now commanded both branches of the river, and might thus paſs, without interruption, to the Athenian colonies, or ſubjects, on the coaſt of Thrace; ſeize, or plunder, the gold mines oppoſite to the iſle of Thaſos; and ravage the fertile fields of the Thracian Cherſoneſus. The conqueſt of a place ſo eſſential to the enemy, had exerciſed the courage, the eloquence, and the dexterity of Braſidas. He formed a conſpiracy with the malcontents in the place, ſkilfully diſpoſed his army before the walls, harangued the aſſembly of the people. A moſt ſeaſonable promptitude diſtinguiſhed all his meaſures; yet the Athenian Eucleus, who commanded the garriſon, found time to ſend a veſſel to Thaſos, requeſting immediate and effectual relief.

notwithſtanding the activity of Thucydides the hiſtorian;

The Athenians had committed the government of that iſland, as well as the direction of the mines on the oppoſite continent, to the celebrated hiſtorian of a war, in which he was a meritorious, though unfortunate, actor. Without a moment's delay, Thucydides put to ſea with ſeven gallies, and arrived in the mouth of the Strymon the ſame day on which his aſſiſtance had been demanded. But it was already too late to ſave Amphipolis[24]. The Spartan general, who had exact information of all the meaſures of the beſieged, well knew the importance of anticipating the arrival of Thucydides,

[24] Thucydid. p. 322.

whoſe

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whoſe name was highly reſpected by the Greek colonies in Thrace, and whoſe influence was conſiderable among the native barbarians. Braſidas, therefore, propoſed ſuch a capitulation to the Amphipolitans as it ſeemed imprudent to refuſe. They were to be releaſed from the tribute which they had hitherto paid the Athenians; to enjoy the utmoſt degree of political independence, not inconſiſtent with the alliance of Sparta; even the Athenian garriſon, if they continued in the place, were to be entitled to all the rights of citizens; and ſuch perſons as choſe to leave it, were granted a reaſonable time to remove their families and their property. The laſt condition was embraced by the Athenians, and their more determined partizans. They retired to the neighbouring town of Eion, ſituate near the ſea, on the northern branch of the Strymon; a place ſecured againſt every hoſtile aſſault by the ſkill and activity of Thucydides.

which ſaves Eion.

Towards the end of winter, the full extent of Braſidas's ſucceſs was made known at Athens. The aſſembly was in commotion; and the populace were the more enraged at their loſſes, as it now appeared ſo eaſy to have prevented them, either by guarding the narrow defiles which led to their Macedonian poſſeſſions, or by ſending their fleet with a ſeaſonable reinforcement to their feeble garriſons in thoſe parts. Their own neglect had occaſioned the public diſgrace; but with the uſual injuſtice and abſurdity accompanying popular diſcontents, they exculpated themſelves, and baniſhed their generals. Thucydides was involved in this cruel ſentence. An armament was ſent to Macedon; and new commanders were named to oppoſe Braſidas.

Braſidas's ſucceſs occaſions clamours and impeachments in Athens.

But the deſigns of that commander, who had begun to build veſſels on the Strymon, and aſpired at nothing leſs than ſucceeding to the authority, without exerciſing the oppreſſion, of Athens over thoſe extenſive ſhores, were more ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the envy of the Spartan magiſtrates. The pride of the nobility was offended by the glory of an expedition, in which they had no ſhare; and their ſelfiſhneſs,

The Spartans avail themſelves of it to obtain a truce for a year.

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ſelfiſhneſs, while it obſtinately prevented the ſupplies neceſſary to complete the plan of Braſidas, was eager to reap the profit of his paſt ſucceſs. The reſtoration of their kinſmen taken at Spacteria was the object neareſt their hearts; and they expected that the Athenians might liſten to a propoſal for that purpoſe, in order to recover the places which they had loſt, and to check the fortunate career of a prudent and enterpriſing general. The Athenians readily entered into theſe views; it was determined that matters of ſuch importance ſhould be diſcuſſed with leiſure and impartiality; a truce was therefore agreed on for a year between the contending republics.

This tranſaction was concluded in the ninth ſummer of the war. It was totally unexpected by Braſidas, who received the voluntary ſubmiſſion of Scioné and Menda, two places of conſiderable importance in the peninſula of Pallené; of the former, indeed, before he was acquainted with the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; but of the latter, even after he was appriſed of that treaty. Olymp. lxxix. 2. A. C. 423.

The war renewed. Olymp. lxxxix. 3. A. C. 422.

While the active valour of Braſidas prevented the confirmation of peace, the conſcious worthleſſneſs of Cleon promoted the renewal, or rather the continuance, of war. The glory of Athens was the perpetual theme of his diſcourſe. He exhorted his countrymen to puniſh the perfidy of Sparta, in abetting the inſolent revolt of Menda and Scioné; and to employ his own ſkill and bravery, which had been ſo ſucceſsfully exerted on the coaſt of Peloponneſus, to repair their declining fortune in Macedonia. The Athenians liſtened to the ſpecious advice of this turbulent declaimer, who, in the enſuing ſpring, ſailed to the Macedonian coaſt with a fleet of thirty gallies, twelve hundred citizens, heavy-armed, a ſquadron of three hundred horſe, and a powerful body of light-armed auxiliaries. The ſurrender of Menda and Torona, whoſe inhabitants were treated with every exceſs of cruelty, encouraged him to attack Amphipolis. With this deſign, having collected his forces at Eion, he waited the arrival of ſome Macedonian troops, promiſed by Perdiccas, who having quar-

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relled with the Spartan general, deceitfully flattered the hopes of his antagoniſt.

Battle of Amphipolis.

The army of Cleon contained the flower of the Athenian youth, whoſe ardent valour diſdained a precarious dependence on barbarian aid. They accuſed the cowardice of their leader, which was only equalled by his incapacity, and lamented their own hard fate in being ſubjected to the authority of a man ſo unworthy to command them. The impatient temper of an arrogant demagogue was ill fitted to endure theſe ſeditious complaints. He haſtily led his troops before the place, without previouſly examining the ſtrength of the walls, the ſituation of the ground, the number or diſpoſition of the enemy. Braſidas, meanwhile, had taken proper meaſures to avail himſelf of the known imprudence of his adverſary. A conſiderable body of men had been concealed in the woody mountain Cerdylium, which overhangs Amphipolis. The greater part of the army were drawn up, ready for action, at the ſeveral gates of the city. Clearidas, who commanded there, had orders to ruſh forth at a given ſignal, while Braſidas in perſon, conducting a ſelect band of intrepid followers, watched the firſt opportunity for attack. The plan, contrived with ſo much ſkill, was executed with equal dexterity and preciſion. Confounded with the rapidity of ſuch an unexpected and complicated charge, the enemy fled amain, abandoning their ſhields, and expoſing their naked backs to the ſwords and ſpears of the purſuers. The forces on either ſide amounted to about three thouſand; ſix hundred Athenians fell victims to the folly of Cleon, who,

Death of Cleon.

though foremoſt in the flight, was arreſted by the hand of a Myrcinian targeteer.

Death and honours of Braſidas.

His death might appeaſe the manes of his unfortunate countrymen; but nothing could alleviate the ſorrow of the victors for the loſs of their admired Braſidas, who received a mortal wound while he advanced to the attack. He was conveyed alive to Amphipolis, and enjoyed the conſolation of his laſt victory, in which only

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only ſeven men had periſhed on the Spartan ſide. The ſad magnificence of his funeral was adorned by the ſplendour of military honours; but what was ſtill more honourable to Braſidas, he was ſincerely lamented by the grateful tears of numerous communities, who regarded his virtues and abilities as the ſureſt pledges of their own happineſs and ſecurity. The citizens of Amphipolis paid an extraordinary tribute to his memory. Having demoliſhed every monument of their ancient leaders and patriots, they erected the ſtatue of Braſidas in the moſt conſpicuous ſquare of the city, appointed annual games to be celebrated at his tomb, and ſacrificed to his revered ſhade, as to the great hero and original founder of their community [25].

Peace of Nicias. Olymp. lxxxix. 4. A. C. 421.

The battle of Amphipolis removed the principal obſtacles to peace. There was not any Spartan general qualified to accompliſh the deſigns of Braſidas. The Athenians, dejected by defeat, and humbled by diſgrace, wanted the bold impoſing eloquence of Cleon to diſguiſe their weakneſs, and varniſh their misfortunes. With the diſheartened remains of an enfeebled armament, they deſpaired of recovering their Macedonian poſſeſſions; and the greater part returned home, well diſpoſed for an accommodation with the enemy. Theſe diſpoſitions were confirmed by the pacific temper of Nicias, who had ſucceeded to the influence of Cleon, and who fortunately diſcovered in the moderation of Pleiſtoanax, king of Sparta, a coadjutor extremely ſolicitous to promote his views. During winter ſeveral friendly conferences were held between the commiſſioners of the two republics; and, towards the commencement of the enſuing ſpring a treaty of peace, and ſoon afterwards a defenſive alliance, for fifty years, was ratified by the kings and ephori of Sparta on the one ſide, and by the archons and generals of Athens on the other. In conſequence of this negociation, which was intended to comprehend

[25] Thucydid. p. 307.

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the reſpective allies of the contracting powers, all places and priſoners, taken in the courſe of the war, were to be mutually reſtored; the revolted cities in Macedon were ſpecified by name; but it was regulated that the Athenians ſhould not require from them any higher revenue than that apportioned by the juſtice of Ariſtides [26].

Diſſatisfaction of the Lacedæmonian allies.

In all their tranſactions, the Greeks were ever prodigal of promiſes, but backward in performance; and, amidſt the continual rotation of authority, magiſtrates eaſily found excuſes for violating the conditions granted by their predeceſſors. The known principles of republican inconſtancy, ever ready to vibrate between exceſſive animoſity and immoderate friendſhip, might likewiſe ſuggeſt a reaſon for converting the treaty of peace into a contract of alliance. But this meaſure was, in the preſent caſe, the effect of neceſſity. Athens and Sparta might make mutual reſtitution, becauſe their reſpective intereſts required it. But no motive of intereſt engaged the former power to reſtore Niſæa to the Megareans, or the towns of Solium and Anactorium to Corinth. The Thebans, ſhortly before the peace, had ſeized the Athenian fortreſs of Panactum, ſituate on the frontier of Bœotia. They were ſtill maſters of Platæa. Elated by their ſignal victory at Delium, they could not be ſuppoſed willing to abandon their conqueſts, or even much inclined to peace. It was ſtill leſs to be expected that the Macedonian cities ſhould, for the convenience of Sparta, ſubmit to the ſevere yoke of Athens, from which they had recently been delivered; nor could it be hoped that even the inferior ſtates of Peloponneſus ſhould tamely lay down their arms, without obtaining any of thoſe advantages with which they had been long flattered by their Spartan allies.

[26] Thucydid. p. 354, & ſeqq.

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Diſcontents fomented by the Corinthians.—The Argive Alliance.—To which Athens accedes.—Birth and Education of Alcibiades.—His Friendſhip with Socrates.—His Character—And Views—Which are favoured by the State of Greece.—He deceives the Spartan Ambaſſadors.—Renewal of the Peloponneſian War.—Battle of Mantinæa.—Tumults in Argos.—Maſſacre of the Scioneans.—Cruel Conqueſt of Melos.

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Diſcontents fomented by the Corinthians.

THE voluptuous, yet turbulent citizens of Corinth, enjoy the odious diſtinction of renewing a war which their intrigues and animoſities had firſt kindled. Under pretence of having taken an oath never to abandon the Macedonian cities, they declined being parties in the general treaty of peace. The alliance between Athens and Sparta, in which it was ſtipulated, that theſe contracting powers ſhould be entitled to make ſuch alterations in the treaty as circumſtances might require, the Corinthians affected, with ſome reaſon, to conſider as a conſpiracy againſt the common liberties of Greece[1]. Fired with this idea, they haſtened to Argos, in order to animate that republic with the ſame paſſions which rankled in their own breaſts. Having rouſed the ambition of the *magiſtrates*, they artfully reminded the *people* of the glory of Agamemnon, recalled to the Ar-

[1] The clauſe was worded in ſuch a manner as might naturally excite alarm. Ηρωσθησαν και αφιλιαν ὅτι αν ΑΜΦΟΙΝ του πολεμου δοκη. Thucydid. l. v. p. 284.

gives

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gives their ancient and juſt pre-eminence in the Peloponneſus, and conjured them to maintain the honour of that illuſtrious peninſula, which had been ſo ſhamefully abandoned by the puſillanimity, or betrayed by the ſelfiſhneſs, of Sparta.

The Argive alliance. Olymp. lxxxix. 4. A. C. 421.

The Argives wanted neither power nor inclination to aſſume that important office. During the Peloponneſian war they had obſerved the principles of a prudent neutrality, equally favourable to their populouſneſs and their wealth. Their protection was courted by Mantinæa, the moſt powerful city in Arcadia, which had recently conquered ſome villages in its neighbourhood, to which Sparta laid claim. The Elians, long hoſtile to Sparta, eagerly promoted the Argive alliance, which was farther ſtrengthened by the ſpeedy acceſſion of the Macedonian allies, whoſe inhabitants were not more flattered by the kind zeal of Corinth, than provoked by the cruel indifference of Sparta. Thebes and Megara were equally offended with their Lacedæmonian allies, and equally inclined to war. But a rigid ariſtocracy prevailed in thoſe ſtates, whoſe ambitious magiſtrates, trembling for their perſonal authority, and that of their families, declined entering into confederacy with free democratical republics [a].

To which Athens accedes. Olymp. xc. 1. A. C. 420.

But this democratical aſſociation ſoon acquired an acceſſion ſtill more important, and received into its boſom the fountain of liberty itſelf; even the republic of Athens. This extraordinary event happened in the year following the negociation between Athens and Sparta. It was effected by means extremely remote from the experience of modern times; means which it is incumbent on us to explain, leſt the political tranſactions of Greece ſhould appear too fluctuating and capricious to afford a proper ſubject for hiſtory.

Birth and education of Alcibiades.

Amidſt the factious turbulence of ſenates and aſſemblies, no meaſure could be adopted by one party, without being condemned by

[a] Thucydid. l. v. p. 371.

another.

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another. Many Athenians diſapproved the peace of Nicias[3]; but the general blaze of oppoſition was eclipſed by the ſplendour of one man, who, on this occaſion, firſt diſplayed thoſe ſingular but unhappy talents, which proved fatal to himſelf and to his country. Alcibiades had not yet reached his thirtieth year, the age required by the wiſdom of Solon for being entitled to ſpeak in the aſſembly. But every advantageous circumſtance of birth and fortune, talents natural and acquired, accompliſhments of mind and body, pleaded an exception in favour of this extraordinary character, which, producing at once flowers and fruit, united with the blooming vivacity of youth, the ripened wiſdom of experience[4]. His father, the rich and generous Clinias, derived his extraction from the heroic Ajax, and had diſtinguiſhed his own valour and patriotiſm in the glorious ſcenes of the Perſian war. In the female line the ſon of Clinias was allied to the eloquence and magnanimity of Pericles, who, as his neareſt ſurviving kinſman, was intruſted with the care of his minority. But the ſtateſman, who governed with undivided ſway the affairs of Athens and of Greece, could not beſtow much attention on this important domeſtic taſk. The tender years of Alcibiades were committed to the illiberal diſcipline of mercenary preceptors; his youth and inexperience were beſet by the deſtructive adulation of ſervile flatterers,—until the young Athenian, having begun to reliſh the poems of Homer, the admiration of which is congenial to every great mind, learned from thence to deſpiſe the pedantry of the one, and to deteſt the meanneſs of the other[5].

His early attachment to Socrates.

From Homer Alcibiades early imbibed that ambition for excellence which is the great leſſon of the immortal bard. Having attained the verge of manhood, he readily diſtinguiſhed, among the crowd of rhetoricians and ſophiſts, the ſuperior merit of Socrates,

[3] The Greeks ſometimes diſtinguiſhed treaties by the names of thoſe who made them: the peace of Cimon; the peace of Nicia; and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the peace of Antalcidas.

[4] Plut. & Nepos in Alcibiad. [5] Plut. ibid.

who,

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who, rejecting all factitious and abſtruſe ſtudies, confined his ſpeculations to matters of real importance and utility; who having never travelled to Egypt and the Eaſt in ſearch of *myſterious* knowledge, reaſoned with an Attic perſpicuity and freedom; and who, being unbiaſſed by the ſyſtem of any maſter, and always maſter of himſelf, thought, ſpoke, and acted with equal independence and dignity. An amiable and moſt inſtructive writer, the diſciple and friend of Socrates, has left an admirable panegyric of the uniform temperance, the unſhaken probity, the diffuſive benevolence invariably diſplayed in his virtuous life of ſeventy years [6]. His diſtinguiſhing excellencies are juſtly appreciated by Xenophon, a ſcholar worthy of his maſter [7]; but the youthful levity of Alcibiades (for youth is ſeldom capable of eſtimating the higheſt of all merits, the undeviating tenor of an innocent and uſeful life) was chiefly delighted with the ſplendour of particular actions. The eloquence, rather than the innocence of Socrates, excited his admiration. He was charmed with that inimitable raillery, that clear comprehenſive logic, which baffled the moſt acute diſputants of the Athenian ſchools [8]; that erect independence of mind, which diſdained the inſolence of power, the pride of wealth, and the vanity of popular fame, was well fitted to attract the congenial eſteem of Alcibiades, who aſpired beyond the beaten paths of vulgar greatneſs; nor could the gallant youth be leſs affected by the invincible intrepidity of Socrates, when quitting the ſhade of ſpeculation, and, covered with the helm and cuiraſs, he graſped the maſſy ſpear, and juſtified, by his ſtrenuous exertion in the field of battle, the uſeful leſſons of his philoſophy [9].

Their mutual obligations and friendſhip.

Socrates in his turn (ſince it is eaſier for a wiſe man to correct the errors of reaſon than to conquer the deluſions of ſentiment) was deeply

[6] Xenoph. Memorabil. Socrat.

[7] See particularly Xenoph. Apolog. Socrat.

[8] Plato, paſſim.

[9] Xenoph. Memorab. Socrat. pp. 419. 804. 818.

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deeply affected with the beauty of Alcibiades [10]; a beauty depending, not on the tranſient flower of youth, and the ſeductive delicacy of effeminate graces, but on the ineffable harmony of a form which realiſed the ſublime conceptions of Homer and Phidias concerning their fabulous divinities, and which ſhone in the autumn of life with undiminiſhed effulgence [11]. The affection of Socrates, though infinitely removed from impurity, reſembled rather the ardour of love than the calm moderation of friendſhip. The ſage, whoſe company was courted by his other diſciples, himſelf courted the company of Alcibiades; and when the ungrateful youth ſometimes eſcaped to his licentious companions, the philoſopher purſued him with the cagerneſs of a father or maſter, anxious to recover a fugitive ſon or ſlave [12]. At the battle of Potidæa he ſaved the life of his pupil, and in order to gratify the love of military glory, which already animated his youthful boſom, the ſage obtained for Alcibiades the prize of valour, which the univerſal conſent of the Athenians thought due to himſelf. At the fatal engagement of Delium, Alcibiades, it is ſaid, had an opportunity of returning the more ſubſtantial favour, by ſaving the precious life of Socrates [13]; and it may well be ſuppoſed that an interchange of ſuch important favours would ſtraiten the bands of their mutual friendſhip, during which the powers of reaſon and fancy were directed, with unabating diligence, to improve the underſtanding, and excite the virtue of Alcibiades.

Deceitful character of Alcibiades.

But this favourite youth laboured under a defect, which could not be compenſated by the higheſt birth, the moſt ſplendid fortune, the nobleſt endowments of mind and body, and even the ineſtima-

[10] Vid. Xenoph. and Plato, paſſim. Socrates often acknowledges the danger of beauty, and its power over himſelf; but loſes no opportunity to caution his diſciples againſt the ſhameful paſſions, and abominable vices, which flow from this fair ſource. Vid. Memorabil. Socrat. l. ii. paſſim, & l. v. c. iii. Sympoſ. c. iv. p. 246.

[11] Plut. in Alcibiad.

[12] Plut. ibid.

[13] Strabo, p. 330, & Plut. in Alcibiad.

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ble friendſhip of Socrates. He wanted an honeſt [14] heart. This we are warranted to affirm on the authority of contemporary writers, who acknowledge, that firſt admiration, and then intereſt, was the foundation of his attachment to the illuſtrious ſage, by whoſe inſtruction he expected to become, not a good, but an able, man. Some inclination to virtue he might, in ſuch company, perhaps feel, but more probably feign, and the niceſt diſcernment might miſtake the real character of a man, who could adopt, at pleaſure, the moſt oppoſite manners; and who, as will appear from the ſubſequent events of his various life, could ſurpaſs the ſplendid magnificence of Athens, or the rigid frugality of Sparta; could conform, as intereſt required, to the laborious exerciſes of the Thebans, or to the voluptuous indolence of Ionia; aſſume the ſoft effeminacy of an eaſtern prince, or rival the ſturdy vices of the drunken Thracians [15].

His views favoured by the ſtate of Greece. Olymp. xc. 1. A. C. 420.

The firſt ſpecimen of his political conduct diſcovered the extraordinary reſources of his verſatile mind. He oppoſed the peace of Nicias, as the work of a rival, whom he wiſhed to diſgrace. His ambition longed for war, and the Spartans deſerved his reſentment, having, in all their tranſactions with Athens, teſtified the utmoſt reſpect for Nicias, while they were at no pains to conceal their want of regard for himſelf, though his family had been long connected with their republic by an intercourſe of hoſpitality, and he had endeavoured to ſtrengthen that connection by his perſonal good offices to the Lacedæmonians taken in Sphacteria. To gratify at once his reſentment, his ambition, and his jealouſy, he determined to renew the war with Sparta; a deſign by no means difficult at the preſent juncture.

In compliance with the peace of Nicias, the Spartans withdrew their troops from Amphipolis; but they could reſtore neither that

[14] Lyſias cont. Alcibiad. & Xenoph. Memorab. Socrat. l. i. p. 715.

[15] Nepos in Alcibiad.

city, nor the neighbouring places in Macedon, to the dominion of Athens. The Athenians, agreeably to the treaty, allowed the captives taken in Sphacteria to meet the longing embraces of their kinſmen and friends; but good policy forbade their ſurrendering Pylus, until the enemy had performed ſome of the conditions ſtipulated in return. Mutual unwillingneſs, or inability, to comply with the articles of peace, ſowed the ſeeds of animoſity, which found a favourable ſoil in both republics. The authority of thoſe magiſtrates had expired who ſupported the pacific meaſures of Nicias and Pleiſtoanax. The Spartan youth wiſhed, by new hoſtilities, to cancel the memory of a war, which had been carried on without profit, and terminated with diſhonour. But the wiſer part perceived that better ſucceſs could not be expected while the Athenians poſſeſſed Pylus. In their eagerneſs to recover that fortreſs they renewed their alliance with the Thebans, from whom they received Panactum, which they hoped to exchange for Pylus; forgetting, in this tranſaction, an important clauſe in their treaty with Athens, "that neither of the contracting powers ſhould, without mutual communication and conſent, conclude any new alliance." The Thebans rejoiced in the proſpect of embroiling the affairs of Athens and Sparta; and the Corinthians, guided by the ſame hoſtile views, readily concurred with the Thebans, and openly re-entered into the Lacedæmonian confederacy [13].

He entertains the Spartan ambaſſadors. Olymp. [illegible] 4. A. C. 420.

Having concluded this negociation, the Spartans, who yielded to none in the art of diſſembling, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Athens, excuſing what they termed an apparent infringement of the treaty, and requeſting that ſtate to accept Panactum (which had been carefully diſmantled) in exchange for Pylus. The ſenate of Athens heard their propoſal without ſuſpicion, eſpecially as they declared themſelves inveſted with full powers to embrace every reaſonable plan of preſent accommodation and permanent friendſhip. It now

[13] Thucydid. l. v. paſſim.

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remained for the ambaſſadors to propoſe their demand in the popular aſſembly, which, they had reaſon to hope, might be deceived ſtill more eaſily than the ſenate. But in this expectation they were diſappointed by a contrivance of Alcibiades, no leſs ſingular than audacious. Having invited the ambaſſadors to an entertainment, during which he talked of their republic with more than his wonted reſpect, and teſtified the utmoſt ſolicitude for the ſucceſs of their negociation, he obſerved that one circumſtance gave him much concern, their having mentioned full powers. They muſt beware of repeating that error in the aſſembly, becauſe the natural rapacity of the populace, apprized of that circumſtance, would not fail to inſiſt on ſuch conditions as the honour of Sparta could not poſſibly comply with. If they concealed the extent of their commiſſion, the declaring of which could only ſerve to indicate timidity on the one ſide, and to provoke inſolence on the other, he pledged himſelf to obtain the recovery of Pylus, and the gratification of their utmoſt hopes. On this occaſion the Spartans injudiciouſly confided in a man, who had been irritated by the former neglect and ingratitude of their country. When they appeared next day in the aſſembly, Alcibiades demanded, with a loud voice, the object and extent of their commiſſion. According to the concerted plan, they denied having full powers. The artful Athenian, affecting a tranſport of indignation, arraigned the audacity and baſeneſs of a people by whom his own unſuſpecting temper had been egregiouſly abuſed. "But yeſterday they declared their full powers in the ſenate; they denied to-day what yeſterday they diſplayed with oſtentation. Such (I now perceive it) is the duplicity of their republic. It is thus they have reſtored Amphipolis. It is thus, Athenians! they have reſtored the neighbouring towns in Macedon: it is thus they have, indeed, put you in poſſeſſion of Panactum, but with demoliſhed walls; and after concluding an alliance with Athens, ratified by ſolemn oath, moſt treacherouſly and daringly infringed it, by entering into a league with

with Thebes, your determined and inveterate enemy. Can you ſtill, men of Athens! tamely ſubmit to ſuch indignities? Do you not expel ſuch traitors (pointing to the ambaſſadors) from your preſence, and from your city?" This extraordinary harangue totally diſconcerted the Spartans. Had their confuſion allowed them to extenuate their fault by declaring the truth, the leaſt reflection muſt have ſuggeſted, that Alcibiades would repreſent their ſimple ſtory as a new turn of ingenious artifice. They retired abruptly from the aſſembly[17]; Nicias, and the other partizans of Sparta, ſhared their diſgrace; and the Athenians were ſoon afterwards perſuaded by Alcibiades to embrace the Argive alliance[18].

The Peloponneſian war renewed. Olym. xc. 2. A. C. 419.

It might be expected, that the weight of ſuch a powerful confederacy ſhould have ſpeedily cruſhed the debility of Sparta, already exhauſted by the former war. But the military operations of Greece depended leſs on the relative ſtrength of contending powers, than on the alternate preponderance of domeſtic factions. In the year following the treaty, the Athenians ſent a ſmall body of troops to aſſiſt their Peloponneſian allies in the reduction of Epidaurus, Tegea, and other hoſtile cities in Argolis and Arcadia. Yet in the enſuing year, when the Spartans, dreading the loſs of ſome cities, and the defection of others, made a vigorous effort to retrieve their authority in Peloponneſus, the Athenians alone diſcovered little inclination, and exerted no activity, to obſtruct their meaſures for that purpoſe. Pleiſtoanax being a partizan of the peace of Nicias, the Spartans entruſted the command to Agis, his more warlike colleague. All Lacedæmonians of the military age were ſummoned to the field. The dangerous expedient of arming the Helots was adopted on this important emergence. The Spartan allies ſhewed unuſual ardour in their cauſe. The Thebans ſent ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand

[17] Thucyd. mentions the ſhock of an earthquake, which occaſioned the diſſolution of that aſſembly, before coming to any concluſion.

[18] Thucydid. l. v. p 374. & ſeqq. Plut. in Alcibiad.

horſemen;

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horſemen [19]; the Corinthians two thouſand heavy-armed men; the Megarians almoſt an equal number; the ancient cities of Pallené and Sicyon in Achaia gave a powerful and ready aſſiſtance; while the ſmall, but generous republic of Phlius, whoſe territory, bordering on Argolis, was appointed for the rendezvous of the confederates, took the field with the whole body of citizens and ſlaves capable of bearing arms [20].

The Spartan and Argive armies face each other, but part without engaging. Olym. xc. 3. A. C. 418.

The Argives obſerved the approaching ſtorm, and prepared to reſiſt it. The Eleans and Mantineans joined them; and although the Athenians were long expected in vain, the Argives did not loſe courage, but boldly took the field to oppoſe the invaders. The ſkilful movements of king Agis intercepted their return to Argos; the high grounds above them were occupied by the Corinthians and Phliaſians; their retreat towards Nemea was cut off by the Bœotians and Megarians. A battle ſeemed inevitable in the winding vale of Argos; but it is eaſier to admire, than explain, the ſubſequent conduct of either army. Whether the Argive commanders [21] were diſconcerted by the judicious poſition of the enemy, or that compaſſion touched their minds on perceiving ſuch numerous bodies of men, chiefly natives of the ſame peninſula, ſprung from the ſame blood, and ſpeaking the ſame Doric tongue, prepared to embrue their parricidal hands in kindred blood; or that, being ſecretly partizans of ariſtocracy [22], they were unwilling to come to extremities with Sparta, it is certain that inſtead of joining battle, they entered into conference, with the Lacedæmonian king. In conſequence of this unexpected meaſure, a truce was concluded between the chiefs, without the con-

[19] They had, however, but five hundred horſes; ἱππεις δε ἐγενοντο πεντακοσιοι και ἀνιπποι ἱσοι. Perhaps the ἀνιπποι, thoſe not provided with horſes, ſerved as attendants on the horſemen. The mixing of light infantry with the cavalry was frequent in later times; but of this hereafter.

[20] Thucydid. l. v. p. 384. & ſeqq.

[21] Or rather Thraſyllus, who was one of five generals, but who ſeems to have enjoyed ſome pre-eminence over his colleagues. Perhaps it was his turn to command.

[22] Alciphron, who, with Thraſyllus, was the principal agent in this affair, was the "πρόξενος Δακεδαιμονίων," the public hoſt of the Lacedæmonians. Thucydid. p. 386.

currence

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currence or knowledge of the officers or troops in either army. The Argives, Thraſyllus and Alciphron, engaged that their countrymen ſhould give complete ſatisfaction for the injuries of which they were accuſed; and king Agis, whoſe authority, by the Spartan laws, was abſolute in the field, led off his obſequious army.

Diſcontents hereby occaſioned in both ſtates.

Whatever might be the cauſe of this meaſure, it occaſioned (after the firſt pauſe of ſilent aſtoniſhment) univerſal diſcontent, followed by loud and licentious clamours. The Spartans complained, "That, after aſſembling ſuch a body of men as had ſcarcely ever been collected in Peloponneſus, whoſe attachment to their cauſe was ardent, whoſe numbers and courage were invincible, and after ſurrounding their enemies on every ſide, and depriving them of every reſource, the glorious hope, or rather certainty of the moſt complete and important victory, ſhould have been ſacrificed, in one moment, by the caprice, the cowardice, or the corruption of their general." The Argives lamented, "That their numerous enemies, whom they had a fair opportunity of engaging in their own country, ſhould have been allowed to eſcape from their hands by a haſty and ill-judged compoſition." Nor did they confine their reſentment to vain complaints. The moſt daring or moſt ſeditious attacked the houſes of Thraſyllus and Anciphron. The reſt ſoon joined in the tumult. The effects of the generals were plundered or confiſcated; and their lives were ſaved, with difficulty, by the reſpected ſanctuary of Argive Juno.

Alcibiades perſuades the Argives to break the truce. Olym. xc. 3. A. C. 418.

Though the Greeks, and indeed the ancients in general, ſeldom employed reſident ambaſſadors in foreign ſtates, Alcibiades was then inveſted with that character at Argos. His activity would not fail to promote the popular tumult, in which his own and the Athenian intereſt was concerned. On a future occaſion he boaſted, that, chiefly at his inſtigation, the Argives and their allies were perſuaded to break the truce; a meaſure greatly facilitated by the long-expected arrival of the Athenian tranſports, conveying a reinforcement of

twelve

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twelve hundred ſoldiers, and a body of three hundred cavalry. Encouraged by this event, the Argives, regardleſs of the truce, attacked the ancient and wealthy city of Orchomenus in Arcadia, which, after a feeble reſiſtance, ſubmitted to their arms. They next proceeded to lay ſiege to the neighbouring town of Tegea, a deſign extremely contrary to the inclination of the Eleans, who were eager to chaſtiſe the inhabitants of Lepreum, a diſtrict on their own frontier. The Argives, however, paid no regard to their demands; and the Eleans, offended by this inſtance of contempt, returned home in diſguſt.

The Spartans take the field.

The Lacedæmonians learned with indignation the ſubmiſſion of Orchomenus, the ſiege of Tegea, and the open infraction of the treaty. They had formerly murmured againſt the imprudent or perfidious meaſures of king Agis; but when they felt the effects of his miſconduct, their reſentment became outrageous. In the firſt emotions of their animoſity, they determined to deſtroy his houſe, and to ſubject him to a fine of ſeveral thouſand pounds ſterling, which, in all probability, he would have been unable to pay. But his eloquence and addreſs appeaſed the general clamour; and, as the anger of popular aſſemblies is eaſily converted into pity, he was again taken into favour. His known talents for war recommended him to the command of the army; and he aſſured his countrymen, that his future ſervices ſhould ſpeedily wipe off the ſtain from his character. The Spartans, however, firſt elected on this occaſion ten counſellors to attend their kings in the field, to reſtrain their too precipitate reſolves, and control their too abſolute authority.

Battle of Mantinea.

Having taken this precaution, the neceſſity of which ſeemed juſtified by recent experience, they ſummoned the aſſiſtance of their allies, whoſe ardour to renew hoſtilities was equal to their own. They proceeded with a numerous army (though inferior to that formerly collected, as their confederates beyond the Iſthmus had not yet time to join them), and marched directly to the town of Mantinea,

Mantinæa, expecting either to take that place, or to oblige the enemy to defend it, by withdrawing their troops from the ſiege of Tegea. The approach of the Argives prevented the ſurpriſe of Mantinæa; and both armies, whoſe ambition or reſentment had been ſo lately diſappointed of an opportunity to diſplay their valour or their fury, eagerly prepared for an engagement.

Military orations.

According to ancient cuſtom, the leaders of the ſeveral nations addreſſed their reſpective troops. The Mantinæans were animated "by the ſight of their city, for the defence of which, as well as for the ſafety of their wives and children, they were exhorted valiantly to contend. The event of the battle muſt determine the important alternative of dominion and ſervitude; dominion which they had lately aſſumed over various cities in Arcadia, and ſervitude, which they had already ſuffered under the cruel tyranny of Sparta." The Argives were reminded "of their ancient pre-eminence in Peloponneſus, which they had recently recovered, and which their honour was now called to maintain. They were reminded of the long and bloody wars which they had formerly carried on, in order to repel the uſurpation of a powerful and ambitious neighbour. This was the ſame enemy who actually provoked their arms, and gave them an opportunity of revenging, in one day, the accumulated injuſtice of many centuries." The Athenians heard, and repeated, "That it was glorious to march at the head of gallant and faithful allies, and to ſhew themſelves deſerving of their hereditary renown. They yielded to none in bravery; their power was unrivalled; and when they had overcome the Lacedæmonians, even in the Peloponneſus, their dominion would be more extenſive and ſecure."

The Spartans victorious.

The Spartans briefly exhorted their followers, and each other, "to exert that innate valour which had ever animated their breaſts, and which could receive no additional force from a tedious diſplay of uſeleſs words." Thus ſaying, they marched with a ſlow and firm

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ſtep, regulated by the ſound of the flute, to meet the impetuous onſet [23] of the Argives and Athenians. Above a thouſand of the former, choſen from the flower of the nobleſt youth of Argos, had been employed, ſince the firſt diſſentions occaſioned by the peace of Nicias, in the conſtant exerciſe of arms, in order to maintain the honourable pretenſions of their country. They behaved with ſignal bravery. The Athenians were not wanting to their ancient fame. The Mantinæans ſtrenuouſly defended every thing moſt dear to them. But the allied army had been conſiderably weakened by the deſertion of the Elians; and the martial enthuſiaſm of king Agis, ſeconded by the perſevering valour of the Spartans [24], decided the fortune of the battle. The allies were repulſed, broken, thrown into diſorder, and put to flight. The Spartans, unwilling to irritate their deſpair, or ſuperſtitiouſly obſerving an ancient maxim, which enjoined them "to make a bridge for a flying enemy," did not continue the purſuit, but ſpeedily returned home to celebrate the Carnean feſtival, rejoicing in having reſtored the luſtre of their arms, and recovered their authority in the Peloponneſus.

[23] The admirable verſes of Milton, who was a diligent reader of Thucydides, are the beſt commentary on this battle.

Anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and ſoft recorders, ſuch as rais'd
To height of nobleſt temper heroes old,
Arming to battle; and inſtead of rage,
Deliberate valour breath'd firm and ununmov'd, &c. Par. Loſt, b. i.

[24] If the text is not corrupt, the words of Thucydides are very remarkable: Αλλα μαλιστα δη κατα παντα τη ιμπειρια Λακεδαιμονιοι ελασσωθεντες, τη ανδρεια ιδιξαν ουχ ησσον περιγινομενοι. p. 394. "That the Lacedæmonians, exceedingly inferior as they appeared on this occaſion to the enemy in military ſkill, ſhewed themſelves as much ſuperior to them in true manly courage." It appears from the deſcription of the battle, that the Lacedæmonians were defective, not in ſkill, but in diſcipline. In approaching the enemy, their right wing extended too far, which frequently happened from the deſire of every ſoldier to cover his unarmed ſide by the ſhield of the next perſon on his right. In conſequence of this tendency, the Lacedæmonian left wing was overreached by the enemy's right. Agis ordered the Skiritæ and Braſidians to wheel from their places on the right, and lengthen the front of the left wing; commanding the battalions of Hipponoidas and Ariſtocles to fill up the vacuity occaſioned by this movement. But theſe generals abſolutely refuſed to obey orders, and were afterwards baniſhed Sparta on that account. Thucydid. p. 393, & ſeqq.

This,

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Tumults in Argos.

This, in fact, proved the immediate conſequence of a battle, which was not ſo bloody as might have been expected, the vanquiſhed having loſt *eleven*, and the victors only *three*, hundred. But the revolutions of Greece chiefly depended on the fluctuating politics of domeſtic factions. The Spartans had a numerous party in Argos itſelf, who, emboldened by the recent victory of their friends, immediately took arms, aboliſhed the popular government, deſtroyed the partizans of Athens, abjured the league with that ſtate, and entered into a new confederacy with Sparta. This event happened a few weeks after the engagement, and towards the cloſe of the fourteenth winter of the Peloponneſian war. During the two following years, Argos paid dearly for a moment of tranſient ſplendour, having undergone three bloody revolutions, which renewed the atrocities of Corcyrean ſedition. The conteſt ended, as in Corcyra, in favour of the Athenians and democracy.

Maſſacre of the Scioneans.

The affairs of the Peloponneſus had long occupied, without engroſſing, the attention of Athens. The year preceding her alliance with Argos, the Athenians reduced the rebellious city of Scioné, in the peninſula of Pallené, againſt which their reſentment had been provoked to the utmoſt fury, becauſe the Scioneans, though inhabiting a country almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea, had defied the naval power of Athens, and, amidſt the misfortunes of that ſtate, revolted to her enemies. The citizens of Scioné became the victims of a revenge equally cruel and imprudent. The males, above the age of puberty, were put to the ſword; the women and children dragged into ſervitude; the name and honours of the city extinguiſhed for ever; and the territory planted with a new colony, conſiſting chiefly of Platæan exiles. Theſe atrocious cruelties alarmed the terror, exaſperated the reſentment, and invigorated the reſiſtance, of the neighbouring republics. Their defence was undertaken by Perdiccas, king of Macedon, whom the Athenians therefore interdicted the uſe of the Grecian ſeas. But that ambitious people made ſo little pro-

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greſs in reducing the Macedonian coaſt, that they finally deſiſted from this deſign, contenting themſelves with guarding thoſe places which ſtill preſerved their allegiance, with re-eſtabliſhing domeſtic order, and with collecting the cuſtomary tribute from their numerous colonies and dependencies.

The Athenians attack Melos.

Olymp. xci. 1. A. C. 416.

The productive induſtry diffuſed through all branches of the community, the equality of private fortune, the abſence of habitual luxury, and other cauſes not leſs obvious, enabled the Greeks to flouriſh amidſt furious and bloody wars. After a ſhort period of tranquillity, their exuberant population overflowed, and was obliged to diſcharge itſelf in foreign colonies or conqueſts. Such a period Athens enjoyed for five years after the peace of Nicias, as the Macedonian and Argive wars only employed her activity, without exhauſting her ſtrength. The neceſſity of exerting her ſuperfluous vigour in ſome uſeful and honourable deſign, was fatally experienced in the year following by the unfortunate iſland of Melos, one of the largeſt of the Cyclades, lying directly oppoſite to the Cape of Malea, the ſouthern promontory of Laconia.

Deſcription of that iſland.

This beautiful iſland, ſixty miles in circumference, of a circular form, of an agreeable temperature, and affording, in peculiar perfection[25], the uſual productions of a fine climate, had early invited the colonization of the Spartans, and the happy ſettlement had enjoyed political independence for ſeven hundred years. The ſtrength and importance of the capital, which had the ſame name with the iſland, may be underſtood by the armament, of thirty ſhips, and near three thouſand ſoldiers, which the Athenians brought againſt it. Before they commenced hoſtilities, either by attacking the city, or by ravaging the country, they ſent ambaſſadors to the Melians, in

[25] The iſland of Melos is every where impregnated with iron, bitumen, ſulphur, and other minerals. It is deſcribed by Tournefort as a great laboratory. Its ſubterranean fires are ſuppoſed to give peculiar force and flavour to its wines and fruits.

order

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order to perſuade them to ſurrender, without incurring the danger or the puniſhment of an unequal, and probably a fruitleſs reſiſtance. The cautious iſlanders, well acquainted with the eloquence and addreſs of the enemy with whom they had to contend, denied them the permiſſion to ſpeak before the public aſſembly, but appointed a deputation of the magiſtrates, to hear and examine their demands.

Conference between the commiſſioners of Athens and Melos.

The Athenian ambaſſadors were received in the ſenate-houſe, where a moſt important and intereſting conference was held[25], which, while it engages our compaſſion for the unhappy victims of ambition, explains the prevailing ſentiments and opinions of the Greeks in matters of war and government, and illuſtrates the daring injuſtice of the Athenian republic. The ambaſſadors began the dialogue, by obſerving, "That ſince the diſtruſt of the Melians, probably ariſing from the conſcious weakneſs of their cauſe, had refuſed them the liberty of ſpeaking, in a continued oration, to the aſſembly of the people, they ſhould uſe that mode of conference which ſeemed moſt agreeable to the inclinations of their adverſaries, and patiently liſten to the objections which might occur to any part of their diſcourſe." *Melians.* "The propoſal is juſt and reaſonable; but you have come hither with an armed force, which renders you judges in your own cauſe. Though vanquiſhed in debate, you may ſtill conquer by arms; but if *we* yield in argument, we muſt ſubmit to ſlavery." *Athenians.* "If you intend to talk of matters foreign to the ſubject, we have done." *M.* "It is ſurely excuſable for thoſe whoſe all is at ſtake, to turn themſelves on every ſide, and to ſuggeſt their ſuſpicions and their doubts. But let the conference be carried on in the manner which you have propoſed." *A.* "And, on both ſides, let all ſuperfluous arguments be omitted; either that *we*, having repelled and conquered the Perſians, are entitled to govern the Greeks; or that *you*, being a colony of Lacedæmon, are intitled to independence. Let us ſpeak like men of

[25] Thucydid. l. v. p. 400, & ſeqq.

ſenſe

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ſenſe and experience, who know that the equal rules of juſtice are obſerved only by men of an equal condition; but that it belongs to the ſtrong to command, and to the weak to obey; becauſe ſuch is the intereſt of both." *M.* "How can our intereſt and yours coincide?" *A.* "By ſubmiſſion, you will ſave your lives; and by preſerving you, we will increaſe our own power." *M.* "Conſider (for this alſo muſt be mentioned, ſince diſregarding *juſtice*, you are governed only by *utility*) that your unprovoked invaſion of the Melians will rouſe the reſentment of all Greece; will render all neutral ſtates your enemies; and if ever your empire ſhould decline, (as what human grandeur is not ſubject to decay?) will expoſe you to a dreadful and juſt puniſhment." *A.* "The continuance of our empire is the care of fortune and the gods; the little that man can do to preſerve it, *we* will not neglect. The liberty of Melos offends the pride of the neighbouring iſles, and ſtirs them to rebellion. The intereſt of our preſent power muſt prevail over the apprehenſion of future danger." *M.* "While the Athenians are thus prepared to incur danger for the preſervation of empire, and their ſubject iſlands to defy death for the hopes of freedom, would it not be the baſeſt and moſt infamous cowardice in us, who have long enjoyed liberty, to decline any toil or danger for maintaining the moſt valuable and the moſt glorious of all human poſſeſſions?" *A.* "We are not come hither to diſpute the prize of valour, but to offer terms of ſafety." *M.* "The event of war is uncertain; there is ſome hope in reſiſtance, none in ſubmiſſion." *A.* "Flattering hope often deceives the proſperous and the powerful, but always deſtroys the weak and unfortunate, who, diſregarding natural means of preſervation, have recourſe to idle dreams of the fancy, to omens, oracles, divination, and all the fallacious illuſions of a vain ſuperſtition." *M.* "We know that it will be difficult for the Melians to contend with the ſtrength and fortune of Athens: Yet we truſt that the gods will ſupport the juſtice of our cauſe; and that the Lacedæmonians,

monians, from whom we are deſcended, moved by a ſenſe of honour, will defend their own blood." *A.* "Believe not that Athens will be forſaken by the gods. Ambition is implanted in man. The wiſdom of providence, not an Athenian decree, has eſtabliſhed the inevitable law, that the ſtrong ſhould govern the weak. As to the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, we ſincerely congratulate your happy ignorance of their principles. Whatever equity prevails in their domeſtic inſtitutions, they have but one rule reſpecting their neighbours, which is, to regulate all their tranſactions with them by their own conveniency." *M.* "It is chiefly that conſideration which affords us hope, that they will not forſake an iſland which they have planted, leſt they ſhould be regarded as traitors, than which nothing could be more unfavourable to their intereſt, eſpecially ſince Melos, lying in the neighbourhood of their own territories, would be a dangerous poſſeſſion in the hands of an enemy." *A.* "The timid caution of the Lacedæmonians ſeldom takes the field, even againſt their inveterate enemies in the Peloponneſus, unleſs when their ſtandard is attended by numerous allies. It is not to be imagined that, for the ſafety of a colony, they will alone croſs the Cretan ſea, to contend with the ſuperior navy of Athens." *M.* "Should the Lacedæmonians be averſe to ſail, they can tranſport others in their ſtead; and the extent of the Cretan ſea may elude the vigilance of your ſhips; or ſhould that probability fail, the Lacedæmonians may attack your ſubjects on the continent, and accompliſh the deſigns of the warlike Braſidas." *A.* "You are determined, it ſeems, to learn, by fatal experience, that fear never compelled the Athenians to deſiſt from their deſigns; eſpecially never to raiſe the ſiege of any place which they had once inveſted. For during the whole of this long conference, you have not mentioned a ſingle particular capable of affording any juſt ground of confidence. Deceived by the ſplendour of words, you talk of honour and independence, rejecting the offers of a powerful ſtate, whoſe arms you are unable

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to reſiſt, and whoſe protection you might obtain at the expence of a moderate tribute. Leſt ſhame ſhould have any ſhare in this dangerous behaviour, we ſhall leave you to conſult privately, only reminding you once more, that your preſent deliberations involve the fate of your country."

Magnanimity of the Melians.

The Athenian ambaſſadors retired; and ſhortly afterwards, the Melians recalled them, and "declared their unanimous reſolution not to betray, in one unlucky hour, the liberty which they had maintained for ſeven hundred years; depending on the vigorous aſſiſtance of their Lacedæmonian kinſmen, and truſting eſpecially in that divine providence which had hitherto moſt wonderfully preſerved them amidſt the general convulſions of Greece. But they entreated the Athenians to accept their offers of neutrality, and to abſtain from unprovoked violence." The ambaſſadors prepared for returning to the camp, leaving the commiſſioners with a ſarcaſtic threat, "That of all men, in ſuch a delicate ſituation, the Melians alone thought the future more certain than the paſt, and would grievouſly ſuffer for their folly, in preferring to the propoſals of certain and immediate ſafety, the deceitfulneſs of hope, the inſtability of fortune, and the vain proſpect of Lacedæmonian aid." The Athenians, irritated by oppoſition, inveſted, without delay, the capital of Melos, which was blocked up for ſeveral months by ſea and land. The beſieged, after ſuffering cruelly by famine, made ſeveral deſperate ſallies, ſeized the Athenian magazines, and deſtroyed part of their works. But towards the end of winter their reſiſtance was defeated, by the vigorous efforts of the enemy, combined with domeſtic treaſon. The males above the age of fourteen ſhared the unhappy fate of the Scionians. The women and children were ſubjected to perpetual ſervitude, and five hundred new inhabitants, drawn from the neighbouring colonies of Athens, were ſent to occupy the vacant lands, which had been cultivated and adorned for ſeven centuries by the labour of the exterminated Melians [27].

Conqueſt of Melos, and cruel treatment of the inhabitants.

[27] Thucydid. l. v. p. 410. ad fin.

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Alcibiades promotes the Sicilian Expedition.—Revolutions in that Iſland.—Embaſſy to Athens.—Extravagant Views of Alcibiades.—Oppoſed by Nicias.—The Athenians prepare to invade Sicily.—Their Armament beheld with Suſpicion by the Italian States.—Deliberations concerning the Mode of carrying on the War.—Alcibiades takes Catana by Stratagem.—His Intrigues in Meſſené.—He is unſeaſonably recalled to Athens.—Charged with Treaſon and Impiety.—Eſcapes to Sparta.—Nicias determines to attack Syracuſe.—Deſcription of that City.—The Athenians prevail in a Battle.—Return to Catana and Naxos.

CHAP. XIX. Alcibiades promotes the expedition into Sicily.

THE inhuman maſſacre of the Melians has been aſcribed by an inſtructive, though often inaccurate biographer[1], to the unfeeling pride of Alcibiades. But more ancient and authentic writers[2], whoſe ſilence ſeems to exculpate the ſon of Clinias from this atrocious accuſation, repreſent him as the principal author of the expedition againſt Sicily; an expedition not more unjuſt in its principle than fatal in its conſequences.

Revolutions in that iſland. A. C. 479—468.

The ſalutary union between the princes of Syracuſe and Agrigentum triumphed, as we had occaſion to relate, over the ambition and reſources of Carthage. Sicily flouriſhed under the virtuous adminiſtration of Gelon[3] and Theron; but its tranquillity was diſturbed

[1] Plut. in Alcib. [2] Thucyd. l. v. Lyſias Orat. cont. Alcib. [3] See above, p. 403.

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by the diſſentions of their immediate ſucceſſors. Hieron king of Syracuſe proved victorious in a long and bloody war, during which the incapacity and misfortunes of his rival Thraſideus emboldened the reſentment of his ſubjects, already provoked by his injuſtice and cruelty [3]. He eſcaped the popular fury, but fell a victim to his own deſpair; and the Agrigentines, having expelled the family of an odious tyrant, inſtituted a republican form of policy.

Reign of Hieron in Syracuſe.

The falſe, cruel, and avaricious Hieron (for ſuch at leaſt he is deſcribed [4] in the firſt years of his reign) probably received little benefit from the dangerous influence of proſperity. But his mind was not incapable of reflection; and, in the courſe of a long ſickneſs and confinement, he diſcovered the emptineſs of ſuch objects as kings are taught to admire, and had recourſe to the ſolid pleaſures of the underſtanding. By converſing with Grecian philoſophers he learned the moſt important of all leſſons, that of converſing with himſelf; a converſation, which none but the moſt virtuous or the moſt vicious of men can long and frequently maintain, without deriving from it eſſential profit. With the improvement of his underſtanding, the ſentiments of Hieron improved; his character and manners underwent a total change; and the latter years of his reign adorn the hiſtory of Sicily, and the age in which he lived [5]. The poets Simonides, Æſchylus, and Bacchilides frequented his court, and admired the greatneſs of his mind, rather than of his fortune. The ſublime genius of Pindar has celebrated the magnificent generoſity of his illuſtrious patron. And in an age when writing was the picture of converſation, becauſe men talked as they needed not have been aſhamed to write, the impartial diſciple of Socrates, who had nothing to hope or to fear from the aſhes of a king of Sicily, has repreſented Hieron, in the Dialogue entitled from his name [6], as a model of wiſdom and virtue.

[3] Diodor. l. xi. c. lx. & ſeqq.
[4] Diodor. Sic. l. xi. c. lxvi.
[5] Ælian. l. ix c. vii.
[6] Xenophont. Hieron.

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The tyranny of Thraſybulus, and eſtabliſhment of democracy. Olymp. lxxviii. 3. A. C. 466.

It is a mortifying reflection that the inimitable qualities of a virtuous prince ſhould naturally encourage the ſloth, or irritate the vices, of a degenerate ſucceſſor. The glorious reign of Hieron was followed by the bloody tyranny of Thraſybulus; a wretch who, diſgracing the throne and human nature, was expelled from Sicily by the juſt indignation of his ſubjects. Reſentment is more permanent than gratitude. The Syracuſans forgot the fame of Gelon; they forgot the recent merit of Hieron; and, that they might never be again ſubjected to a tyrant like Thraſybulus, exchanged the odious power of kings for the dangerous fury of democracy[7].

Effects of that revolution.

The inferior cities having ſucceſſively imitated the example of Agrigentum and Syracuſe, the Grecian colonies in Sicily experienced the diſorders of that tumultous liberty which had ſo long prevailed in the mother country. Diſtracted by internal diſcord, and haraſſed by external hoſtility, they had neither leiſure nor inclination to attend to the politics of Greece. The republic of Syracuſe, which was alone capable of interpoſing, with effect, in the quarrels of that country, imitated, inſtead of oppoſing, the ambition of Athens. Moſt of the Dorian ſettlements had become confederates, or rather tributaries, to the Syracuſans; and, towards the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, that aſpiring people, though torn by domeſtic factions, ſtrenuouſly exerted their valour againſt the Ionic ſettlements of Leontium, Catana, and Naxos.

Diſſentions in Sicily, in which the Athenians interfere. Olymp. lxxxviii. 3. A. C. 425.

While theſe unhappy iſlanders ſtruggled with the turbulence of a government more ſtormy than the whirlpools of Scylla and Charybdis, they likewiſe enjoyed, however, the peculiar advantages of democracy; which, of all political conſtitutions, preſents the wideſt ſcope to the exerciſe of ſuperior talents, and has always been the moſt productive in great men. The active fermentation of popular aſſemblies had given the eloquence of a Gorgias to Leontium, and the abilities of a Hermocrates to Syracuſe. In the ſixth year of the

[7] Ariſtot. de Repub. l. v. c. xii.

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Peloponneſian war, the former came to Athens to ſolicit the protection of that republic againſt the unjuſt uſurpation of the Sicilian capital. His arguments convinced the judgment, and the brilliant harmony of his ſtyle tranſported the ſenſibility of the Athenians. They immediately diſpatched twenty ſhips of war to the aſſiſtance of their Ionic brethren. Two years afterwards a ſimilar requeſt was made, and as readily complied with; and the Athenians ſeemed diſpoſed to engage with vigour in the war, when the foreſight of Hermocrates, alarmed by the intruſion of theſe ambitious ſtrangers, promoted a general congreſs of the ſtates of Sicily.

Appeaſed by Hermocrates. Olymp. lxxxix. 1. A. C. 424.

This convention was held at the central town of Gela; it was attended by the plenipotentiaries of all the Doric and Ionic cities. Hermocrates repreſented Syracuſe; and illuſtrious as that republic was, his conduct proved him worthy its higheſt honours. While the repreſentatives of other ſtates dwelt on their particular grievances, and urged their ſeparate intereſts, Hermocrates regarded and enforced only the general intereſt of Sicily. His arguments finally prevailed, and all parties were engaged to terminate their domeſtic conteſts, leſt the whole iſland ſhould fall a prey to a foreign power[8].

New diſſentions. Olymp. xci. 1. A. C. 416.

But a plan of union, ſo ſeaſonable and ſalutary, depended on the tranſient influence of a ſingle man, while the principles of diſcord were innumerable and permanent. Within a few years after this event Leontium was taken and deſtroyed, its inhabitants reduced to the wretched condition of exiles, and its confederates, the Egeſteans, cloſely beſieged by the conjunct arms of Selinus and Syracuſe. The unfortunate communities again ſent an embaſſy to Athens, pleading the rights of conſanguinity, and addreſſing not only the paſſions but the intereſt of their powerful allies. "The Athenians," they inſiſted, "were bound by every principle of ſound policy to repreſs the growing greatneſs of Syracuſe, which muſt otherwiſe become a formidable acceſſion to the Peloponneſian league; and now was the

Demands of the Egeſteans;

[8] Thucydid. p. 290.

time

time for undertaking that enterprife, while their Ionian kinfmen in Sicily were ftill capable of exerting fome vigour in their own defence." In order to enforce thefe arguments, the ambaffadors of Egefta gave an oftentatious, and even a very falfe, defcription of the wealth of their republic; which, according to their account, was capable of furnifhing the whole expence of the war. Their fellow-citizens at home carried on the deception by a moft unjuftifiable artifice, difplaying to the Athenian commiffioners fent to confer with them, the borrowed riches of their neighbours, and raifing, by extraordinary expedients, the fum of fixty talents of filver, to maintain, for a month, an Athenian fleet of fixty fail, as if they had purpofed monthly to repeat this large fubfidy, which at once exhaufted their faculties [9].

with which the Athenians imprudently comply.

The arguments of their Sicilian allies were doubtlefs intitled to confiderable weight with the Athenians; yet various reafons might have diffuaded that ambitious people from undertaking, at the prefent juncture, an expedition againft the powerful republic of Syracufe. The cloud of war which Pericles faw advancing, with rapid motion, from the Peloponnefus, had been at length difpelled by the valour and fortune of the Athenians; not, however, before the arms of Brafidas had fhaken their empire to the foundation. The fame ftorm might be again collected, if the Athenians removed their armies from home, efpecially if they were unfortunate abroad, fince the wounded pride of Sparta would eagerly feize the firft opportunity of revenge. The rebellion of the Macedonian cities was ftill unfubdued, and it would be highly imprudent and dangerous, before recovering the allegiance of thefe ancient poffeffions, to attempt the acquifition of new territories. Should the Athenian expedition againft Sicily be crowned with the moft flattering fuccefs, it would ftill be difficult, nay impoffible, to preferve fuch a diftant and extenfive conqueft; but fhould this ambitious defign fail in the execu-

[9] Thucydid. p. 444.

tion,

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tion, as there was too good reaſon to apprehend, the misfortunes of the Athenians, whoſe greatneſs was the object both of terror and of envy, would encourage the rebellious ſpirit of their ſubjects and allies, excite the latent animoſity of the Peloponneſians, and reinforce their ancient enemies by the reſentment and hoſtility of Syracuſe and her confederates, juſtly provoked by the daring invaſion of their iſland.

Extravagant views of Alcibiades.

Theſe prudential conſiderations were unable to cool the ardour of the Athenian aſſembly, inflamed by the breath of their favourite Alcibiades. It is a juſt and profound obſervation of Machiavel, that the real powers of government are often contracted to a narrower point in republics than in monarchies; an obſervation which that ſagacious ſtateſman had learned from the experience of his native city, and which he might have confirmed by the hiſtory of the Greeks, whoſe political meaſures, and even whoſe national character, depended on the tranſient influence of a few individuals. Under the direction of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, the Athenians diſplayed the ſoundeſt policy, adorned by unſhaken probity, and by heroic valour. Cimon inſpired the generous ambition which animated his own breaſt: a dignified grandeur and magnanimous firmneſs diſtinguiſhed the long adminiſtration, I had almoſt ſaid reign, of Pericles. The ſon of Clinias ſucceeded to the power and authority, without ſucceeding to the virtues of thoſe great men, whom his pride diſdained to imitate. Regardleſs of order and decency, with a licentious magnificence moſt offenſive to the ſpirit of republican equality, he blended a certain elegance of manners, which not only repelled cenſure, but attracted applauſe. Thus diſpenſed from obſerving the eſtabliſhed formalities of private life, he expected that the glory of his adminiſtration might ſoar above the ordinary dictates of political prudence[8]. Though he preferred what was uſeful to what was virtuous, he preferred what was brilliant to

[8] See Plut. in Alcibiad. Iſocrat. de Pace, above all, the animated picture in Plato's Republic, (l. viii. cap cc. & ſeqq.) of which Alcibiades, doubtleſs, was the original.

What

what was uſeful, and diſdaining the common gifts of valour and fortune, aſpired at objects extraordinary and unattainable. The recovery of the Athenian poſſeſſions, and the re-eſtabliſhment of an empire, already too extenſive, might have ſatisfied the ambition of a bold and active ſtateſman. But the extravagant hopes of Alcibiades expatiated in a wider field. The acquiſition of Sicily itſelf, he regarded only as a neceſſary introduction to farther and more important conqueſts. The intermediate ſituation of that beautiful and fertile iſland opened, on the one hand, an eaſy communication with the eaſtern front of Italy, which, from Brunduſium to the Sicilian frith, was adorned by populous and flouriſhing cities; and, on the other, afforded a ſhort and ſafe paſſage to the northern ſhores of Africa, which, for many ages, had been cultivated and enriched by the united labours of the Greeks and Carthaginians. In his waking or ſleeping dreams, Alcibiades graſped the wide extent of thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions, by the reſources of which he expected finally to ſubdue the pertinacious ſpirit, and obſtinate reſiſtance, of the Peloponneſians. Thus ſecure at home, and ſovereign of the ſea, Athens might incorporate with her own the troops of the conquered provinces, and maintain an unſhaken dominion over the moſt delightful portion of the earth, while her fortunate citizens, delivered from all laborious and mercenary cares, would be ſupported by the contributions of ſubject nations, and enabled to diſplay, in their full extent, that taſte for ſplendour and magnificence, that greatneſs of ſoul, and ſuperiority of genius, which juſtly entitled them to the empire of the world [9].

The Sicilian expedition opposed by Nicias. Olymp. xci. 2. A. C. 415.

Allured by theſe extravagant, but flattering proſpects of grandeur, the Athenians, in two ſucceſſive aſſemblies, held at the ſhort interval of five days, agreed to the reſolution of making war againſt Sicily, and of raiſing ſuch naval and military force as ſeemed neceſſary for carrying it on with vigour and ſucceſs. While they ſtill deliberated

[9] Iſocrat. de Pace. Andocid. Orat. iii. p. 269, & Ariſtoph. Veſp. ver. 656.

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deliberated on the latter object, the virtuous Nicias, who had been named with Alcibiades and Lamachus to the command of the projected armament, omitted nothing that prudence could ſuggeſt, and patriotiſm enforce, to deter his countrymen from ſuch a dangerous and fatal deſign. On this memorable occaſion, he threw aſide his uſual timidity, and diveſted himſelf of that rigid regard for eſtabliſhed forms, which was natural to his age and character. Though the aſſembly was convened to determine the proportion of ſupplies and troops, and the means of collecting them with the greateſt expedition and facility, he ventured, contrary to ancient cuſtom, to propoſe a different ſubject of debate; affirming, "That the intereſt of Athens was concerned, not in providing the preparations for the Sicilian invaſion, but in re-examining the expediency of the war. The aſſembly ought not to be moved by the arguments and intreaties of the perſecuted Egiſtæans, and fugitive Leontines, whom reſentment had taught to exaggerate, and miſery to deceive. Nor ought the vain phantom of glory and ambition to engage Athens in a deſign perhaps altogether impracticable, and, in the preſent juncture, peculiarly unſeaſonable; ſince it would be madneſs to excite the flames of a new war, before the aſhes of the old were extinguiſhed. The pleas of danger and ſelf-defence were in the higheſt degree frivolous; for, ſhould the dreaded power of Syracuſe be extended over the whole of Sicily, the Athenians would have nothing to apprehend: this event would rather increaſe their ſecurity. In the actual ſtate of the iſland, particular cities might be perſuaded by fear, or intereſt, to court the protection of the Peloponneſian confederacy; but the victorious Syracuſe would diſdain to follow the ſtandard of Sparta. Should the former republic, by an effort of uncommon generoſity, ſubject the partial dictates of her pride to the general ſafety and honour of the Dorian name, ſound policy, however, would ſtill prevent her from endangering the precarious empire which ſhe had obtained over her neighbours, by ſtrengthening the

confederacy

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confederacy of Peloponneſus, of which the avowed deſign was to give liberty and independence to the Grecian cities. Should all remote views of policy be diſregarded, yet immediate fear would deter the Syracuſans from provoking the reſentment of Athens, the effects of which they had not as yet experienced, but which, being unknown, muſt appear the more formidable. It was evident, therefore, that the Sicilian expedition might be omitted without danger; but if this enterpriſe, which had been haſtily reſolved on, were injudiciouſly executed, or if any of thoſe misfortunes ſhould happen, which are but too frequent in war, the Athenians would be expoſed not only to danger, but to diſgrace and ruin. The reſult of ſuch an important deliberation ought not to be committed to the raſh deciſion of youthful levity; which viewed the Sicilian war, as it did every other object, through the deluſive medium of hope, vanity, and ambition; and, totally diſregarding the expence and danger to be incurred by the republic, conſidered only the profits of military command, which might repair the wreck of exhauſted fortunes, and ſupply a new fund for the indulgence of extravagant and licentious pleaſures. He had in his eye a youth of that deſcription, the principal author of the expedition, who was ſurrounded by a numerous band of adherents, determined to applaud his diſcourſe, and to promote his meaſures. It became the wiſdom and dignity of the aſſembly to reſiſt with firmneſs that juvenile conſpiracy. In ſuch a dangerous criſis, it was the duty of the preſident to diſpenſe with ordinary forms, and to act, not merely as the inſtrument, but as the phyſician of a diſeaſed republic. The queſtion ought to be debated a ſecond time; and the Athenians ought to reſcind the decree againſt Sicily, which had paſſed without ſufficient examination, in the abſence of ſeveral aged and reſpectable counſellors[10]."

[10] Thucydid. l. vi. p. 417. & ſeqq. The Sicilian expedition is uninterruptedly related through the remainder of the ſixth and ſeventh books of Thucydides. The collateral authority of Diodorus, Plutarch, and the orators, is of little importance.

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His diſcourſe anſwered by Alcibiades.

This diſcourſe immediately called up Alcibiades, who, preſuming on his credit with the aſſembly, acknowledged, "That he had aſpired to the command in Sicily, and that he thought himſelf juſtly intitled to that dignity. The extravagance of which he was accuſed, had redounded to the profit of his country; ſince his magnificence at the Olympic games, however it might be traduced by an abuſive epithet, had extended the glory of Athens, and deſerved the admiration of Greece. His youth and inexperience had effected what the wiſeſt ſtateſmen had attempted in vain. A powerful confederacy had been formed againſt Sparta, even in the boſom of the Peloponneſus; and the terror of a domeſtic foe would long prevent the enmity of that rival ſtate from interrupting the progreſs of Athenian grandeur. In an expedition, evidently directed to this glorious end, expence and danger ought not to be regarded, ſince wealth was uſefully ſacrificed to purchaſe victory and renown; and power was only to be preſerved by ſeizing every favourable opportunity to increaſe it. To the undertaking which he adviſed, no reaſonable objection could be made; its expence would be furniſhed by the Egiſtæans, and other confederates; and the danger could not be great, as Sicily, however extenſive and populous, was inhabited by a promiſcuous crowd of various nations, without arms or diſcipline, devoid of patriotiſm, and incapable of union [11]."

Nicias explains the difficulties of the war.

The aſſembly murmured applauſe, confirmed their former decree, and teſtified for the war greater alacrity than before. Nicias perceived the violence of the popular current: ſtill, however, he tried one ineffectual effort in order to reſiſt its ſtrength. "The ſucceſs of an invader," he obſerved, "commonly depended on the rapidity and force of his firſt unexpected impreſſion, which confirmed the confidence of his friends, and excited diſmay and terror in his enemies. If the expedition into Sicily muſt be undertaken in defiance of every difficulty and danger, it ought therefore to be carried

[11] Thucydid. p. 422—426.

into

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into execution with the utmoſt vigour. The Athenians might thus ſecure the aſſiſtance of Naxos and Catana, which were connected by affinity with the Egiſtæans and Leontines. But there remained ſeven cities, and thoſe far more powerful, with which they muſt prepare to contend; particularly Selinus and Syracuſe, places well provided in ſhips, magazines, cavalry, archers, heavy-armed troops, and every object and reſource moſt uſeful in defenſive war. An armament ſimply naval, would not be ſufficient to cope with ſuch a ſtrength. Five thouſand pikemen, with a proportional number of archers and cavalry, could not render the invaſion ſucceſsful. After arriving in Sicily, the towns muſt be beſieged or ſtormed; workmen, with all ſorts of machines and implements, muſt be collected for thoſe purpoſes, and tranſported to an iſland from which, in the four winter months, a meſſenger could ſcarcely return to Athens. This neceſſary train, which would greatly encumber the fleet and army, muſt be ſubſiſted in a hoſtile country. Beſides an hundred gallies, a great number of tenders and victuallers would be required for the expedition. To collect ſuch an immenſe maſs of war, demanded, doubtleſs, aſtoniſhing ardour and perſeverance; but if the Athenians intended to employ a ſmaller force, he muſt decline the honour to command them, ſince nothing leſs than what he had deſcribed could promiſe a hope of victory, or prevent the certainty of defeat[12]."

The Athenians prepare for invading Sicily. Olym. xci. 2. A. C. 415.

The laſt attempt of Nicias to diſſuade his countrymen from this fatal enterpriſe by magnifying the difficulty of its execution, produced an oppoſite effect. The obſtacles, which were unable to conquer, only animated the courage of the aſſembly; and it was determined, that the generals ſhould be inveſted with full authority to raiſe ſuch ſums of money, and to levy ſuch a body of troops, as might enſure ſucceſs to their arms. The domeſtic ſtrength of the Athenians was unequal to the greatneſs of the undertaking: proper agents were diſpatched to demand an extraordinary contribution from their de-

[12] Thucydid. p. 427—429.

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pendent ſtates, as well as to ſummon the reluctant aſſiſtance of their more warlike allies. Theſe auxiliary ſquadrons were ordered to ſail to Corcyra, in which rendezvous the Athenians, towards the middle of ſummer, were ready to join their confederates.

The magnitude of their preparations.

The magnitude of the preparations increaſed the hopes and the ardour of all ranks of men in the republic. The old expected that nothing could reſiſt ſuch a numerous and well-equipped armament. The young eagerly ſeized an occaſion to gratify their curioſity and love of knowledge in a diſtant navigation, and to ſhare the honours of ſuch a glorious enterpriſe. The rich exulted in diſplaying their magnificence; the poor rejoiced in the immediate aſſurance of pay ſufficient to relieve their preſent wants[13], and in the proſpect of obtaining by their arms the materials of future eaſe and happineſs. Inſtead of finding any difficulty to complete the levies, the great difficulty conſiſted in deciding the preference of valour and merit among thoſe who ſolicited to ſerve; and the whole complement of forces, to be employed by ſea and land, conſiſted of choſen men[14].

The general alacrity to embark.

Amidſt the general alacrity felt, or at leaſt expreſſed, by people of all deſcriptions (for the dread of incurring public cenſure made ſeveral expreſs what they did not feel), Socrates[15] alone ventured openly and boldly to condemn the expedition, and to predict the future calamities of his country. But the authority of a ſage was incapable to check the courſe of that enthuſiaſm, which had not been interrupted by the anniverſary feſtival of Adonis, an ancient and melancholy rite, which inauſpiciouſly returned a few days preceding the embarkation. During this dreary ceremony, the ſtreets

[13] The moſt expert and able ſeamen received a drachma (ſeven pence three farthings) as daily pay, beſides donatives from their reſpective captains. Thucyd. & Plut.

[14] Thucydid. p. 430—431.

[15] Plutarch joins Meton the aſtrologer with Socrates. But the ſtory of Meton, who pretended madneſs, burned his houſe, and entreated the Athenians, that, amidſt his domeſtic misfortunes, he might not be deprived of the comfort of his only ſon, is inconſiſtent with the narrative of Thucydides, which proves, that inſtead of compelling reluctance, there was occaſion to repreſs forwardneſs, to embark.

of

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of Athens were crowded with ſpectres clothed in funereal robes; the ſpacious domes and temples reſounded with lugubrious cries; while the Grecian matrons, marching in ſlow proceſſion, tore their diſhevelled hair, beat their naked boſoms, and lamented in mournful ſtrains the untimely death of the lover, and beloved favourite, of Venus[16].

The armament ſails from Athens;

When the appointed day arrived, the whole inhabitants of Athens, whether citizens or ſtrangers, aſſembled early in the Piræus, to admire the greateſt ſpectacle ever beheld in a Grecian harbour. An hundred gallies were adorned with all the ſplendor of naval pomp: the troops deſtined to embark, vied with each other in the elegance of their dreſs, and the brightneſs of their arms: the alacrity painted in every face, and the magnificence diſplayed with profuſion in every part of the equipage, repreſented a triumphal ſhow, rather than the ſtern image of war. But the ſolidity and greatneſs of the armament proved that it was intended for uſe, not for oſtentation. Amidſt this glare of external pageantry which accompanied the adventurous youth, their friends and kinſmen could not ſuppreſs a few parting tears, when they conſidered the length of the voyage, the dangers of the ſea, and the uncertainty of beholding again the deareſt pledges of their affections. But theſe partial expreſſions of grief were ſpeedily interrupted by the animating ſounds of the trumpet, which iſſued at once from an hundred ſhips, and provoked ſympathetic acclamations from the ſhore. The captains then offered ſolemn prayers to the gods, which were anſwered by correſponding vows from the ſpectators: the cuſtomary libations were poured out in goblets of gold and ſilver; and, after the triumphant Pæan had been ſung in full chorus, the whole fleet at once ſet ſail, and contended for the prize of naval ſkill and celerity, until they reached the lofty ſhores of Ægina, from whence they enjoyed a proſperous navigation to the rendezvous of their confederates at Corcyra[17].

[16] Plut. in Nic. & Alcibiad.

[17] Thucydid. l. vi. p. 432. & ſeqq. Plut. in Nicia. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 352.

The

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is reviewed at Corcyra.

At Corcyra the commanders reviewed the ſtrength of the armament, which conſiſted of an hundred and thirty-four ſhips of war, with a proportional number of tranſports and tenders. The heavy-armed troops, exceeding five thouſand, were attended with a ſufficient body of ſlingers and archers. The army, abundantly provided in every other article, was extremely deficient in horſes, which amounted to no more than thirty. But, at a moderate computation, we may eſtimate the whole military and naval ſtrength, including ſlaves and ſervants, at twenty thouſand men.

The Athenians ſail along the coaſt of Italy.

With this powerful hoſt, had the Athenians at once ſurpriſed and aſſailed the unprepared ſecurity of Syracuſe, the expedition, however adventurous and imprudent, might, perhaps, have been crowned with ſucceſs. But the timid mariners of Greece would have trembled at the propoſal of truſting ſuch a numerous fleet on the broad expanſe of the Ionian ſea. They determined to croſs the narroweſt paſſage between Italy and Sicily, after coaſting along the eaſtern ſhores of the former, until they reached the Strait of Meſſina. That this deſign might be executed with the greater ſafety, they diſpatched three light veſſels to examine the diſpoſition of the Italian cities, and to ſolicit admiſſion into their harbours. The greateſt part of Magna Græcia had, indeed, been peopled by Dorians, naturally hoſtile to Athens. But from one Italian city the Athenians had reaſon to expect a very favourable reception. The effeminate Sybaris had been demoliſhed, as related above [18], by the warlike inhabitants of Crotona, about the time that the Athenians, growing more powerful than their neighbours, began to ſeize every opportunity to extend their colonies, and their dominion. Governed by ſuch principles, they could not long overlook the happy ſituation of Sybaris, near to which they early formed an eſtabliſhment that aſſumed the name of Thurium, from a ſalubrious fountain of freſh water [19]; and the

[18] P. 403.

[19] Ωνομασαν απο της κρηνης Θουριον. Diodor. l. xii p. 295.

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colony was increaſed by a numerous ſupply of emigrants, who, under Athenian leaders, ſailed from Greece, thirteen years before the Peloponneſian war [20].

Are regarded with ſuſpicion by the Italian cities.

The armament at Corcyra, whatever jealouſy its power might create in other cities, was intitled to the gratitude of Thurium; preſuming on which, the commanders, without waiting the return of the advice-boats, ordered the fleet to proceed, in three diviſions, to the Italian coaſt. But neither the ties of conſanguinity, nor the duties acknowledged by colonies towards their parent ſtate, could prevail on the ſuſpicious Thurians to open their gates, or even to furniſh a market, to their Athenian anceſtors. The towns of Tarentum and Locris prohibited them the uſe of their harbours, and refuſed to ſupply them with water; and they coaſted the whole extent of the ſhore, from the promontory of Iapygium to that of Rhegium, before any one city would allow them to purchaſe the commodities for which they had immediate uſe. The magiſtrates of Rhegium granted this favour, but they granted nothing more; notwithſtanding the earneſt ſolicitations of Alcibiades and his colleagues, who exhorted them, as a colony of Eubœa, to aſſiſt their brethren of Leontium, whoſe republic the Athenians had determined to re-eſtabliſh and to defend [21].

Rhegium alone ſupplies them with a market.

They are informed of the artifice of the Ægiſtæans.

While the armament continued at Rhegium, they were informed by veſſels which had been purpoſely diſpatched from Corcyra, that the Egiſtæans, notwithſtanding the boaſted accounts lately given of their riches, poſſeſſed only thirty talents in their treaſury. This diſagreeable intelligence, together with the diſappointment of aſſiſtance from any Italian city, occaſioned a council of war, to conſider what meaſures ought to be purſued in the Sicilian expedition. It was the opinion of Nicias, "that the Egiſtæans ought to be furniſhed with that proportion of ſhips only, the charges of

They deliberate on the mode of carrying on the war.

[20] Suid. ad voc. Lyſias.

[21] Thucydid. p. 443.

which.

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which they were able to defray; and that the Athenian fleet having ſettled, either by arms or by perſuaſion, the quarrels between them and their neighbours, ſhould return to their own harbours, after ſailing along the coaſt of Sicily, and diſplaying to the inhabitants of that iſland both their inclination and their power to protect the weakneſs of their allies."

Alcibiades declared, "That it would be ſhameful and ignominious to diſſolve ſuch a powerful armament, without performing ſome exploit worthy the renown of the republic; that, by the proſpect of immediate and effectual ſupport, the inferior cities might eaſily be alienated from their reluctant confederacy with Selinus and Syracuſe; after which, the war ought to be carried on with the utmoſt vigour againſt thoſe republics, unleſs they re-eſtabliſhed the Leontines in their territory, and gave complete ſatisfaction to the injured Egiſtæans."

Judicious advice of Lamachus;

Lamachus not only approved the active counſels of Alcibiades, but propoſed a meaſure ſtill more enterpriſing. "The Athenians ought not to waſte time in unimportant objects. Inſtead of ſtriking at the extremities, they ought to aſſault at once the heart and ſtrength of the enemy. If they immediately attacked Syracuſe, it would not only be the firſt, but the laſt city, which they would have occaſion to beſiege. Nor could the attempt fail, if undertaken without delay, before the Syracuſans had time to recollect themſelves, and to provide for their own defence; and while the Athenian troops, as yet undaunted by any check, enjoyed unbroken courage and blooming hopes."

is rejected.

This advice, which does equal honour to the ſpirit and good ſenſe of Lamachus, was rejected by the timidity of Nicias, and probably by the vanity of Alcibiades. The latter perceived a flattering opportunity of exhauſting all the reſources of his eloquence and intrigue to get poſſeſſion of the dependent cities, before he illuſtrated the

glory of his arms in the ſiege of Syracuſe. The fleet ſailed from Rhegium to execute *his* plan, which was adopted by his colleagues, as forming the middle between the extremes of their reſpective opinions. A conſiderable detachment was ſent to examine the preparations and the ſtrength of Syracuſe, and to proclaim liberty, and offer protection, to all the captives and ſtrangers confined within its walls. CHAP. XIX.

With another detachment Alcibiades ſailed to Naxos, and perſuaded the inhabitants to accept the alliance of Athens. The remainder of the armament proceeded to Catana, which refuſed to admit the ſhips into the harbour, or the troops into the city. But on the arrival of Alcibiades, the Cataneans allowed him to addreſs the aſſembly, and propoſe his demands. The artful Athenian tranſported the populace, and even the magiſtrates themſelves, by the charms of his eloquence; the citizens flocked from every quarter, to hear a diſcourſe which was purpoſely protracted for ſeveral hours; the ſoldiers forſook their poſts; and the enemy, who had prepared to avail themſelves of this negligence, burſt through the unguarded gates, and became maſters of the city. Thoſe of the Cataneans who were moſt attached to the intereſts of Syracuſe, fortunately eſcaped death by the celerity of their flight. The reſt accepted the proffered friendſhip of the Athenians. This ſucceſs would probably have been followed by the ſurrender of Meſſené, which Alcibiades had filled with diſtruſt and ſedition. But when the plot was ripe for execution[21], the man who had contrived, and who alone could conduct it, was diſqualified from ſerving his country. The arrival of the Salaminian galley recalled Alcibiades to Athens, that he might ſtand trial for his life.

Alcibiades takes Catana by ſtratagem.

His intrigues in Meſſené.

[21] Thucydides ſays, "When Alcibiades knew he ſhould be baniſhed, he betrayed his accomplices to the party favourable to Syracuſe, who immediately put their adverſaries to death." Thucydid. p. 462. We ſhall ſee hereafter ſtill more fatal conſequences of his reſentment againſt his country. But nothing can more ſtrongly atteſt the turpitude of his character.

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He is unſeaſonably recalled to Athens.

It would be improper to ſuſpend the courſe of an intereſting narrative, by deſcribing the cauſes and circumſtances of this unexpected event, if they were not immediately connected with the ſubſequent hiſtory of the Sicilian expedition, and with the future fortune of the Athenians, who, after engaging, by the advice of one man, in the moſt romantic ſchemes of conqueſt which the madneſs of ambition had ever dared to entertain, injudiciouſly arreſted the activity of that man in the execution of ſuch extraordinary deſigns, as could only be accompliſhed by the wonderful reſources of his ſingular and eccentric genius. It happened, that on the night preceding the intended navigation to Sicily, all the ſtatues of Mercury, which had been erected in the Athenian ſtreets as the boundaries of different edifices and tenements, were thrown down, broken, and defaced. One only image of the god, of uncommon ſize and beauty, was ſaved from their general wreck; it was afterwards called the ſtatue of Andocides, as it ſtood before the houſe of the Athenian orator of that name. This daring inſult was firſt aſcribed to the wicked artifices of the Corinthians, who, it was ſuppoſed, might employ ſuch an abominable and ſacrilegious contrivance, to deter the Athenian armament from ſailing againſt their colony and kinſmen of Syracuſe. But the enemies of Alcibiades availed themſelves of the impious levity[22] of his character, to direct the popular ſtorm againſt the head of their deteſted foe. On the evidence of ſlaves, he was accuſed of having treated, with rude familiarity, other adored images of the gods; and Theſſalus, the degenerate ſon of the magnanimous Cimon, impeached him of impiety towards the goddeſſes Ceres and Proſerpine, whoſe awful ceremonies he had polluted and profaned;

The cauſe of his recal.

[22] Democritus, the chief promoter of the Atonic philoſophy, was younger than Anaxagoras, and elder than Socrates. His ſcholars, Diagoras and Protagoras, propagated his wild ſyſtem at Athens towards the commencement of the Peloponneſian war. Whether Alcibiades embraced the barren doctrines of that miſerable ſect, or adhered to the divine philoſophy of his maſter Socrates, or, more probably, fluctuated between them, he muſt, in all caſes alike, have been obnoxious to the ſuſpicion of impiety. Comp. Strabo, l. lxv. p. 703. Sext. Empiric. l. lix. 11. Laert. l. ii. in Democrit. Socrat. & Protag.

profaned; aſſuming, though uninitiated, the name and robes of the high-prieſt, calling Polytion (in whoſe houſe this dreadful ſcene had been repreſented), the torch-bearer, Theodorus the herald, and his other licentious companions the ſacred brethren and holy miniſters of thoſe myſterious rites [23].

He is charged with impiety and treaſon. Olymp. xci. 2. A. C. 415.

Such an atrocious accuſation alarmed the terrors of the Athenians; one aſſembly was ſummoned after another; and the panic became the more general, when it was underſtood that, during the ſame night in which the ſtatues had been mutilated, a body of Peloponneſian troops had marched towards the Iſthmus of Corinth. In the confuſed imagination of the vulgar, it was poſſible to unite the incompatible intereſts of ſuperſtition and of freedom; and they were perſuaded by Androcles, and other artful demagogues, that the profanation of the myſteries, the defacing of the ſtatues of Mercury, the movement of the Peloponneſian troops, all announced a conſpiracy to demoliſh the eſtabliſhed form of popular government, the ſafety of which had, ever ſince the expulſion of the Piſiſtradidæ, been the object of univerſal and moſt anxious ſolicitude.

The artifices of his accuſers.

Alcibiades defended himſelf with his uſual eloquence and addreſs, againſt the malignity of a charge, unſupported by any adequate evidence. The ſoldiers and ſailors, whoſe eagerneſs already graſped the conqueſt of Sicily, interceded for the deliverance of their commander, whom they regarded as the ſoul of that glorious enterpriſe. A thouſand Argives and Mantineans, who had enliſted, on this occaſion, under the Athenian banners, declared their unwillingneſs to ſail, unleſs they were accompanied by Alcibiades, whoſe valour and abilities alone had determined them to engage in ſuch an important, but dangerous ſervice. This powerful combination in his favour diſappointed the preſent hopes, without diſconcerting the future meaſures, of his enemies. They perceived that, were he brought to

[23] Plutarch. in Alcibiad.

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an immediate trial, it would be impoſſible to obtain ſentence againſt him; but that were his perſon and influence removed to a diſtance from Athens, every thing might be hoped from the weakneſs, inconſtancy, and credulity of the populace. It was therefore determined by this perfidious cabal, that ſuch orators as had hitherto diſguiſed, under the maſk of friendſhip or admiration, their envy and hatred of Alcibiades, ſhould declare in full aſſembly, "that it would be inconſiſtent with the cleareſt dictates of prudence and propriety, to involve in the tedious formalities of a judicial procedure, a citizen who had been elected general by the unanimous ſuffrage of his country, and whoſe preſence was eagerly demanded by the affectionate ardour of his troops. The charges againſt him deſerved, doubtleſs, to be ſeriouſly examined; but the preſent was not a proper time for ſuch an inveſtigation, which muſt blunt the courage of his followers, and interrupt the ſervice of the republic. Let him ſail, therefore, for Sicily, and at his return home he will either vindicate his innocence, or ſuffer the puniſhment of his guilt." Alcibiades perceived the poiſon concealed under this affected lenity, and teſtified his reluctance to leave behind him ſuch abundant materials for the malice of informers. But his petition for an immediate trial was rejected by the aſſembly. He therefore ſet ſail, probably flattering himſelf, that by the glory and ſucceſs of his arms, he would ſilence the clamours, and defeat the machinations, of his accuſers.

Favoured by popular deluſion.

But this expectation was unfortunately diſappointed. In a republican government, it is not more eaſy to excite, than it is difficult to appeaſe, the fermentation of public diſcontents, eſpecially if occaſioned by any real or pretended diminution of freedom. The removal of Alcibiades gave full ſcope to the ebullitions of popular frenzy. The Athenians were continually aſſembled to enquire into the violation of the ſtatutes. Many reſpectable citizens were ſeized on ſuſpicion, becauſe they had, on former occaſions, diſcovered principles hoſtile to the wild extravagance of democracy. Others

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were impriſoned on the evidence of Teucer, an obſcure ſtranger, and Diopeithes, a calumnious demagogue. The violence of the public diſorder opened a door to private vengeance. Every individual was deſirous to ſee his perſonal enemies among the number of ſtate criminals; and his reſentment was invited falſely to accuſe them, by an injudicious decree of the aſſembly, offering high rewards to thoſe who ſhould denounce the guilty, and even to the guilty themſelves, who ſhould denounce their aſſociates.

Alcibiades eſcapes to Sparta. Olymp. xci. 2. A. C. 415.

Among the perſons who had been ſeized on ſuſpicion, was the crafty and intriguing Timæus, and the profligate and impious Andocides, the ſame whoſe ſtatue of Mercury had eſcaped the general mutilation. The known character of theſe men naturally marked them out as peculiar victims of popular fury. As they were confined in the ſame priſon, they had an opportunity of communicating their apprehenſions, and of contriving means of ſafety. Timæus perſuaded his friend (for the ties of common danger create between knaves a temporary friendſhip), that it would be weakneſs to die by a falſe accuſation, when he might ſave himſelf by a lie. Andocides turned informer. The priſoners whom he named were baniſhed or put to death; the reſt were ſet at liberty. The abſent, among whom was Alcibiades, were recalled to ſtand trial. But they did not obey the ſummons ſent them by the Salaminian galley. The wanderings and misfortunes of more obſcure names are unknown. Alcibiades eſcaped to Thurium, and afterwards to Argos; and when he underſtood that the Athenians had ſet a price on his head, he finally took refuge in Sparta; where his active genius ſeized the firſt opportunity to adviſe and to promote thoſe fatal meaſures, which, while they gratified his private reſentment, occaſioned the ruin of his country[24].

[24] Plut. in Alcibiad. & Iſocrates, and Lyſias, in the Orations for and againſt the ſon of Alcibiades. Several facts and circumſtances are differently repreſented in the Orations of Andocides; but that orator was a party concerned.

The

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Languid operations in Sicily.

The removal of Alcibiades ſoon appeared in the languid operations of the Athenian armament. The cautious timidity of Nicias, ſupported by wealth, eloquence, and authority, gained an abſolute aſcendant over the more warlike and enterpriſing character of Lamachus, whoſe poverty expoſed him to contempt. Inſtead of making a bold impreſſion on Selinus or Syracuſe, Nicias contented himſelf with taking poſſeſſion of the inconſiderable colony of Hyccara. He ravaged, or laid under contribution, ſome places of ſmaller note, and obtained thirty talents from the Egiſtæans, which, added to the ſale of the booty, furniſhed about thirty thouſand pounds ſterling [25], a ſum that might be uſefully employed in the proſecution of an expenſive war. But this advantage did not compenſate for the courage inſpired into the Syracuſans by delay, and for the diſhonour ſuſtained by the Athenian troops, in their unſucceſsful attempts againſt Hybla and Himera, as well as for their dejection at being confined, during the greateſt part of the ſummer, in the inactive quarters of Naxos and Catana.

Nicias determines to attack Syracuſe.

The impatience of the Athenians murmured againſt theſe dilatory and ignoble proceedings, which appeared altogether unworthy the greatneſs of their armament, the generous ſpirit with which they felt themſelves animated, and the ancient glory of the republic. Nicias, reſiſting the wary dictates of his own fear or foreſight, determined to gratify the inclination of his troops by the vigour of his winter campaign. The conqueſt of Syracuſe, againſt which he intended to lead them, might well excite the emulation of the combatants, ſince that powerful city formed the main obſtacle to their ambition, and the principal bulwark not only of Sicily, but of the Italian and African ſhores.

[25] Thirty talents from the Egiſtæans, amount to - £ 5,812
The ſale of ſlaves, &c. - - 23,259
Sum £ 29,062

Ancient

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Deſcription of that city.

Ancient Syracuſe, of which the ruined grandeur ſtill forms an object of admiration, was ſituate on a ſpacious promontory, waſhed on three ſides by the ſea, and defended on the weſt by abrupt and almoſt inacceſſible mountains. The town was built in a triangular form, whoſe ſummit may be conceived at the lofty mountains Epipolé. Adjacent to theſe natural fortifications, the weſtern or inland diviſion of the city was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Tycha, or Fortune, being adorned by a magnificent temple of that flattering divinity. The triangle gradually widening towards the baſe, comprehended the vaſt extent of Achradina, reaching from the northern ſhore of the promontory to the ſouthern iſland Ortygia. This ſmall iſland, compoſing the whole of modern Syracuſe, formed but the third and leaſt extenſive diviſion of the ancient; which was fortified by walls eighteen miles in circuit, enriched by a triple harbour, and peopled by above two hundred thouſand warlike citizens or induſtrious ſlaves [26].

Temper of the Syracuſans.

When the Syracuſans heard the firſt rumours of the Athenian invaſion, they deſpiſed, or affected to deſpiſe, them as idle lies, invented to amuſe the ignorance of the populace. The hoſtile armament had arrived at Rhegium before they could be perſuaded, by the wiſdom of Hermocrates, to provide againſt a danger which their preſumption painted as imaginary. But when they received undoubted intelligence that the enemy had reached the Italian coaſt; when they beheld their numerous fleet commanding the ſea of Sicily, and ready to make a deſcent on their defenceleſs iſland, they were ſeized with a degree of juſt terror and alarm proportional to their falſe ſecurity. They condemned their former incredulity and indifference, which had been nouriſhed by the intereſted adulation of the demagogue Athenagoras, who vainly aſſured them that the ſtrength of Syracuſe was ſufficient not only to defy the aſſaults, but to deter the attempts, of any Grecian foe. From the heights of

[26] Strabo, p. 266, & ſeqq. & Thucydid. paſſim. l. vi.

preſumption

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preſumption, they plunged into the depths of deſpair, and their ſpirits were, with difficulty, reſtored by the animating voice of Hermocrates, who was not more prudent in proſperity than intrepid in danger [27].

They inſult the Athenians.

By *his* exhortations they were encouraged to make ready their arms, to equip their fleet, to ſtrengthen their garriſons, and to ſummon the aſſiſtance of their allies. Theſe meaſures were undertaken with ardour, and carried on with unremitting activity; and the dilatory operations of the enemy not only removed the recent terror and trepidation of the Syracuſans, but inſpired them with unuſual firmneſs. They requeſted the generals, whom they had appointed to the number of fifteen, to lead them to Catana, that they might attack the hoſtile camp. Their cavalry haraſſed the Athenians by frequent incurſions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, deſtroyed their advanced poſts, and even proceeded ſo near to the main body, that they were diſtinctly heard demanding, with loud inſults, Whether theſe boaſted lords of Greece had left their native country, that they might form a precarious ſettlement at the foot of Mount Ætna [28].

Stratagem of Nicias for getting poſſeſſion of Syracuſe.

Provoked by theſe indignities, and excited by the impatient reſentment of his own troops, Nicias was ſtill reſtrained from an open attempt againſt Syracuſe by the difficulties attending that enterpriſe. The diſtance between Catana and the Sicilian capital was more than thirty miles; but, after the moſt proſperous voyage, the Athenians could not expect, without extreme danger, to make a deſcent on the fortified coaſt of a powerful and vigilant enemy. If they determined to march by land, they muſt be haraſſed by the numerous cavalry of Syracuſe, which actually watched their motions, and with whoſe activity, in a broken and intricate country, the ſtrength of

[27] Thucydid. p. 436, & ſeqq.

[28] Plutarch. The ſneer is differently expreſſed in Thucydides: "Whether they had not come to gain a ſettlement for themſelves in a *foreign* country, rather than to replace the Leontines in *their own*." Thucydid. p. 455.

heavy-

heavy-armed troops was exceedingly ill qualified to contend. To avoid both inconveniencies, Nicias employed a ſtratagem. A citizen of Catana, whoſe ſubtile and daring genius, prepared alike to die or to deceive, ought to have preſerved his name from oblivion, appeared in Syracuſe as a deſerter from his native city; the unhappy fate of which, in being ſubjected to the imperious commands, or licentious diſorder of the Athenians, he lamented with perfidious tears, and with the plaintive accents of well-diſſembled ſorrow. "*He* was not the only man who bewailed, with filial compaſſion, the misfortunes and ignominy of his country. A numerous band of Cataneans, whoſe reſentment was repreſſed by fear, longed to take up arms, that they might deliver themſelves from a diſgraceful yoke, and repel the tyranny of the invaders. Nor could the deſign fail of ſucceſs, if Syracuſe ſhould ſecond their generous ardour. The Athenians, ſo liberally endowed with courage and ambition, were deſtitute of wiſdom and of diſcipline. They ſpurned the confinement of the military life; their poſts were forſaken, their ſhips unguarded; they diſdained the duties of the camp, and indulged in the pleaſures of the city. On an appointed day it would be eaſy for the Syracuſans, aſſiſted by the conſpirators of Catana, to attack them unprepared, to mount their undefended ramparts, to demoliſh their encampment, and to burn their fleet." This daring propoſal well correſponded with the keen ſentiments of revenge which animated the inhabitants of Syracuſe. The day was named; the plan of the enterpriſe was concerted, and the treacherous Catanean returned home to revive the hopes, and to confirm the reſolution of his pretended aſſociates.

Fails through the activity of the Syracuſans.

The ſucceſs of this intrigue gave the utmoſt ſatisfaction to Nicias, whoſe armament prepared to ſail for Syracuſe on the day appointed by the inhabitants of that city for aſſaulting, with their whole force, the Athenian camp. Already had they marched, with this

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view, to the fertile plain of Leontium, when, after twelve hours ſail, the Athenian fleet arrived in the great harbour, diſembarked their troops, and fortified a camp without the weſtern wall, near to a celebrated temple of Olympian Jupiter; a ſituation which had been pointed out by ſome Syracuſan exiles, and which was well adapted to every purpoſe of accommodation and defence. Meanwhile the cavalry of Syracuſe, having proceeded to the walls of Catana, had diſcovered, to their infinite regret, the departure of the Athenians. The unwelcome intelligence was conveyed, with the utmoſt expedition, to the infantry, who immediately marched back to protect Syracuſe. The rapid return of the warlike youth reſtored the courage of the aged Syracuſans. They were joined by the forces of Gela, Selinus, and Camarina; and it was determined, without loſs of time, to attack the hoſtile encampment [29].

Nicias defeats the Syracuſans in a battle. Olymp. xci. 2. A. C. 415.

Only a few days elapſed before the Athenians gave them a fairer opportunity of revenge. The two armies prepared to engage, reſpectively inflamed by reſentment and ambition; the one formidable in courage and numbers, the other elated by ſuperior diſcipline and habitual victory. The Syracuſan generals drew up their troops, ſixteen; and the Athenians only eight, deep: but the latter had, in their camp, a body of reſerve, which was kept ready for action on the firſt ſignal. Nicias went round the ranks, exhorting his ſoldiers by a ſhort diſcourſe, in which he obſerved that the ſtrength of their preſent preparations was better fitted to inſpire confidence, than the moſt eloquent ſpeech with a weak army, eſpecially as they contended againſt the Syracuſans, a promiſcuous crowd, whoſe preſumption was founded on inexperience, and whoſe deſultorious ardour, however ſucceſsful in predatory incurſions, would yield to the firſt ſhock of regular war. They fought, indeed, in defence of their city; ſo did the Athenians and their allies, whom nothing but military va-

[29] Thucydid. p. 445—457.

lour

lour and ſucceſs would reſtore in ſafety to their reſpective countries [30]." Having thus ſpoken, he led his troops to the enemy, who did not decline the engagement. The light-armed archers [31] ſkirmiſhed in the van: the prieſts brought forth the accuſtomed ſacrifices: the trumpets ſummoned for a general charge. CHAP. XIX.

The attack was begun with fury, and continued with perſeverance for ſeveral hours. Both ſides were animated by every principle that can inſpire and urge the utmoſt vigour of exertion, and victory was ſtill doubtful, when a tempeſt ſuddenly aroſe, accompanied with unuſual peals of thunder. This event, which little affected the Athenians, confounded the unexperienced credulity of the enemy, who were broken and put to flight. Nicias reſtrained the eagerneſs of his men in the purſuit, leſt they ſhould be expoſed to danger from a body of twelve hundred Syracuſan cavalry, who had not engaged in the battle, but who impatiently watched an opportunity to aſſault the diſordered phalanx. The Syracuſans eſcaped to their city, and the Athenians returned to their camp. In ſuch an obſtinate conflict the vanquiſhed loſt two hundred and ſixty, the victors only fifty men; numbers that might occaſion much ſurpriſe, if we reflected not that, to oppoſe the offenſive weapons uſed by antiquity, the warriors of Greece (in every circumſtance ſo unlike the miſerable and naked peaſants of modern Europe, whoſe lives are ſacrificed without defence, as without remorſe, to the ambition of men whom the Greeks would have ſtyled tyrants) being armed with the helmet and cuiraſs, the ample buckler, the firm corſelet, and the manly greaves, they often diſplayed their ſkill, their courage, and their love of liberty, at a very ſmall expence of human blood. Cauſe of their defeat.

[30] Thucydid. p. 458 & 459.

[31] Thucydides mentions, beſides the archers (τοξοται) the λιθοβολοι and σφενδονηται, "the throwers of ſtones and ſlingers." P. 449. They were all Cretans, as he ſays immediately below.

CHAP. XIX.

The Athenians return to Catana and Naxos.

The voyage, the encampment, and the battle, employed the dangerous activity, and gratified the impetuous ardour of the Athenians, but did not facilitate the conqueſt of Syracuſe. Without more powerful preparations, Nicias deſpaired of taking the place, either by aſſault, or by a regular ſiege. Soon after his victory he returned with the whole armament to Naxos and Catana; a meaſure which ſufficiently proves that the late enterpriſe had been undertaken, not in conſequence of any permanent ſyſtem of operations formed by the general, but in compliance with the ungovernable [32] temper of his troops, whoſe ideas of military ſubordination were confined to the field of battle.

[32] Without attending to this circumſtance, the conduct of Grecian generals muſt, on many occaſions, appear altogether unaccountable. The ſame obſervation applies to modern hiſtory preceding the peace of Munſter. The famous war of thirty years, which ended in that peace, laid the foundation for the exact military ſubordination which diſtinguiſhes the preſent century. See Peans Bougeant, Hiſtoire de la Guerre de 30 ans.

CHAP. XX.

Preparations for the enſuing Campaign.—The Athenians begin the Siege with Vigour.—Diſtreſs and Sedition in Syracuſe.—Arrival of Gylippus—Who defeats the Athenians.—Tranſactions in Greece.—A Second Armament arrives at Syracuſe.—Its firſt Operations ſucceſsful.—The Athenians defeated.—Prepare to raiſe the Siege.—Naval Engagement in the Great Harbour.—Deſpondency of the Athenians.—Stratagem of Hermocrates.—The Athenians raiſe their Camp.—Melancholy Firmneſs of Nicias.—Demoſthenes capitulates.—Nicias ſurrenders.—Cruel Treatment of the Athenian Captives.—Singular Exception.

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Nicias prepares for the enſuing campaign. Olym. xci. 2. A. C. 415.

NICIAS had reaſon to expect that his victory over the Syracuſans would procure him reſpect and aſſiſtance from the inferior ſtates of Sicily. His emiſſaries were diffuſed over that iſland and the neighbouring coaſt of Italy. Meſſengers were ſent to Tuſcany, where Piſa and other cities had been founded by Greek colonies[1]. An embaſſy was diſpatched to Carthage, the rival and enemy of Syracuſe. Nicias gave orders to collect materials for circumvallation, iron, bricks, and all neceſſary ſtores. He demanded horſes from the Egeſteans; required from Athens reinforcements and a large

[1] Strabo, p. 243, & p. 283, & ſeqq.

pecuniary

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pecuniary ſupply; and neglected nothing that might enable him to open the enſuing campaign with vigour and effect [2].

The Syracuſans prepare for defence.

While the Athenians thus prepared for the attack of Syracuſe, the citizens of that capital diſplayed equal activity in providing for their own defence. By the advice of Hermocrates, they appointed *himſelf*, Heraclides, and Sicanus; three, inſtead of fifteen generals. The commanders newly elected, both in civil and military affairs, were inveſted with unlimited power, which was uſefully employed to purchaſe or prepare arms, daily to exerciſe the troops, and to ſtrengthen and extend the fortifications of Syracuſe. They likewiſe diſpatched ambaſſadors to the numerous cities and republics with which they had been connected in peace, or allied in war, to ſolicit the continuance of their friendſhip, and to counteract the dangerous deſigns of the Athenians.

Both parties court the friendſhip of the Camerineans. Olymp. xci. 2. A. C. 415.

The importance of the city Camerina, ſituate on the ſouthern coaſt of Sicily, demanded the preſence of Hermocrates himſelf. The Camerineans had given a very feeble and reluctant aſſiſtance to their allies of Syracuſe; and the orator Euphemus employed all the reſources of his genius to unite them to the Athenian confederacy. An aſſembly being ſummoned, Hermocrates informed them, "That a deſire to prevent the deception of the Camerineans, not the dread of the Athenian power, had occaſioned his preſent journey. That reſtleſs and ambitious nation, which had ſo often kindled the flames of war on the continent of Greece, had lately ſailed to Sicily, under pretence of re-eſtabliſhing the affairs of the Leontines and Egeſteans, but from cauſes which it was eaſy to conjecture, and impoſſible to miſtake. Their real and only deſign was to ſow diſſention and diſagreement among the Sicilian ſtates, which,

Arguments of the Syracuſans.

[2] It is remarkable that though Nicias, after the removal of Alcibiades, enjoyed the principal, or rather ſole, command of the army, he acted quite contrary to the opinion which he had declared at the commencement of the expedition. The plan which he purſued was that of Alcibiades, not his own: the views of the baniſhed general ſtill actuated the army; but the ardent ſpirit was withdrawn, that could alone enſure their ſucceſs.

fighting

fighting ſingly, might be ſucceſſively ſubdued. How could effrontery affirm, or ſimplicity believe, that the Athenians ſhould undertake a voyage to vindicate the freedom of Egeſta; they who oppreſſed, with all the rigours of ſlavery, the unhappy iſlanders of Eubœa, by whom Egeſta had been built, and from whom its inhabitants were deſcended! Under pretence of delivering from the tyranny of the great king, the Greeks of Aſia, of the Helleſpont, of Thrace, and of the Ægean, they had conquered and enſlaved thoſe various countries. They actually employed the ſame perfidious contrivance againſt the ſafety of the Sicilians; but he truſted that their preſent undertaking, though carried on with equal artifice, would be attended with very different ſucceſs; and that they would learn, by experience, to diſtinguiſh between the effeminate Ionians and Helleſpontines, whoſe minds had been enfeebled and debaſed by the Perſian yoke, and the magnanimous Dorians of Sicily, the genuine offspring of Peloponneſus, the ſource of valour and of liberty[3]."

Euphemus, the Athenian, repelled, with force and ſpirit, theſe reproachful accuſations. "The colonies of Athens were kept in a dependance, not leſs advantageous to themſelves than honourable to the parent ſtate. The general intereſt of Greece required that the ſame republic which at firſt had ſo bravely eſtabliſhed, ſhould ſtill continue to maintain the national independence. They who yield protection muſt aſſume authority; but this authority the Athenians had exerted in a manner eſſential to their own and to the public ſafety. If they had ſubjected the neighbouring coaſts and iſlands, their *intereſt* might juſtify that odious but neceſſary meaſure; and the ſame dictates of ſound policy which induced them to conquer and to enſlave the Helleſpontine aud Aſiatic Greeks, would engage them to emancipate and to deliver the oppreſſed Sicilians. To this office they were invited by the Leontines and Egeſteans; to this duty they were prompted by the ties of friendſhip and conſanguinity;

Of the Athenians.

[3] Thucydid. l. vi. p. 463, & ſeqq.

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guinity; to this enterprise they were determined by the strongest of all motives, a well-grounded fear lest the inhabitants of Sicily (whose numbers and distance rendered it impossible for Athens to subdue, far less to retain them in subjection) should fall a prey to the watchful encroachments of Syracuse, and thus become an accession to the Peloponnesian confederacy." The Camerineans dreaded the distant ambition of Athens, but dreaded still more the neighbouring hostility of Syracuse. Their fears dictated a reply in friendly and respectful terms; but they craved leave to preserve a neutrality between the contending powers, hoping, by this expedient, to irritate the resentment of neither, yet to defeat the designs of both.

The Camerineans determine to observe neutrality.

Meanwhile the expected reinforcements arrived from Athens. In addition to his original force, Nicias likewise had collected a body of six hundred cavalry, and the sum of four hundred talents; and, in the eighteenth summer of the war, the activity of the troops and workmen had completed all necessary preparations for undertaking the siege of Syracuse. The Athenian armament enjoyed a prosperous voyage to the northern harbour of Trogilé, and the troops were no sooner disembarked than they seized an opportunity of signalising their valour against a body of seven hundred men, who marched to reinforce the garrison of Labdalus; an important fortress situate on the highest of the mountains which overlook and command the city. Three hundred Syracusans were killed in the pursuit; the rest took refuge behind their walls; and the castle of Labdalus was taken, and strongly guarded by the victors. The plan which Nicias adopted for conquering the city, was to draw a wall on either side from the neighbourhood of Labdalus, towards the port of Trogilé on the north, and towards the gulph, extending two leagues in circumference, and justly called the Great Harbour, on the south. When these circumvallations had surrounded the place by land, he expected, by his numerous fleet, to block up the wide extent of the Syracusan harbours. The whole strength of the Athenian armament

The Athenians are reinforced, and begin the siege with vigour. Olymp. xci. 3. A. C. 414.

was employed in the former operations; and, as all neceſſary materials had been provided with due attention, the works roſe with a rapidity which ſurpriſed and terrified the beſieged. Their former, as well as their recent defeat, deterred them from oppoſing the enemy in a general engagement; but the advice of Hermocrates perſuaded them to raiſe walls, which might traverſe and interrupt thoſe of the Athenians[4]. The imminent danger urged the activity of the workmen; the hoſtile bulwarks approached each other; frequent ſkirmiſhes took place, in one of which the brave Lamachus unfortunately fell a victim to his raſh valour[5]; but the Athenian troops maintained their uſual ſuperiority.

Diſtreſs and ſedition in Syracuſe.

Encouraged by ſucceſs, Nicias puſhed the enemy with vigour. The Syracuſans loſt hopes of defending their new works, or of preventing the complete circumvallation of their city; and this deſpair was increaſed by the abundant ſupplies which arrived from all quarters to the beſiegers, while the intereſt of Syracuſe ſeemed to be univerſally abandoned by the indifference or cowardice of her allies. In the turbulent democracies of Greece, the moment of public danger commonly gave the ſignal for domeſtic ſedition. The populace clamoured, with their uſual licentiouſneſs, againſt the incapacity or perfidy of their leaders, to whom alone they aſcribed their misfortunes. New generals were named in the room of Hermocrates and his colleagues; and this injudicious alteration increaſed the calamities of Syracuſe, which at length prepared to capitulate[6].

The Syracuſans unexpectedly relieved by their Peloponneſian allies. Olymp. xci. 3. A. C. 414.

While the aſſembly deliberated concerning the execution of a meaſure, which, however diſgraceful, was declared to be neceſſary, a Corinthian galley, commanded by Gongylus, entered the central harbour of Ortygia, which being ſtrongly fortified, and penetrating into the heart of the city, ſerved as the principal and moſt ſecure ſtation for the Syracuſan fleet. The news immediately reached the

[4] Thucydid. l. vi. p. 482, & ſeqq.
[5] Plutarch. in Nicia.
[6] Thucydid. p. 487.

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assembly, and all ranks of men eagerly crowded around Gongylus the Corinthian, that they might learn the design of his voyage, and the intentions of their Peloponnesian allies. Gongylus announced a speedy and effectual relief to the besieged city[z]. He acquainted the Syracusans, that the embassy, sent the preceding year, to crave the assistance of Peloponnesus, had been crowned with success. His own countrymen had warmly embraced the cause of their kinsmen, and most respectable colony. They had fitted out a considerable fleet, the arrival of which might be expected every hour. The Lacedæmonians, also, had sent a small squadron, and the whole armament was conducted by the Spartan Gylippus, an officer of tried valour and ability.

Arrival of the Spartan Gylippus;

While the desponding citizens of Syracuse listened to this intelligence with pleasing astonishment, a messenger arrived by land from Gylippus himself. That experienced commander, instead of pursuing a direct course to Sicily, which might have been intercepted by the Athenian fleet, had landed with four gallies on the western coast of the island. The name of a Spartan general determined the wavering irresolution of the Sicilians. The troops of Himera, Selinus, and Gela, flocked to his standard; and he approached Syracuse on the side of Epipolé, where the line of contravallation was still unfinished, with a body of several thousand men.

who defeats the Athenians.

The most courageous of the citizens sallied forth to meet this generous and powerful protector. The junction was happily effected; the ardour of the troops was inflamed into enthusiasm; they distinguished that memorable day by surprising several important Athenian posts. This first success re-animated the activity of the soldiers and workmen. The traverse wall was extended with the utmost diligence, and a vigorous sally deprived the enemy of the strong castle of Labdalus. Nicias perceiving that

[z] Thucyd. p. 490.

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the intereſt of the Athenians in Sicily would be continually weakened by delay, wiſhed to bring the fortune of the war to the deciſion of a battle. Nor did Gylippus decline the engagement. The firſt action was unfavourable to the Syracuſans, who had been imprudently poſted in the defiles between their own and the enemy's walls, which rendered of no avail their ſuperiority in cavalry and archers. The magnanimity of Gylippus acknowledged this error, for which he completely atoned by his judicious conduct in the ſucceeding engagements. His forces were drawn up in a more ſpacious ground. The pikemen received the ſhock of the enemy's front. The horſes and light-armed troops aſſailed and haraſſed their undefended flanks. The Athenians were thrown into diſorder, repulſed, and purſued to their camp with conſiderable loſs, and with irreparable diſgrace.

Conſequences of the victory.

The important conſequences of this victory appeared in the ſubſequent events of the ſiege. The Syracuſans ſoon extended their works beyond the line of circumvallation, ſo that it was impoſſible to block up their city, without forcing their ramparts. The beſiegers, while they maintained the ſuperiority of their arms, had been abundantly ſupplied with neceſſaries from the neighbouring territory; but every place was alike hoſtile to them after their defeat. The ſoldiers who went out in queſt of wood and water, were unexpectedly attacked and cut off by the enemy's cavalry, or by the reinforcements which arrived from every quarter to the aſſiſtance of Syracuſe; and they were at length reduced to depend, for every neceſſary ſupply, on the precarious bounty of the Italian ſhore.

Nicias demands a reinforcement from Athens.

Nicias, whoſe ſenſibility deeply felt the public diſtreſs, wrote a moſt deſponding letter to the Athenians. He honeſtly deſcribed, and lamented, the misfortunes and diſorders of his army. The ſlaves deſerted in great numbers; the mercenary troops, who fought only for pay and ſubſiſtence, preferred the more ſecure and lucrative ſervice of Syracuſe; even the Athenian citizens, diſguſted with the unexpected

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expected length, and intolerable hardſhips of the war, abandoned the care of the gallies to unexperienced hands; an abuſe too eaſily permitted by the captains, whoſe weakneſs and partiality had corrupted the diſcipline, and ruined the ſtrength, of the fleet. Nicias frankly acknowledged his inability to check the diſorder; obſerving, that he wrote to thoſe who knew the difficulty of governing the licentious ſpirit of their domeſtic troops. He therefore exhorted the aſſembly either to call them home without delay, or to ſend immediately a ſecond armament, not leſs powerful than the firſt.

Naval operations. Olymp. xci. 4. A. C. 413.

Gylippus and Hermocrates (for the latter had again aſſumed the authority due to his abilities) were acquainted with the actual diſtreſs, as well as the future hopes of the beſiegers, who might derive, in conſequence of Nicias's letter, more effectual ſuccours from Attica than the beſieged city could expect from Peloponneſus. They were prompted by intereſt therefore, as well as by inclination, to preſs the enemy on every ſide, and at once to aſſail them by ſea and land. Beſides the bad condition of the Athenian fleet, the abſence of a conſiderable number of gallies employed in conducting the convoys of proviſions, encouraged this reſolution. The Corinthian ſquadron of twelve ſail, long expected with anxiety, had eſcaped the dangers of a winter's voyage; and at the commencement of the enſuing ſpring, the harbours of Syracuſe were crowded with the whole naval ſtrength of Sicily. Hermocrates perſuaded his countrymen, "That the advantages of ſkill and experience which he honeſtly aſcribed to the Athenians, could not compenſate their terror and confuſion at being ſuddenly attacked by a ſuperior force, on an element which they affected to command. Athens had aſſumed this boaſted empire of the ſea in repelling the invaſion of Perſia. Syracuſe had a ſimilar, yet ſtronger motive; and as ſhe poſſeſſed greater power, was entitled to expect more diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs."

Alternate ſucceſs.

The principal ſquadrons of Syracuſe lay in the harbour Ortygia, ſeparated, by an iſland of the ſame name, from the ſtation of the Athenian

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Athenian fleet. While Hermocrates ſailed forth with eighty gallies, to venture a naval engagement, Gylippus attacked the hoſtile fortifications at Plemmyrium, a promontory oppoſite to Ortygia, which confined the entrance of the Great Harbour. The defeat of the Syracuſans at ſea, whereby they loſt fourteen veſſels, was balanced by their victory at land, in which they took three fortreſſes, containing a large quantity of military and naval ſtores, and a conſiderable ſum of money. In ſome ſubſequent actions, which ſcarcely deſerve the name of battles, their fleet was ſtill unſucceſsful; but as they engaged with great caution, and found every where a ſecure retreat on a friendly ſhore, their loſs was extremely inconſiderable. The want of ſucceſs, in their firſt attempt, did not abate their reſolution to gain the command at ſea. The hopes of defending their country ſharpened their invention, and animated their activity. They could not, indeed, contend with the Athenians in the rapidity of naval evolution, or in the ſkill of ſeamanſhip; but in the deſtined ſcene of action, there was little opportunity for diſplaying thoſe advantages, and by ſtrengthening, with unremitting labour, the prows of their ſhips, they compenſated, by ſuperior weight, the defect of velocity. They provided, alſo, a great number of ſmall veſſels, which might approach ſo near the hoſtile fleet, that the light-armed troops with which they were filled could aim their darts againſt the Athenian mariners.

The Athenians defeated at ſea.

By unexampled aſſiduity in completing theſe preparations, the Syracuſans at length prevailed in a general engagement, which was fought in the Great Harbour. Seven Athenian ſhips were ſunk, many more were diſabled, and Nicias ſaved the remains of his ſhattered and diſhonoured armament, by retiring behind a line of merchantmen and tranſports, from the maſts of which had been ſuſpended huge maſſes of lead, named dolphins from their form, ſufficient to cruſh, by their falling weight, the ſtouteſt gallies of antiquity. This unexpected obſtacle arreſted the progreſs of the victors;

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tors; but the advantages already obtained elevated them with the higheſt hopes, and reduced the enemy to deſpair.

Tranſactions in Greece. Olymp. xci. 3. A. C. 414.

The Athenian misfortunes in Sicily were attended by misfortunes at home, ſtill more dreadful. In the eighteenth year of the war, Alcibiades accompanied to Sparta the ambaſſadors of Corinth and Syracuſe, who had ſolicited and obtained aſſiſtance to the beſieged city. On that occaſion the Athenian exile firſt acquired the confidence of the Spartans, by condemning, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the injuſtice and ambition of his ungrateful countrymen, "whoſe cruelty towards himſelf equalled their inveterate hoſtility to the Lacedæmonian republic; but that republic might, by following his advice, diſarm their reſentment. The town of Decelia was ſituated on the Attic frontier, at an equal diſtance of fifteen miles from Thebes and Athens. This place, which commanded an extenſive and fertile plain, might be ſurpriſed and fortified by the Spartans[8], who, inſtead of haraſſing their foes by annual incurſions, might thus infeſt them by a continual war. The wiſdom of Sparta had too long neglected ſuch a ſalutary and deciſive meaſure, eſpecially as the exiſtence of a ſimilar deſign had often been ſuggeſted by the fears of the enemy, who trembled even at the apprehenſion of ſeeing a foreign garriſon in their territory."

The Peloponneſians raiſe a fortreſs in Attica. Olymp. xci. 4. A. C. 413.

This advice, firſt propoſed, and often urged, by Alcibiades, was adopted in the commencement of the enſuing ſpring, when the warlike Agis led a powerful army into Attica. The defenceleſs inhabitants of the frontier fled before his irreſiſtible arms; but inſtead of purſuing them, as uſual, into the heart of the country, he ſtopped ſhort at Decelia. As all neceſſary materials had been provided in great abundance, the place was ſpeedily fortified on every ſide, and

[8] The Athenians, with their uſual imprudence, facilitated the ſucceſs of Alcibiades's intrigues. At the time they ought, if poſſible, to have ſoothed, they exaſperated the Spartans to the utmoſt, by frequent incurſions from Pylus, and by openly aſſiſting the Argives. Thucydid. l. vi. *ſub fine.*

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the walls of Decelia, which might be diſtinctly ſeen acroſs the intermediate plain, bid defiance to thoſe of Athens [9].

The miſerable ſtate of that country.

The latter city was kept in continual alarm by the watchful hoſtility of a neighbouring garriſon. The open country was entirely laid waſte, and the uſual communication was interrupted with the valuable iſland of Eubæa, from which, in ſeaſons of ſcarcity, or during the ravages of war, the Athenians commonly derived their ſupplies of corn, wine, oil, and whatever is moſt neceſſary to life. Haraſſed by the fatigues of unremitting ſervice, and deprived of daily bread, the ſlaves murmured, complained, and revolted to the enemy; and their defection robbed the ſtate of twenty thouſand uſeful artiſans. Since the latter years of Pericles, the Athenians had not been involved in ſuch diſtreſs. But their preſent were far more grievous than their paſt ſufferings. Theſe had been chiefly occaſioned by the temporary rage of the peſtilence, the abatement of which there was always reaſon to expect; but thoſe were inflicted by the unextinguiſhable hatred of a cruel and unrelenting foe [10].

The Athenians exert great vigour in the midſt of their calamities.

The domeſtic calamities of the republic did not, however, prevent the moſt vigorous exertions abroad. Twenty gallies, ſtationed at Naupactus, watched the motions of the Peloponneſian fleet deſtined to the aſſiſtance of Syracuſe; thirty carried on the war in Macedonia, to reduce the rebellion of Amphipolis; a conſiderable ſquadron collected tribute, and levied ſoldiers, in the colonies of Aſia; another, ſtill more powerful, ravaged the coaſt of Peloponneſus. Never did any kingdom or republic equal the magnanimity of Athens; never, in ancient or modern times, did the courage of any ſtate entertain an ambition ſo far ſuperior to its power, or exert efforts ſo diſproportionate to its ſtrength. Amidſt the difficulties and dangers which encompaſſed them on every ſide, the Athenians perſiſted in the ſiege of Syracuſe, a city little inferior to their own; and, undaunted

[9] Thucydid. p. 500, & ſeqq. [10] Id. ibid.

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daunted by the actual devaſtation of their country, unterrified by the menaced aſſault of their walls, they ſent, without delay, ſuch a reinforcement into Sicily, as afforded the moſt promiſing hopes of ſucceſs to their expedition againſt that iſland [11].

The Athenian armament, commanded by Demoſthenes, arrives at Syracuſe. Olymp. xci. 4. A. C. 413.

The Syracuſans had ſcarcely time to rejoice at their victory, or Nicias to bewail his defeat, when a numerous and formidable armament appeared on the Sicilian coaſt. The foremoſt gallies, their prows adorned with gaudy ſtreamers, purſued a ſecure courſe towards the harbours of Syracuſe. The emulation of the rowers was animated by the mingled ſounds of the trumpet and clarion; and the regular decoration, and elegant ſplendour, which diſtinguiſhed every part of the equipment, exhibited a pompous ſpectacle of naval triumph. Their appearance, even at a diſtance, announced the country to which they belonged; and both the joy of the beſiegers, and the terror of the beſieged, acknowledged that Athens was the only city in the world capable of ſending to the ſea ſuch a beautiful and magnificent contribution. The Syracuſans employed not any unavailing efforts to check the progreſs, or to hinder the approach, of the hoſtile armament; which, beſides innumerable foreign veſſels and tranſports, conſiſted of ſeventy-three Athenian gallies, commanded by the experienced valour of Demoſthenes and Eurymedon. The pikemen on board exceeded five thouſand; the light-armed troops were nearly as numerous; and, including the rowers, workmen, and attendants, the whole ſtrength may be reckoned equal to that originally ſent with Nicias [12], which amounted to above twenty thouſand men.

The combined forces aſſault Syracuſe.

The misfortunes hitherto attending the operations in Sicily had lowered the character of the general; and this circumſtance, as well as the ſuperior abilities of Demoſthenes, entitled him to aſſume the tone of authority in their conjunct deliberations. His advice, which

[11] Thucydid. p. 501, & ſeqq.

[12] Comp. Thucydid. ſupra citat. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 336. Plut. in Nicia.

Eurymedon

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Eurymedon highly approved, and in which the dilatory caution of Nicias finally acquieſced, was clear and ſimple. "They ought to avail themſelves of the alarm which the unexpected arrival of ſuch a powerful reinforcement had ſpread among the enemy; and inſtead of ſubmitting to the tedious formalities of a ſiege, at once aſſault the walls of Syracuſe. He truſted, by the valour of his troops, to obtain, in one day, the valuable reward of long and ſevere labours. But if the gods had otherwiſe determined, it would be time to deſiſt from an enterpriſe, in which delay was equal to defeat, and to employ the bravery of the Athenian youth in repelling the invaders of their country[13]."

Their firſt operations ſucceſsful.

After ravaging the banks of the Anapus, and making ſome ineffectual attempts againſt the fortifications on that ſide, probably with a view to divert the attention of the enemy, Demoſthenes choſe the firſt hour of a moonſhine night, to proceed with the flower of the army to ſeize the fortreſſes in Epipolé. The march was performed with ſucceſsful celerity; the out-poſts were ſurpriſed; the guards put to the ſword; and three ſeparate encampments, of the Syracuſans, the Sicilians, and allies, formed a feeble oppoſition to the Athenian ardour. As if their victory had already been complete, the aſſailants began to pull down the wooden battlements, or to urge the purſuit with a rapidity which diſordered their ranks.

A general engagement, in which the Athenians are defeated.

Meanwhile, the vigilant activity of Gylippus had aſſembled the whole force of Syracuſe. At the approach of the enemy his vanguard retired. The Athenians were decoyed within the intricate windings of the walls, and their irregular fury was firſt checked by the firmneſs of a Theban phalanx. A reſiſtance ſo ſudden and unexpected might alone have been deciſive; but other circumſtances were adverſe to the Athenians. Their ignorance of the ground, the alternate obſcurity of night, and the deceitful glare of the moon,

[13] Thucydid. l. vii. p. 519.

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which ſhining in the front of the Thebans, illumined the ſplendour of their arms, and multiplied the terror of their numbers. The foremoſt ranks of the purſuers were repelled; and as they retreated to the main body, encountered the advancing Argives and Corcyreans, who ſinging the Pœan in their Doric dialect and accent, were unfortunately taken for enemies. Fear, and then rage, ſeized the Athenians, who thinking themſelves encompaſſed on all ſides, determined to force their way, and committed much bloodſhed among their allies, before the miſtake could be diſcovered. To prevent the repetition of this dreadful error, their ſcattered bands were obliged at every moment to demand the watch-word, which was at length betrayed to their adverſaries. The conſequence of this was doubly fatal. At every rencounter the ſilent Athenians were ſlaughtered without mercy, while the enemy, who knew their watch-word, might at pleaſure join, or decline, the battle, and eaſily oppreſs their weakneſs, or elude their ſtrength. The terror and confuſion increaſed; the rout became general; Gylippus purſued in good order with his victorious troops. The vanquiſhed could not deſcend in a body with the celerity of fear, by the narrow paſſages through which they had mounted. Many abandoned their arms, and explored the unknown paths of the rocky Epipolé. Others threw themſelves from precipices, rather than await the purſuers. Several thouſands were left dead or wounded on the ſcene of action; and in the morning the greater part of the ſtragglers were intercepted and cut off by the Syracuſan cavalry [14].

The ſalutary meaſures propoſed by Demoſthenes prevented by Nicias.

This dreadful and unexpected diſaſter ſuſpended the operations of the ſiege. The Athenian generals ſpent the time in fruitleſs deliberations concerning their future meaſures, while the army lay encamped on the marſhy and unhealthy banks of the Anapus. The viciſſitudes of an autumnal atmoſphere, corrupted by the foul va-

[14] Thucydid. p. 520, & ſeqq.

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pours of an unwholeſome ſoil, made a ſevere impreſſion on the irritable fibres of men, exhauſted by fatigue, dejected by diſgrace, and deprived of hope. A general ſickneſs broke out in the camp. Demoſthenes urged this calamity as a new reaſon for haſtening their departure, while it was yet poſſible to croſs the Ionian ſea, without riſking the danger of a winter's tempeſt. But Nicias diſſuaded the deſign of leaving Sicily until they ſhould be warranted to take this important ſtep by the poſitive authority of the republic. "Thoſe who were actually the moſt bent on ignominious flight, would, after their return, be the foremoſt to accuſe the weakneſs or the treachery of their commanders; and for his own part, he would rather die honourably in the field of battle, than periſh by the unjuſt ſentence of his country." Demoſthenes and Eurymedon knew, by fatal experience, the iraſcible temper of an Athenian aſſembly; they only inſiſted, that the armament ſhould at leaſt remove to a more convenient ſtation, from whence, after the troops had recovered their uſual health and ſpirits, they might haraſs the enemy by continual deſcents, until they obtained an opportunity of fighting the Syracuſan fleet on the open ſea.

His motives.

But even this reſolution was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Nicias, who knew by the ſecret correſpondence which he maintained with certain traitors in Syracuſe, that the treaſury of that city had been exhauſted by the enormous expence of two thouſand talents already incurred in the war, and that the magiſtrates had ſtretched their credit to its utmoſt limits, in borrowing from their allies; and who therefore naturally flattered himſelf, that the vigour of their reſiſtance would abate with the decay of their faculties. The colleagues of Nicias were confounded with the firmneſs of an oppoſition ſo unlike the flexible timidity of his ordinary character, and ſo inconſiſtent with the ſentiments which he had often expreſſed concerning the Sicilian expedition. They imagined that he might rely on ſome more important ground of confidence, which his caution was unwilling

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willing to explain; they ſubmitted therefore to his opinion, an opinion equally fatal to himſelf and to them, and to the armament which they commanded [15].

The Syracuſans receive a reinforcement.

Meanwhile the prudence of Gylippus profited of the fame of his victory, to draw a powerful reinforcement from the Sicilian cities; and the tranſports, ſo long expected from Peloponneſus, finally arrived in the harbour of Ortygia. The Peloponneſian forces had ſailed from Greece early in the ſpring; and it is not explained for what reaſon they touched on the coaſt of Cyrenaica. There they continued for ſome months, that they might defend their Grecian brethren, actually threatened by the barbarous aſſaults of the Lybians; and having conquered that dangerous enemy, they augmented their fleet with a few Cyrenian gallies [16], and ſafely reached Syracuſe, the place of their firſt deſtination. This ſquadron formed the laſt aſſiſtance ſent to either of the contending parties, and nothing farther was required to complete the actors in the following dreadful ſcene; for by the acceſſion of the Cyrenians, Syracuſe was either attacked or defended by all the various diviſions of the Grecian name, which formed, in that age, the moſt civilized portion of the inhabitants of Aſia, Africa, and Europe.

The Athenians prepare to raiſe the ſiege.

The arrival of ſuch powerful auxiliaries to the beſieged, and the increaſing force of the malady, totally diſconcerted the Athenians. Even Nicias agreed to ſet ſail. Every neceſſary preparation was made for this purpoſe, and the cover of night was choſen, as moſt proper for concealing their own diſgrace, and for eluding the vengeance of the enemy. But the night appointed for their departure was diſtinguiſhed by an inauſpicious eclipſe of the moon, for ſo at leaſt it was judged by the ſuperſtitious fears of Nicias, and by the ignorance of his diviners [17], even in the vain art which they profeſſed.

[15] Comp. Thucydid. p. 524. & Plut. in Nicia.

[16] Thucydid. p. 527.

[17] The rules of divination, we are told, ſhould have taught them, that the obſcurity of an eclipſe betokened a ſucceſsful retreat. Plutarch. in Nicia.

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The voyage was deferred till the myſtical number of thrice nine days. But before the expiration of that time it was no longer practicable; for the deſign was ſoon diſcovered to the Syracuſans, and this diſcovery, added to the encouragement derived from the circumſtances of which we have already taken notice, increaſed their eagerneſs to attack the enemy by ſea and land. Their attempts failed to deſtroy, by fire-ſhips, the Athenian fleet. They were more ſucceſsful in employing ſuperior numbers to divide the ſtrength, and to weaken the reſiſtance, of an enfeebled and dejected foe. During three days there was a perpetual ſucceſſion of military and naval exploits. On the firſt day fortune hung in ſuſpenſe; the ſecond deprived the Athenians of a conſiderable ſquadron commanded by Eurymedon; and this misfortune was embittered, on the third, by the loſs of eighteen gallies, with their crews [18].

Their purpoſe oppoſed by the enemy;

The Syracuſans celebrated their victory with triumphant enthuſiaſm; while their orators "extolled and magnified the glory of a city, which, by its native proweſs and ſingle danger, had not only maintained the independence of Sicily, but avenged the injuries of the whole Grecian name, too long diſhonoured and afflicted by the oppreſſive tyranny of Athens. That tyranny had been acquired and confirmed by the uſurped ſovereignty of the ſea; but even on that element, the courage of Syracuſe had defeated the experience of the enemy. Their renown would be immortal, if they accompliſhed the uſeful and meritorious work; and if, by intercepting the retreat, and deſtroying the armament of the Athenians, they cruſhed at once the power, and for ever humbled the pride, of that aſpiring people."

who throw a chain acroſs the Great Harbour.

This deſign, ſuggeſted by the wiſdom of Hermocrates, was eagerly adopted by the active zeal of his fellow-citizens, who ſtrove, with unremitting ardour, to throw a chain of veſſels acroſs the mouth

[18] Thucydid. p. 528, & ſeqq.

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of the Great Harbour, about a mile in breadth. The labour was complete before Nicias, totally occupied by other objects, attempted to interrupt it. After repeated defeats, and although he was ſo miſerably tormented by the ſtone, that he had frequently ſolicited his recal, that virtuous commander, whoſe courage roſe in adverſity, uſed the utmoſt diligence to retrieve the affairs of his country. The ſhattered gallies were ſpeedily refitted, and again prepared, to the number of an hundred and ten, to riſk the event of a battle. As they had ſuffered greatly, on former occaſions, by the hardneſs and maſſive ſolidity of the Syracuſan prows, Nicias provided them with grappling-irons, fitted to prevent the recoil of their opponents, and the repetition of the hoſtile ſtroke. The decks were crowded with armed men, and the contrivance to which the enemy had hitherto chiefly owed their ſucceſs, of introducing the firmneſs and ſtability of a military, into a naval engagement, was adopted in its full extent by the Athenians. When the fleet was ready for ſea, Nicias recalled the troops from the various poſts and fortreſſes ſtill occupied by their arms, and formed them into one camp on the ſhore, where, on the day of battle, their ranks might be extended as widely as the vicinity of the Syracuſan ramparts could ſafely permit; that a ſpacious retreat might be ſecured to the Athenian ſhips, if perſecuted by their uſual bad fortune; in which fatal alternative nothing remained, but to retire by land with the miſerable remnant of the army. But Nicias did not yet deſpair, that the laſt efforts of his countrymen would break the enemy's chain at the mouth of the Great Harbour; and that they would return victorious, to tranſport their encamped companions to the friendly ports of Naxos and Catana.

Both ſides prepare for battle.

Elevated by this hope, he forgot his bodily infirmities, and ſuppreſſed the anguiſh of his ſoul. With a cheerful and magnanimous firmneſs, he removed the dejection of the Athenians, exhorting them, before they embarked, by an affecting and manly ſpeech, "to remember

remember the viciſſitudes of war, and the inſtability of fortune[19]. Though hitherto unſucceſsful, they had every thing to expect from the ſtrength of their actual preparations; nor ought men, who had tried and ſurmounted ſo many dangers, to yield to the weak prejudices of unexperienced folly, and cloud the proſpect of future victory, by the gloomy remembrance of paſt defeat. They yet enjoyed an opportunity to defend their lives, their liberty, their friends, their country, and the mighty name of Athens; an opportunity which never could return, ſince the whole fortune of the republic was embarked in the preſent fleet." When Gylippus and the Syracuſan commanders were apprized of the deſigns of the enemy, they haſtened to the defence of the bar which had been thrown acroſs the entrance of the harbour. It is uncertain for what reaſon they had left open one narrow paſſage[20], on either ſide of which they ſtationed a powerful ſquadron. Gylippus animated the ſailors with ſuch topics as the occaſion naturally furniſhed, and returned to take the conduct of the land-forces, leaving Sicanus, Agatharchus, and Pythen, the two firſt to command the wings, and the laſt, a citizen of Corinth, to command the centre of the Syracuſan fleet, which fell ſhort of the Athenian by the number of twenty gallies. But the former was admirably provided with whatever ſeemed moſt neceſſary for attack or for defence; even the Athenian grappling-irons had not been overlooked; to elude the dangerous graſp of theſe inſtruments, the prows of the Syracuſan veſſels were covered with wet and ſlippery hides.

Naval engagement in the Great Harbour.

Before the Athenians ſet ſail, Nicias, that nothing might be neglected to obtain ſucceſs, went round the whole armament, addreſſing, in the moſt pathetic terms, the ſeveral commanders by name, recalling to them the objects moſt dear and moſt reſpectable, which they were engaged by every tie of honour and affection to defend, and conjuring

[19] Thucydid. p. 535, & ſeqq.

[20] Και τον καταλιφθεντα διαπλουν. Thucydid. p. 451.

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juring them by their families, their friends, and their paternal gods, to exert whatever ſkill or courage they collectively, or as individuals, poſſeſſed, on this ever memorable and moſt important occaſion. He then returned to the camp with an enfeebled body and an anxious mind, committing the laſt hope of the republic to the active valour of Demoſthenes, Eudemus, and Menander. The firſt impreſſion of the Athenians was irreſiſtible; they burſt through the paſſage of the bar, and repelled the ſquadrons on either ſide. As the entrance widened, the Syracuſans, in their turn, ruſhed into the harbour, which was more favourable than the open ſea to their mode of fighting. Thither the foremoſt of the Athenians returned, either compelled by ſuperior force, or that they might aſſiſt their companions. The engagement became general in the mouth of the harbour; and in this narrow ſpace two hundred gallies fought, during the greateſt part of the day, with an obſtinate and perſevering valour. It would require the expreſſive energy of Thucydides, and the imitative, though inimitable ſounds and expreſſions of the Grecian tongue, to deſcribe the noiſe, the tumult, and the ardour of the contending ſquadrons. The battle was not long confined to the ſhock of adverſe prows, and to the diſtant hoſtility of darts and arrows. The neareſt veſſels grappled, and cloſed with each other, and their decks were ſoon converted into a field of blood. While the heavy-armed troops boarded the enemy's ſhips, they left their own expoſed to a ſimilar misfortune; the fleets were divided into maſſive cluſters of adhering gallies; and the confuſion of their mingled ſhouts overpowered the voice of authority; the Athenians exhorting, not to abandon an element on which their republic had ever acquired victory and glory, for the dangerous protection of an hoſtile ſhore; and the Syracuſans encouraging each other not to fly from an enemy, whoſe weakneſs or cowardice had long meditated flight[21].

[21] Thucydid. p. 543, & ſeqq.

The

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The Athenians defeated.

The ſingular and tremendous ſpectacle of an engagement more fierce and obſtinate than any that had ever been beheld in the Grecian ſeas, reſtrained the activity, and totally ſuſpended the powers of the numerous and adverſe battalions which encircled the coaſt. The ſpectators and the actors were equally intereſted in the important ſcene; but the former, the current of whoſe ſenſibility was undiverted by any exertion of mind or body, felt more deeply, and expreſſed more forcibly, the various emotions by which they were agitated[22]. Hope, fear, the ſhouts of victory, the ſhrieks of deſpair, the anxious ſolicitude of doubtful ſucceſs, animated the countenances, the voice, and the geſture of the Athenians, whoſe whole reliance centered in their fleet. When at length their gallies evidently gave way on every ſide, the contraſt of alternate, and the rapid tumult of ſucceſſive paſſions, ſubſided in a melancholy calm. This dreadful pauſe of aſtoniſhment and terror was followed by the diſordered trepidation of flight and fear: many eſcaped to the camp; others ran, uncertain whither to direct their ſteps; while Nicias, with a ſmall, but undiſmayed band, remained on the ſhore, to protect the landing of their unfortunate gallies. But the retreat of the Athenians could not probably have been effected, had it not been favoured by the actual circumſtances of the enemy, as well as by the peculiar prejudices of ancient ſuperſtition. In this well-fought battle, the vanquiſhed had loſt fifty, and the victors forty veſſels. It was incumbent on the latter to employ their immediate and moſt ſtrenuous efforts to recover the dead bodies of their friends, that they might be honoured with the ſacred and indiſpenſable rites of funeral. The day was far ſpent; the ſtrength of the ſailors had been exhauſted by a long continuance of unremitting labour; and both they and their companions on ſhore were more deſirous to return to Syracuſe to enjoy the fruits of victory, than to irritate the dangerous deſpair of the vanquiſhed Athenians[23].

[22] Thucydid. p. 544. [23] Id. p 545.

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Their extreme deſpondency.

It is obſerved by the Roman orator[23], with no leſs truth than elegance, that not only the navy of Athens, but the glory and the empire of that republic, ſuffered ſhipwreck in the fatal harbour of Syracuſe. The deſpondent degeneracy which immediately followed this ever memorable engagement was teſtified in the neglect of a duty which the Athenians had never neglected before, and in denying a part of their national character, which it had hitherto been their greateſt glory to maintain. They abandoned to inſult and indignity the bodies of the ſlain; and when it was propoſed to them by their commanders to prepare next day for a ſecond engagement, ſince their veſſels were ſtill more numerous than thoſe of the enemy, they, who had ſeldom avoided a ſuperior, and who had never declined the encounter of an equal force, declared, that no motive could induce them to withſtand the weaker armament of Syracuſe. Their only deſire was to eſcape by land, under cover of the night, from a foe whom they had not courage to oppoſe, and from a place where every object was offenſive to their ſight, and moſt painful to their reflection[24].

The Syracuſans celebrate the feſtival of Hercules with licentious joy.

The behaviour of the Syracuſans might have proved extremely favourable to this deſign. The evening after the battle was the vigil of the feaſt of Hercules; and the ſtill agitated combatants awakened, after a ſhort and feveriſh repoſe, to celebrate the memory of their favourite hero, to whoſe propitious influence they probably aſcribed the merit of the moſt ſplendid trophy that ever adorned the fame of Syracuſe. From the triumph of victory, and grateful emotions of religious enthuſiaſm, there was an eaſy tranſition, in the creed and in the practice of the Greeks, to the extravagance of licentious joy, and the exceſſes of ſenſual indulgence. Sports, proceſſions, muſic, dancing, the pleaſures of the table, of the elegant arts, and of unguarded converſation, were incorporated in the texture of their religious worſhip. But the coincidence of a feſtival and a victory,

[23] Cic. in Verr. v. 37.

[24] Thucydid. p. 545.

demanded an accumulated profuſion of ſuch objects as ſooth the ſenſes, and pleaſe the fancy. Amidſt theſe giddy tranſports, the Syracuſans loſt all remembrance of an enemy whom they deſpiſed; even the ſoldiers on guard joined the diſſolute or frivolous amuſements of their companions; and, during the greateſt part of the night, Syracuſe preſented a mixed ſcene of ſecure gaiety, of thoughtleſs jollity, and of mad and dangerous diſorder[25].

Stratagem of Hermocrates to prevent the Athenian retreat.

The firm and vigilant mind of Hermocrates alone withſtood, but was unable to divert, the general current. It was impoſſible to rouſe to the fatigues of war men buried in wine and pleaſure, and intoxicated with victory; and, as he could not intercept by force, he determined to retard by ſtratagem, the intended retreat of the Athenians, whoſe numbers and reſentment would ſtill render them formidable, to whatever part of Sicily they might remove their camp. A ſelect band of horſemen, aſſuming the character of traitors, fearleſsly approached the hoſtile ramparts, and warned the Athenians of the danger of departing that night, as many ambuſcades lurked in the way, and all the moſt important paſſes were occupied by the enemy. The frequency of treaſon gained credit to the perfidious advice; and the Athenians having changed their firſt reſolution, were perſuaded by Nicias to wait two days longer, that ſuch meaſures might be taken as ſeemed beſt adapted to promote the ſafety and celerity of their march[26].

The Athenians raiſe their camp.

The camp was raiſed on the third morning after the battle. Forty thouſand men, of whom many were afflicted with wounds and diſeaſe, and all exhauſted by fatigue, and dejected by calamity, exhibited the appearance, not of a flying army, but of a great and populous community, driven from their ancient habitations by the cruel vengeance of a conqueror. They had miſerably fallen from the lofty expectations with which they ſailed in triumph to the har-

[25] Thcydid. p. 546.

[26] Id. p. 547.

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bour of Syracuſe. They had abandoned their fleet, their tranſports, the hopes of victory, and the glory of the Athenian name; and theſe collective ſufferings were enhanced and exaſperated by the painful images which ſtruck the eyes and the fancy of each unfortunate individual. The mangled bodies of their companions and friends, deprived of the ſacred rites of funeral, affected them with a ſentiment of religious horror, on which the weakneſs of human nature is happily unable to dwell. They removed their attention from this dreadful ſight; but they could not divert their compaſſion from a ſpectacle ſtill more melancholy, the numerous crowds of ſick and wounded, who followed them with enfeebled and unequal ſteps, intreating, in the accent and attitude of unutterable anguiſh, to be delivered from the horrors of famine, or the rage of an exaſperated foe. Amidſt ſuch affecting ſcenes, the heart of a ſtranger would have melted with tender ſympathy; but how much more muſt it have afflicted the Athenians, to ſee their parents, brothers, children, and friends, involved in unexampled miſery! to hear, without the poſſibility of relieving, their lamentable complaints! and reluctantly to throw the clinging victims from their wearied necks and arms! Yet the care of perſonal ſafety prevailed over every other care; for the ſoldiers, either deſtitute of ſlaves, or diſtruſting their fidelity, were not only encumbered by their armour, but oppreſſed by the weight of their proviſions [27].

Their dreadful afflictions.

The ſuperior rank of Nicias entitled him to a pre-eminence of toil and of woe; and he deſerves the regard of poſterity by his character and ſufferings, and ſtill more by the melancholy firmneſs of his conduct. The load of accumulated diſaſters did not ſink him into inactive deſpondency. He moved with a rapid pace around every part of the army, and the ardour of his mind re-animating the languor of his debilitated frame, he exclaimed, with a loud and diſtinct voice, "Athenians, and allies! there is yet room for hope.

Melancholy firmneſs of Nicias.

[27] Thucydid. p. 548.

Many

Many have eſcaped from ſtill greater evils; nor ought you raſhly to accuſe either fortune or yourſelves. As to me, who, in bodily ſtrength, excel not the weakeſt among you (for you ſee to what a miſerable condition my diſeaſe has reduced me), and who, in the happineſs of private life, and the deceitful gifts of proſperity, had long been diſtinguiſhed above the moſt illuſtrious of my contemporaries, I am now confounded in affliction with the meaneſt and moſt worthleſs. Yet am I unconſcious of deſerving ſuch a fatal reverſe of fortune. My conduct towards men has been irreproachable; my piety towards the gods conſpicuous and ſincere. For this reaſon I am ſtill animated with confidence; calamities, unmerited by guilt, are diſarmed of their terrors. If we have incurred the indignation of the gods by our ambitious deſigns againſt Sicily, our offence, ſurely, is ſufficiently expiated by paſt ſufferings, which now render us the objects of compaſſion. Other nations have attacked their neighbours with leſs provocation, and have yet eſcaped with a gentler puniſhment; nor will experience warrant the belief, that, for the frailties and errors of paſſion, providence ſhould impoſe penalties too heavy to be borne. We have the leſs reaſon to adopt an impious prejudice, ſo diſhonourable to the gods, when we conſider the means which their goodneſs has ſtill left us to provide for our defence. Our numbers, our reſolution, and even our misfortunes, ſtill render us formidable. There is not any army in Sicily capable to intercept our courſe; much leſs to expel us from the firſt friendly territory in which we may fix our camp. If we can ſecure, therefore, our preſent ſafety by a prudent, ſpeedy, and courageous retreat, we may afterwards retrieve our loſt honour, and reſtore the fallen glory of Athens; ſince the chief ornament of a ſtate conſiſts in brave and virtuous men, not in empty ſhips, and undefended walls[28]."

[28] Thucydid. p. 550.

The

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The retreat of the Athenians.

The actions of Nicias fully correſponded with his words. He neglected none of the duties of a great general. Inſtead of leading the army towards Naxos and Catana, in which direction there was reaſon to apprehend many ſecret ambuſhes of the enemy, he conducted them by the weſtern route towards Gela and Camerina; expecting, by this meaſure, to find proviſions in greater plenty, as well as to elude the latent ſnares of the Syracuſans. That nothing might be omitted which promiſed the hope of relief, meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to the neighbouring cities, which might poſſibly be tempted by their natural jealouſy of the growing proſperity of Syracuſe, to favour the retreat of the vanquiſhed. The troops were then divided into two ſquares, as the moſt ſecure and capacious arrangement. Nicias led the van; Demoſthenes conducted the rear; the baggage, and unarmed multitude, occupied the centre. In this order of march, they paſſed the river Anapus, the ford of which was feebly diſputed by an inconſiderable guard; and having proceeded the firſt day only five miles, they encamped in the evening on a riſing ground, after being much haraſſed during the latter part of their journey by the Syracuſan cavalry and archers, who galled them at a diſtance, intercepted the ſtragglers, and avoided, by a ſeaſonable retreat, to commit the ſecurity of their own fortune with the dangerous deſpair of the Athenians. Next day having marched only twenty furlongs, they reached a ſpacious plain, the convenience of which invited them to repoſe; eſpecially as they needed a ſupply of water and proviſions, which might be eaſily obtained from the ſurrounding country [20].

Interrupted by the enemy.

Before this time the enemy were appriſed of their line of march; and, in order to interrupt it, they ſent a numerous detachment to fortify the mountain of Acræum. This mountain, which probably

[20] Thucydid. p. 552. & ſeqq.

gave

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gave name to the ſmall town ſituate in its neighbourhood, interſected the direct road to Gela and Camerina. It was diſtant a few miles from the Athenian encampment, and a ſmall degree of art might render it impregnable, ſince it was of a ſteep and rapid aſcent, and encompaſſed on every ſide by the rocky channel of a loud and foaming torrent. In vain the Athenians attempted, on three ſucceſſive days, to force the paſſage. They were repelled with loſs in every new attack, which became more feeble than the preceding. In the firſt and moſt deſperate, an accidental ſtorm of thunder encreaſed the courage of the Syracuſans and the terror of the Athenians. A ſimilar event had, in the firſt engagement after the invaſion of Sicily, produced an oppoſite effect on the contending nations. But the hopes and the fears of men change with their fortune.

Change their line of march.

In the evening after the laſt unſucceſsful conteſt, the condition of the Athenians was peculiarly deplorable. The numbers of the wounded had been increaſed by the fruitleſs attempts to paſs the mountain; the enemy had continually galled and inſulted them as they retreated to their camp; the adjacent territory could no longer ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life; and they muſt be compelled, after all their hardſhips and fatigues, to make a long circuit by the ſea-ſhore, if they expected to reach, in ſafety, the places of their reſpective deſtination. Even this reſolution (for there was no alternative) however dreadful to men in their comfortleſs and exhauſted ſtate, was recommended by Nicias, who, to conceal his deſign from the enemy, cauſed innumerable fires to be lighted in every part of the camp [30]. The troops then marched out under cover of the night, and in the ſame order which they had hitherto obſerved. But they had not proceeded far in this nocturnal expedition, when the obſcurity of the ſkies, the deceitful tracks of an unknown and hoſtile country, filled the moſt timid or unfortunate with imaginary terrors. Their panic, as is uſual in great bodies of

[30] Thucydid. p. 552. & ſeqq.

men,

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men, was ſpeedily communicated to thoſe around them; and Demoſthenes, with above one-half of his diviſion, fatally miſtook the road, and quitted, never more to rejoin, the reſt of the army.

The diviſion commanded by Demoſthenes ſurrenders to Gylippus.

The ſcouts of Gylippus and the Syracuſans immediately brought intelligence of this important event, which furniſhed an opportunity to attack the divided ſtrength of the Athenians. His ſuperior knowledge of the country enabled Gylippus, by the celerity of his march, to intercept the ſmaller diviſion, and to ſurround them on every ſide, in the difficult and intricate defiles which led to the ford of the river Erinios. There he aſſaulted them with impunity, during a whole day, with darts, arrows, and javelins. When the meaſure of their ſufferings was complete, he proclaimed towards the evening, by the ſound of the trumpet, and with the loud voice of the herald, freedom, forgiveneſs, and protection to all who ſhould deſert and abandon the bad fortune of their leaders; an offer which was accepted by the troops of ſeveral Aſiatic iſlands, and other dependent and tributary countries. At length he entered into treaty with Demoſthenes himſelf, whoſe ſoldiers laid down their arms, and delivered their money (which filled the capacious hollow of four broad bucklers), on condition that they ſhould not ſuffer death, impriſonment, or famine [31]. Notwithſtanding the number of the deſerters and of the ſlain, the remainder ſtill amounted to ſix thouſand, who were ſent to Syracuſe with their captive general, under a powerful and vigilant eſcort, while the activity of Gylippus followed the flying battalions of the enemy, which had been conducted by Nicias to the diſtance of twenty miles, towards the fatal banks of the river Aſſinaros.

The diviſion under Nicias overtaken by the enemy.

The Syracuſans overtook the rear before the van could arrive at the lofty and abrupt margin of this rapid ſtream; and an herald was ſent to Nicias, exhorting him to imitate the example of his colleague, and to ſurrender, without farther bloodſhed, to the irre-

[31] Thucydides, p. 553.

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sistible valour of his victorious pursuers. Nicias disbelieved, or affected to disbelieve, the report; but when a confidential messenger, whom he was allowed to dispatch for information, brought certain intelligence of the surrender and disgrace of Demosthenes, he also condescended to propose terms, in the name of the Athenians, engaging, on the immediate cessation of hostilities, to reimburse the magistrates of Syracuse for the expence of the war, and to deliver Athenian hostages (a citizen for a talent) until the debt should be liquidated [32].

Their melancholy defence.

These terms were rejected by the Syracusans with disdain; and Gylippus having occupied the most advantageous posts on every side, attacked the army of Nicias with the same mode of warfare which had, two days before, proved so destructive to their unfortunate companions. During the whole day they bore, with extraordinary patience, the hostile assault, still expecting, under cover of the night, to escape the cruel vigilance of the enemy. But that hope was vain: Gylippus perceived their departure; and, although three hundred men of determined courage gallantly broke through the guards, and effected their escape, the rest were no sooner discovered than they returned to their former station, and laid down their arms in silent despair. Yet the return of the morning brought back their courage. They again took up their arms, and marched towards the river, miserably galled and afflicted by the hostile archers and cavalry. Their distress was most lamentable and incurable, yet hope did not totally forsake them; for like men in the oppression and languor of a consuming disease, they still entertained a confused idea that their sufferings would end, could they but reach the opposite banks of the neigbouring river [33].

Horrid scene on the banks of the Assinaros.

The desire of assuaging their thirst encouraged this daring design. They rushed with frantic disorder into the rapidity of the stream; the pursuing Syracusans, who had occupied the rocky banks, de-

[32] Thucydid. p. 554.

[33] Id. ibid.

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ſtroying them with innumerable volleys of miſſile weapons. In the Aſſinaros they had a new enemy to contend with. The depth and force of the waters triumphed over their ſingle, and ſhook their implicated ſtrength. Many were borne down the ſtream. At length the weight of their numbers reſiſted the violence of the torrent; but a new form of danger and of horror preſented itſelf to the eyes of Nicias. His ſoldiers turned their fury againſt each other, diſputing, with the point of the ſword, the unwholeſome draughts of the agitated and turbid current. This ſpectacle melted the firmneſs of his manly ſoul. He ſurrendered to Gylippus, and aſked quarter for the miſerable remnant of his troops who had not periſhed in the Aſſinaros, or been deſtroyed by the Syracuſan archers and cavalry[34]. Before the commands of the Lacedæmonian general could pervade the army, many of the ſoldiers had, according to the barbarous practice of the age, ſeized their priſoners and ſlaves, ſo that the Athenian captives were afterwards diſtributed among ſeveral communities of Sicily, which had ſent aſſiſtance to Syracuſe. The reſt, upon laying down their arms, were entitled to the pity and protection of Gylippus; who, after ſending proper detachments to intercept and collect the ſtragglers, returned in triumph to the city with the ineſtimable trophies of his valour and conduct.

Death of the Athenian generals.

Nicias had little to expect from the *humanity* of a proud and victorious Spartan; but Demoſthenes might naturally flatter himſelf with the hope of *juſtice*. He urged with energy, but urged in vain, the obſervance of the capitulation which had been ratified with due forms, on the faith of which he had ſurrendered himſelf and the troops entruſted to his command. The public priſoners, conducted ſucceſſively to Syracuſe, and exceeding together the number of ſeven thouſand, were treated with the ſame inhuman cruelty. They were

Cruel treatment of the captives.

univerſally condemned to labour in the mines and quarries of Sicily[35]: their whole ſuſtenance was bread and water: they ſuffered

[34] Thucydid. p. 555.

[35] Ibid. p. 556.

alternately

alternately the ardours of a ſcorching ſun and the chilling damps of autumn. For ſeventy days and nights they languiſhed in this dreadful captivity, during which the diſeaſes incident to their manner of life were rendered infectious by the ſtench of the dead bodies, which corrupted the purity of the ſurrounding air. At length an eternal ſeparation was made between thoſe who ſhould enjoy the happier lot of being ſold as ſlaves into diſtant lands, and thoſe who ſhould for ever be confined to their terrible dungeons. The Athenians, with ſuch Italians and Sicilians as had unnaturally embraced their cauſe, were reſerved for the latter doom. Their generals, Nicias and Demoſthenes, had not lived to behold this melancholy hour. Gylippus would have ſpared their lives, not from any motives of humanity or eſteem, but that his joyous return to Sparta might have been graced by their preſence. But the reſentment of the Syracuſans, the fears of the Corinthians, above all, the ſuſpicious jealouſy of thoſe perfidious traitors who had maintained a ſecret correſpondence with Nicias, which they dreaded leſt the accidents of his future life might diſcover, loudly demanded the immediate execution of the captive generals[36]. The Athenians of thoſe times juſtly regretted the loſs of Demoſthenes, a gallant and enterpriſing commander; but poſterity will for ever lament the fate of Nicias, the moſt pious, the moſt virtuous, and the moſt unfortunate man of the age in which he lived.

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Amidſt this dark and dreadful ſcene of cruelty and revenge, we muſt not omit to mention one ſingular example of humanity, which broke forth like a meteor in the gloom of a nocturnal tempeſt. The Syracuſans, who could puniſh their helpleſs captives with ſuch unrelenting ſeverity, had often melted into tears at the affecting ſtrains of Euripides[37], an Athenian poet, who had learned in the Socratic ſchool, to adorn the leſſons of philoſophy with the charms of fancy, and who was regarded by the taſte of his contemporaries, as he ſtill is by many competent and impartial judges, as the moſt

A ſingular exception to this general cruelty.

[36] Thucydid. l. vii. ad fin.

[37] See above, p. 480.

tender

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tender and pathetic, the moſt philoſophical and inſtructive, of all tragic writers. The pleaſure which the Syracuſans had derived from his inimitable poetry, made them long to hear it rehearſed by the flexible voices and harmonious pronunciation of the Athenians, ſo unlike, and ſo ſuperior, to the rudeneſs and aſperity of their own Doric dialect. They deſired their captives to repeat the plaintive ſcenes of their favourite bard. The captives obeyed; and affecting to repreſent the woes of ancient kings and heroes, they too faithfully expreſſed their own. Their taſte and ſenſibility endeared them to the Syracuſans, who releaſed their bonds, received them with kindneſs into their families [38], and, after treating them with all the honourable diſtinctions of ancient hoſpitality, reſtored them to their longing and afflicted country, as a ſmall but precious wreck of the moſt formidable armament that had ever ſailed from a Grecian harbour. At their return to Athens they walked in ſolemn proceſſion to the houſe of Euripides, whom they gratefully hailed as their deliverer from ſlavery and death [39]. This acknowledgment, infinitely more honourable than all the crowns and ſplendour that ever ſurrounded the perſon, and even than all the altars and temples that ever adorned the memory of a poet [40], muſt have tranſported Euripides with the *ſecond* triumph which the heart of man can feel. He would have enjoyed the *firſt*, if his countrymen had owed to his virtues the tribute which they paid to his talents; and if, inſtead of the beauty and elegance of his verſes, they had been ſaved by his probity, his courage, or his patriotiſm, qualities which, ſtill more than genius and fancy, conſtitute the real excellence and dignity of human nature.

[38] Ητοι τεθνηκεν η διδασκει γραμματα, "he is either dead or teaching verſes;" an expreſſion firſt introduced at this time, was afterwards applied proverbially, in ſpeaking of travellers in foreign countries, whoſe fate was uncertain.

[39] Plutarch. in Nicia.

[40] See above, Chapter VI.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

From the Earlieſt Accounts till the

Diviſion of the Macedonian Empire in the Eaſt:

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

VOL. II.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

Εκ μεν τοιγε της ἁπαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε ὁμοιοτητος και διαφορας, μοιως αν τις εφικοιτο και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, ἁμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ἱστοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

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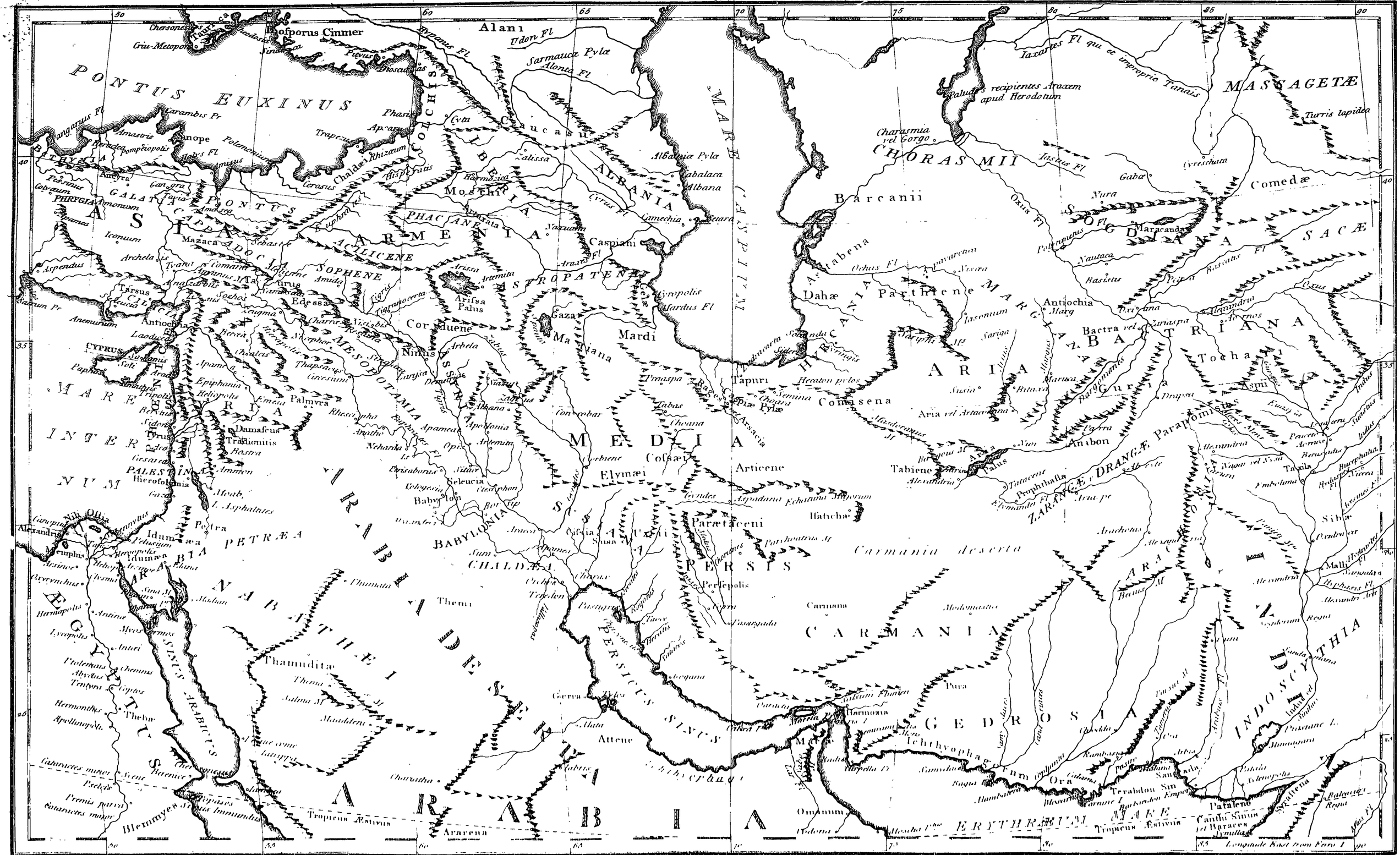
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THE

MAP II containing the EASTERN DIVISION of the GRECIAN COLONIES and CONQUESTS.



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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

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Conſequences of the Athenian Misfortunes in Sicily.—Formidable Confederacy againſt Athens.—Peculiar Reſources of free Governments.—Naval Operations.—Battle of Miletus.—Intrigues of Alcibiades.—The Athenian Democracy ſubverted.—Tyrannical Government of the Four Hundred.—Battle of Eretria.—Democracy re-eſtabliſhed in Athens.—Naval Succeſs of the Athenians.—Triumphant Return of Alcibiades.—The Eleuſinian Myſteries—and Plynteria.

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Extent of the Athenian misfortunes in Sicily.

IN the populous and extenſive kingdoms of modern Europe, the revolutions of public affairs ſeldom diſturb the humble obſcurity of private life; but the national tranſactions of Greece involved the intereſt of every family, and deeply affected the fortune and happineſs of every individual. Had the arms of the Athenians

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proved ſucceſsful in Sicily, each citizen would have derived from that event an immediate acceſſion of wealth, as well as of power, and have felt a proportional increaſe of honour and ſecurity. But their proud hopes periſhed for ever in the harbour of Syracuſe. The ſucceeding diſaſters ſhook to the foundation the fabric of their empire. In one raſh enterpriſe they loſt their army, their fleet, the prudence of their experienced generals, and the flouriſhing vigour of their manly youth[1]—Irreparable diſaſters! which totally diſabled them to reſiſt the confederacy of Peloponneſus, reinforced by the reſentment of a new and powerful enemy. While a Lacedæmonian army inveſted their city, they had reaſon to dread that a Syracuſan fleet ſhould aſſault the Piræus; that Athens muſt finally yield to theſe combined attacks, and her once proſperous citizens deſtroyed by the ſword, or dragged into captivity, atone by their death or diſgrace for the cruelties which they had recently inflicted on the wretched republics of Melos and Scioné.

The news brought to Athens. Oymp. xci. 4. A. C. 413.

The dreadful alternative of victory and defeat, renders it little ſurpriſing that the Athenians ſhould have rejected intelligence, which they muſt have received with horror. The firſt meſſengers of ſuch ſad news were treated with contempt: but it was impoſſible long[2] to with-hold belief from the miſerable fugitives, whoſe ſqualid and dejected countenances too faithfully atteſted the public calamity. Such evidence could not be refuſed; the arrogance of incredulity was abaſhed, and the whole republic thrown into conſternation, or ſeized with deſpair. The venerable members of the Areopagus expreſſed

[1] Thucydid. l. vii. p. 557. Cicero goes farther. Hic primum opes illius civitatis victæ, comminutæ, depreſſæque ſunt: in hoc portu Athenienſium nobilitatis, imperij, gloriæ naufragium factum exiſtimatur. Cicer. in Verrem, v. 37.

[2] The calamity was ſo great that the boldeſt imagination had never dared to conceive its exiſtence. Their minds being thus unprepared, the Athenians, ſays Thucydides, diſbelieved και τοις παν των στρατιωτων εξ αυτης της εγγυς διαπεφευγοσι even thoſe ſoldiers who eſcaped from this melancholy buſineſs. The ſtories of Plutarch in Nicia, of Athenæus, &c. may be ſafely condemned as fictions, ſince they are inconſiſtent with Thucydides's narrative.

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the majeſty of ſilent ſorrow; but the piercing cries of woe extended many a mile along the lofty walls which joined the Piræus to the city, and the licentious populace raged with unbridled fury againſt the diviners and orators, whoſe blind predictions, and ambitious harangues, had promoted an expedition eternally fatal to their country [3].

Combination in Greece againſt Athens.

The diſtreſs of the Athenians was too great to admit the comfort of ſympathy; but had they been capable of receiving, they had little reaſon to expect, that melancholy conſolation. The tidings ſo afflicting to *them* gave unſpeakable joy to their neighbours; many feared, moſt hated, and all envied a people who had long uſurped the dominion of Greece. The Athenian allies, or rather ſubjects, ſcattered over ſo many coaſts and iſlands, prepared to aſſert their independence; the confederates of Sparta, among whom the Syracuſans juſtly aſſumed the firſt rank, were unſatisfied with victory, and longed for revenge: even thoſe communities, which had hitherto declined the danger of a doubtful conteſt, meanly ſolicited to become parties in a war, which they expected muſt finally terminate in the deſtruction of Athens [4].

Abetted by the reſentment of Perſia.

Should all the efforts of ſuch a powerful confederacy ſtill prove inſufficient to accompliſh the ruin of the devoted city, there was yet another enemy behind, from whoſe ſtrength and animoſity the Athenians had every thing to fear. The long and peaceful reign of Artaxerxes, king of Perſia, expired four hundred and twenty-five years before the Chriſtian æra. The two following years were remarkable for a rapid ſucceſſion of kings, Xerxes, Sogdianus, Ochus; the laſt of whom aſſumed the name of Darius, to which hiſtorians have added the epithet of Nothus, the baſtard, to diſtinguiſh this effeminate prince from his illuſtrious predeceſſor [5]. The firſt years of Darius Nothus were employed in confirming his diſputed authority,

[3] Thucydid. l. viii. p. 558, & ſeqq.
[4] Thucydid. ibid. & Diodor. l. xiii. p. 348. c. xlv. & ſeqq.
[5] Diodor. l. xii. p. 322. Cteſias Perſic.

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and in watching the dangerous intrigues of his numerous kinſmen who aſpired to the throne. When every rival was removed that could either diſturb his quiet, or offend his ſuſpicion, the monarch ſunk into an indolent ſecurity, and his voluptuous court was governed by the feeble adminiſtration of women and eunuchs [6]. But in the ninth year of his reign Darius was rouſed from his lethargy by the revolt of Egypt and Lydia. The defection of the latter threatened to tear from his dominion the valuable provinces of Aſia Minor; a conſequence which he determined to prevent by employing the bravery of Pharnabazus, and the policy of the crafty Tiſſaphernes, to govern reſpectively the northern and ſouthern diſtricts of that rich and fertile peninſula. The abilities of theſe generals not only quelled the rebellion of Lydia, but extended the arms of their maſter towards the ſhores of the Ægean, as well as of the Helleſpont and Propontis; in direct oppoſition to the treaty which forty years before had been ratified between the Athenians, then in the height of their proſperity, and the unwarlike Artaxerxes. But the recent misfortunes of that ambitious people flattered the Perſian commanders with the hope of reſtoring the whole Aſiatic coaſt to the great king [7], as well as of taking exemplary puniſhment on the proud city, which had reſiſted the power, diſmembered the empire, and tarniſhed the glory of Perſia.

The Athenian allies prepare to revolt.

The terror of ſuch a formidable combination might have reduced the Athenians to deſpair; and our ſurpriſe that this conſequence ſhould not immediately follow, will be increaſed by the following reflection: Not to mention the immortal trophies of Alexander, or the extenſive ravages of Zingis Khan, Tamerlane, and the Tartar princes of their race; the Spaniards, the Portugueſe, and other nations of modern Europe, have, with a handful of men, marched victorious over the effeminate or barbarous coaſts of the eaſtern and weſtern world. The hardy diſcipline of Europe eaſily prevailed over

[6] Cteſias. c. xlvii.

[7] Thucydid. l. viii. p. 560, & Cteſias. Perſic. c. ii.

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the unwarlike ſoftneſs of India, and the ſavage ignorance of America. But the rapid ſucceſs of all theſe conquerors was owing to their military knowledge[8] and experience. By the ſuperiority of their arms and of their diſcipline, the Romans ſubdued the nations of the earth. But the Athenians afford the only example of a people, who, by the virtues of the mind alone, acquired an extenſive dominion over men equally improved with themſelves in the arts of war and government. They poſſeſſed, or were believed to poſſeſs, ſuperior courage and capacity to the nations around them; and this opinion, which ſhould ſeem not intirely deſtitute of foundation, enabled them to maintain, by very feeble garriſons, an abſolute authority in the iſlands of the Ægean, as well as in the cities of the Aſiatic coaſt. Their diſaſters and diſgrace in Sicily deſtroyed at once the real and the ideal ſupports of their power; the loſs of one-third of their citizens made it impoſſible to ſupply, with freſh recruits, the exhauſted ſtrength of their garriſons in foreign parts; the terror of their fleet was no more; and their multiplied defeats, before the walls of Syracuſe, had converted into contempt that admiration in which Athens had been long held by Greeks and Barbarians.

Peculiar reſources of free governments.

But in free governments there are many latent reſources which public calamities alone can bring to light, and adverſity, which, to individuals endowed with inborn vigour of mind, is the great ſchool of virtue and of heroiſm, furniſhes alſo to the enthuſiaſm of popular aſſemblies the nobleſt field for the diſplay of national honour and magnanimity. Had the meaſures of the Athenians depended on one man, or even on a few, it is probable that the ſelfiſh timidity of a prince, and the cautious prudence of a council, would have ſunk under the weight of misfortunes, too heavy for the unſupported

[8] If that of the Tartars ſhould be doubted, the reader may conſult Monſ. de Guignes's Hiſt. des Huns, and Mr. Gibbon's admirable Deſcription of the Manners of the Paſtoral Nations, v. ii.

ſtrength

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ſtrength of ordinary minds. But the firſt ſpark of generous ardour, which the love of virtue, of glory, and the republic, or even the meaner motives of ambition and vanity, excited in the aſſembled multitude, was diffuſed and increaſed by the natural contagion of ſympathy; the patriotic flame was communicated to every breaſt; and the ſocial warmth reflected, from ſuch a variety of objects, became too intenſe to be reſiſted by the coldneſs of caution, and the damps of deſpair.

Prudent and vigorous meaſures of the Athenians.

With one mind and reſolution the Athenians determined to brave the ſeverity of fortune, and to withſtand the aſſaults of the enemy. Nor did this noble deſign evaporate in uſeleſs ſpeculation; the wiſeſt meaſures were adopted for reducing it to practice. The great work began, as natural reformation ought always to begin, by regulating the finances, and lopping off every branch of ſuperfluous expence. The clamour of turbulent demagogues was ſilenced; aged wiſdom and experience were allowed calmly to direct the public councils; new levies were raiſed; the remainder of their fleet was equipped for ſea; the motions of the colonies and tributary ſtates were watched with an anxious ſolicitude, and every proper expedient was employed that might appeaſe their animoſity, or render it impotent[9]. Yet theſe meaſures, prudent and vigorous as they were, could not, probably, have ſuſpended the fall of Athens, had not ſeveral concurring cauſes facilitated their operation. The weak, dilatory, and ineffectual proceedings of the Spartan confederacy; the temporiſing, equivocal, and capricious conduct of the Perſian governors; above all, the intrigues and enterpriſing genius of Alcibiades, who, after involving his country in inextricable calamities, finally undertook its defence, and retarded, though he could not prevent, its deſtiny.

[9] Thucydid. l. viii. p. 559. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 349.

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The Peloponnesians and Persians prepare to act against the Asiatic dependencies of Athens. Olymp. xcii. 1. A. C. 412.

In the year following the unfortunate expedition into Sicily, the Spartans prepared a fleet of an hundred sail, of which twenty-five gallies were furnished by their own sea-ports; twenty-five by the Thebans; fifteen by the Corinthians; and the remainder by Locris, Phocis, Megara, and the maritime cities on the coast of Peloponnesus. This armament was destined to encourage and support the revolt of the Asiatic subjects of the Athenians. The islands of Chios and Lesbos, as well as the city Erythræ on the continent, solicited the Spartans to join them with their naval force. Their request was enforced by Tissaphernes, who promised to pay the sailors, and to victual the ships. At the same time, an ambassador from Cyzicus, a populous town situate on an island of the Propontis, entreated the Lacedæmonian armament to sail to the safe and capacious harbours which had long formed the wealth and the ornament of that city, and to expel the Athenian garrisons, to which the Cyzicenes and their neighbours reluctantly submitted. The Persian Pharnabazus seconded their proposal; offered the same conditions with Tissaphernes; and so little harmony subsisted between the lieutenants of the great king, that each urged his particular demand with a total unconcern about the important interests of their common master [10]. The Lacedæmonians held many consultations among themselves, and with their allies; hesitated, deliberated, resolved, and changed their resolution; and at length were persuaded by Alcibiades to prefer the overture of Tissaphernes and the Ionians to that of the Hellespontines and Pharnabazus.

Dilatory measures of the confederates.

The delay occasioned by this deliberation was the principal, but not the only cause, which hindered the allies from acting expeditiously, at a time when expedition was of the utmost importance. A variety of private views diverted them from the general aim of the confederacy; and the season was far advanced before the Corinthians, who had been distinguished by excess of antipathy to Athens,

The Athenians discover and defeat the designs of the Corinthians and the Chians. Olymp. xcii. 1. A. C. 412.

[10] Thucydid. p. 561. & 562.

were

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were prepared to ſail. They determined, from pride, perhaps, as well as ſuperſtition, to celebrate[11], before leaving their harbours, the Iſthmian games, conſecrated to Neptune, the third of the Grecian feſtivals in point of dignity and ſplendour. From this ceremony the Athenians, though enemies, were not excluded by the Corinthian magiſtrates; and they did not exclude themſelves, though oppreſſed by the weight of paſt misfortunes, and totally occupied by the thoughts of providing againſt future evils. While their repreſentatives ſhared the amuſements of this ſacred ſpectacle, they neglected not the commiſſion recommended by their country. They ſecretly informed themſelves of the plan and particular circumſtances of the intended revolt, and learned the preciſe time fixed for the departure of the Corinthian fleet. In conſequence of this important intelligence, the Athenians anticipated the deſigns of the rebels of Chios, and carried off ſeven ſhips as pledges of their fidelity. The ſquadron which returned from this uſeful enterpriſe, intercepted the Corinthians as they ſailed through the Saronic gulph; and having attacked and conquered them, purſued and blocked them up in their harbours[12].

Succeſsful operations of the confederates.

Meanwhile the Spartans and their allies ſent to the Ionian coaſt ſuch ſquadrons as were ſucceſſively ready for ſea, under the conduct of Alcibiades, Chalcideus, and Aſtyochus. The firſt of theſe commanders ſailed to the iſle of Chios, which was diſtracted by contending factions. The Athenian partiſans were ſurpriſed, and compelled to ſubmit; and the city, which poſſeſſed forty gallies, and yielded in wealth and populouſneſs to none of the neighbouring colonies, became an acceſſion to the Peloponneſian confederacy. The ſtrong and rich town of Miletus followed the example: Erythræ

[11] "Πριν τα Ισθμια διατασωσι." The ſcholiaſt juſtly obſerves, the force of the "δια," "thoroughly, completely," *i. e.* until they had celebrated the games, the complete number of days, appointed by antiquity. Vid. Æ. Port. ad loc. p. 563.

[12] Thucydid. p. 564.

and

and Clazomené ſurrendered to Chalcideus; ſeveral places of leſs note were conquered by Aſtyochus. CHAP. XXI.

When the Athenians received the unwelcome intelligence of theſe events, they voted the expenditure of a thouſand talents, which, in more proſperous times, they had depoſited in the citadel, under the ſanction of a decree of the ſenate and people, only to employ it in a moment of the utmoſt danger. This ſeaſonable ſupply enabled them to increaſe the fleet, which ſailed, under Phrynichus, and other leaders, to the iſle of Leſbos. Having ſecured the fidelity of the Leſbians, who were ripe for rebellion, they endeavoured to recover their authority in Miletus, anciently regarded as the capital of the Ionic coaſt. A bloody battle was fought before the walls of that place, between the Athenians and Argives on one ſide, and the Peloponneſians, aſſiſted by the troops of Tiſſaphernes, and the revolted Mileſians, on the other. The Athenian bravery defeated, on this occaſion, the ſuperior numbers of Greeks and Barbarians to whom they were oppoſed; but their Argive auxiliaries were repulſed by the gallant citizens of Miletus: ſo that, in both parts of the engagement, the Ionic race, commonly reckoned the leſs warlike, prevailed over their Dorian rivals and enemies. Elevated with the joy of victory, the Athenians prepared to aſſault the town, when they were alarmed by the approach of a fleet of fifty-five ſail, which advanced in two diviſions, the one commanded by the celebrated Hermocrates, the other by Theramenes the Spartan. Phrynichus prudently conſidered, that his own ſtrength only amounted to forty-eight gallies, and refuſed to commit the laſt hope of the republic to the danger of an unequal combat. His firmneſs deſpiſed the clamours of the Athenian ſailors, who inſulted[13], under the

Battle of Miletus. Olymp. xcii. 2. A. C. 412.

The Athenian fleet retires.

[13] Like Fabius,
"Non ponebat enim rumores ante ſalutem." ENNIUS apud Cic.

which Thucydides expreſſes with more vigour, "και ποτε των αισχρων αποδυτι ωξης αλοσεως διακινδυνευσαι," P. 574.

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name of cowardice, the caution of their admiral; and he calmly retired with his whole force to the iſle of Samos, where the popular faction having lately treated the nobles with ſhocking injuſtice and cruelty, too frequent in Grecian democracies, were ready to receive with open arms, the patrons of that fierce and licentious form of government.

The Athenian affairs retrieved by Alcibiades.

The retreat of the Athenian fleet acknowledged the naval ſuperiority of the enemy; a ſuperiority which was alone ſufficient either to acquire, or to maintain, the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring coaſts and iſlands. In other reſpects, too, the Peloponneſians enjoyed the moſt deciſive advantages. Their gallies were victualled, their ſoldiers were paid by Tiſſaphernes, and they daily expected a reinforcement of an hundred and fifty Phœnician ſhips, which, it was ſaid, had already reached Aſpendus, a ſea-port of Pamphylia. But, in this dangerous criſis, fortune ſeemed to reſpect the declining age of Athens, and, by a train of accidents, ſingular and almoſt incredible, enabled Alcibiades, ſo long the misfortune and the ſcourge, to become the defence and the ſaviour, of his country.

His intrigues.

During his long reſidence in Sparta, Alcibiades aſſumed the outward gravity of deportment, and conformed himſelf to the ſpare diet, and laborious exerciſes, which prevailed in that auſtere republic; but his character and his principles remained as licentious as ever. His intrigue with Timea, the ſpouſe of king Agis, was diſcovered by an exceſs of female levity. The queen, vain of the attachment of ſo celebrated a character, familiarly gave the name of Alcibiades to her ſon Leotychides; a name which, firſt confined to the privacy of her female companions, was ſoon ſpread abroad in the world. Alcibiades puniſhed her folly by a moſt mortifying but well merited declaration, boaſting that he had ſolicited her favours from no other motive but that he might indulge the ambitious deſire of giving a king to Sparta. The offence itſelf, and the ſhameleſs avowal, ſtill more provoking than the offence, excited the keeneſt

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resentment in the breast of the injured husband [14]. The magistrates and generals of Sparta, jealous of the fame, and envious of the merit of a stranger, readily sympathised with the misfortune, and encouraged the revenge of Agis; and, as the horrid practice of assassination still disgraced the manners of the Greeks, orders were sent to Astyochus, who commanded in chief the Peloponnesian forces in Asia, secretly to destroy Alcibiades, whose power defied the laws, which, in every Grecian republic, condemned adulterers to death [15]. But the active and subtile Athenian had secured too faithful domestic intelligence in the principal families of Sparta to become the victim of this execrable design. With his usual address he eluded all the snares of Astyochus: his safety, however, required perpetual vigilance and caution, and he determined to escape from a situation, which subjected him to such irksome constraint.

His conference with Tissaphernes.

Publicly banished from Athens, secretly persecuted by Sparta, he had recourse to the friendship of Tissaphernes, who admired his accomplishments, and respected his abilities, which, though far superior in degree, were similar in kind to his own. Tissaphernes was of a temper the more readily to serve a friend, in proportion as he less needed his services. Alcibiades, therefore, carefully concealed from him the dangerous resentment of the Spartans. In the selfish breast of the Persian no attachment could be durable unless founded on interest; and Alcibiades, who had deeply studied his character, began to flatter his avarice, that he might ensnare his protection. He informed him, that by allowing the Peloponnesian sailors a drachma, or seven-pence sterling, of daily pay, he treated them with an useless and even dangerous liberality: that the pay given by the Athenians, even in the most flourishing times, amounted only to three oboli; which proceeded, not from a disinclination to reward the skill and valour of their seamen, but from an experience, that if

[14] Plutarch, ii. 49. in Alcibiad.
[15] Lysias in defence of Euphiletus, &c. p. 419.

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they received more than half a drachma each day, the ſuperfluity would be ſquandered in ſuch profligate pleaſures as enfeebled and corrupted their minds and bodies, and rendered them equally incapable of activity and of diſcipline. Should the ſailors prove diſſatisfied with this equitable reduction, the Grecian character afforded an eaſy expedient for ſilencing their licentious clamours. It would be ſufficient to bribe the naval commanders, and a few mercenary orators, and the careleſs improvident ſeamen would ſubmit, without ſuſpicion, the rate of their pay as well as every other concern, to the influence and authority of thoſe who were accuſtomed to govern them [16].

Perſuades him to diminiſh his ſubſidies to the Peloponneſians.

Tiſſaphernes heard this advice with the attention of an avaricious man to every propoſal for ſaving his money; and ſo true a judgment had Alcibiades formed of the Greeks, that Hermocrates the Syracuſan, was the only officer who diſdained, meanly and perfidiouſly, to betray the intereſt of the men under his command: yet through the influence of his colleagues, the plan of œconomy was univerſally adopted, and, on a future occaſion, Tiſſaphernes boaſted that Hermocrates, though more coy, was not leſs corruptible than others, and that the only reaſon for which he undertook the patronage of the ſailors, was to compel his own reluctance to comply with the exorbitance of his demands. This reproach illuſtrates the opinion entertained by foreign nations of Grecian virtue; but it is probably an aſperſion on the fame of the illuſtrious Syracuſan.

Alienates him from the intereſt of Sparta.

The intrigues of Alcibiades had ſown jealouſy and diſtruſt in the Peloponneſian fleet: they had alienated the minds of the troops both from Tiſſaphernes and their commanders: the Perſian was ready to forſake thoſe whom he had learned to deſpiſe; and Alcibiades profited of this diſpoſition to inſinuate that the alliance of the Lacedæmonians was equally expenſive and inconvenient for the

[16] Thucydid. p. 584, & ſeqq.

great

great king and his lieutenants. "That theſe haughty republicans were accuſtomed to take arms to defend the liberties of Greece," a deſign totally inconſiſtent with the views of the Perſian court. If the Aſiatic Greeks and iſlanders aſpired at independence, and hoped to deliver themſelves from Athenian governors and garriſons, without ſubmitting to pay tribute to Perſia, they ought to carry on the war at their own expence, ſince they would alone reap the benefit of its ſucceſs. But if Tiſſaphernes purpoſed to recover the ancient poſſeſſions of his maſter, he muſt beware of giving a decided ſuperiority to either party, eſpecially to the warlike Spartans. By an attention to preſerve the balance even, between the hoſtile republics, he would force them to exhauſt each other. Amidſt their domeſtic conteſts an opportunity would ſoon arrive, when Darius, without danger or expence, might cruſh both, and vindicate his juſt hereditary claim to the dominion of all Aſia."

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Alcibiades, in order to pave the way for his return to Athens, conſpires againſt the democracy.

Theſe artful repreſentations produced almoſt an open breach between Tiſſaphernes and his confederates. The advantage which Athens would derive from this rupture might have paved the way for Alcibiades to return to his country: but he dreaded to encounter that popular fury, whoſe effects he had fatally experienced, and whoſe mad reſentment no degree of merit could appeaſe; he therefore applied ſecretly to Piſander, Theramenes, and other perſons of diſtinction in the Athenian camp. To them he deplored the deſperate ſtate of public affairs, expatiated on his own credit with Tiſſaphernes, and inſinuated that it might be yet poſſible to prevent the Phœnician fleet at Aſpendus from ſailing to aſſiſt the enemy. Aſſuming gradually more boldneſs, as he perceived the ſucceſs of his intrigues, he finally declared that the Athenians might obtain not merely the neutrality, but perhaps the aſſiſtance of Artaxerxes, ſhould they conſent to aboliſh their turbulent democracy, ſo odious to the Perſians, and entruſt the adminiſtration of government to men worthy to negociate with ſo mighty a monarch.

When

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This measure had been already in agitation both in the city and in the camp.

When the illuſtrious exile propoſed this meaſure, it is uncertain whether he was acquainted with the ſecret cabals which had been already formed, both in the city and in the camp, for executing the deſign which he ſuggeſted. The misfortunes, occaſioned by the giddy inſolence of the multitude, had thrown the principal authority into the hands of the noble and wealthy, who, corrupted by the ſweets of temporary power, were deſirous of rendering it perpetual. Many prompted by ambition, ſeveral moved by inconſtancy, a few directed by a juſt ſenſe of the incurable defects of democracy, were prepared to encounter every danger, that they might overturn the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. In the third and moſt honourable claſs was Antiphon, a man of an exalted character, and endowed with extraordinary talents. The irreſiſtible energy of his eloquence was ſuſpected by the people. He appeared not in the courts of juſtice, nor in the aſſembly; but his artful and elaborate compoſitions often ſaved the lives of his friends. *He* was the inviſible agent who governed all the motions of the conſpiracy; and when compelled, after the ruin of his party, to ſtand trial for his life, he diſcovered an activity and force of mind that aſtoniſhed the moſt diſcerning of his contemporaries [17]. Piſander, Theramenes, and the other leaders of the ariſtocratical party, warmly approved the views of Alcibiades. The Athenian ſoldiers, likewiſe, though they deteſted the impiety, admired the valour, of the illuſtrious exile, and longed to ſee him reſtored to the ſervice of his country. All ranks lamented the dangerous ſituation of Athens; many thought that their affairs muſt become deſperate, ſhould Tiſſaphernes command the Phœnician fleet to co-operate with

[17] Thucydid. l. viii. p. 600. A few lines above Thucydides deſcribes the character of Antiphon with expreſſive energy: ανηρ Αθηναιων των καθ' ἑαυτον αρετη τι δευτερος υστερος, και χρατιστος ενθυμηθηναι γνωμινος, και ἁ γνοιη, ειπειν. "An Athenian, in virtue ſecond to no man then living, endowed with the greateſt vigour of thought, and the greateſt power of expreſſion." Plutarch in the very inaccurate and imperfect work, intitled, The Lives of the Ten Orators, tells us, that Antiphon was the firſt who wrote inſtitutions of oratory; and that his pleadings were the moſt ancient that had come down to poſterity. The character given by Plutarch of the writings of Antiphon agrees with the high commendation of Thucydides.

that

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that of Peloponneſus; and many rejoiced in the proſpect of a Perſian alliance, in conſequence of which they would enter at once into the pay of that wealthy ſatrap [18].

Phrynichus counterplots Alcibiades.

One man, the perſonal enemy of Alcibiades, alone oppoſed the general current. But this man was Phrynichus, whoſe prudent firmneſs as a commander we have already had occaſion to remark. The courage with which he invited dangers many have equalled, but none ever ſurpaſſed the boldneſs with which he extricated himſelf from difficulties. When he perceived that his colleagues were deaf to every objection againſt recalling the friend of Tiſſaphernes, he ſecretly informed the Spartan admiral Aſtyochus, of the intrigues which were carrying on to the diſadvantage of his country. Daring as this treachery was, Phrynichus addreſſed a traitor not leſs perfidious than himſelf. Aſtyochus was become the penſioner and creature of Tiſſaphernes, to whom he communicated the intelligence. The Perſian again communicated it to his favourite Alcibiades, who complained in ſtrong terms to the Athenians of the baſeneſs and villainy of Phrynichus. The latter exculpated himſelf with conſummate addreſs; but as the return of Alcibiades might prove fatal to his ſafety, he ventured, a ſecond time, to write Aſtyochus, gently reproaching him with his breach of confidence, and explaining by what means he might ſurpriſe the whole Athenian fleet at Samos; an exploit that muſt for ever eſtabliſh his fame and fortune. Aſtyochus again betrayed the ſecret to Tiſſaphernes and Alcibiades; but before *their* letters could be conveyed to the Athenian camp, Phrynichus, who, by ſome unknown canal, was informed of this ſecond treachery, anticipated the dangerous diſcovery, by appriſing the Athenians of the enemy's deſign to ſurpriſe their fleet. They had ſcarcely employed the proper

[18] What influence this conſideration muſt have had, may be conjectured from the information of Andocides, Orat. iii. who ſays, that in the courſe of this war the Spartans received, from their Perſian allies, ſubſidies to the amount of five thouſand talents, about a million ſterling. The ſum is prodigious, conſidering the value of money in that age.

means

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means to counteract that purpose when messengers came from Alcibiades to denounce the horrid perfidy of a wretch who had basely sacrificed to private resentment the last hope of his country. But the messengers arrived too late; the prior information of Phrynichus, as well as the bold and singular wickedness of his design, which no common degree of evidence was thought sufficient to prove, were sustained as arguments for his exculpation; and it was believed that Alcibiades had made use of a stratagem most infamous in itself, but not unexampled among the Greeks, for destroying a man whom he detested [19].

Progress of the conspiracy against the democratical government.

The opposition of Phrynichus, though it retarded the designs of Alcibiades, prevented not the measures of Pisander and his associates for abolishing the democracy. The soldiers at Samos were induced, by the reasons above-mentioned, to acquiesce in the resolution of their generals. But a more difficult task remained; to deprive the people of Athens of their liberty, which, since the expulsion of the family of Pisistratus, they had enjoyed an hundred years. Pisander headed the deputation which was sent from the camp to the city to effect this important revolution. He acquainted the extraordinary assembly, summoned on that occasion in the theatre of Bacchus, of the measures which had been adopted by their soldiers and fellow-citizens at Samos. The compact band [20] of conspirators warmly approved the example; but loud murmurs of discontent resounded in different quarters of that spacious theatre. Pisander asked the reason of this disapprobation. "Had his opponents any thing better to propose? If they had, let them come forward and explain the grounds of their dissent: but, above all, let them explain how they could save themselves, their families, and their country, unless they

[19] Thucydid. p. 587—590.

[20] Or rather bands, according to Thucydides. Pisander was at pains to gain over to his views τας ξυνωμοσιας, αιπιρ ιτυγχοιον προτιρον ιν τη πολιι υσαι ιπι δικαι; και αρχαις. "The factions or juntos already formed in Athens, with a view to thrust themselves into the seats of judicature and the great offices of state." Thucydid. p. 592.

complied

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omplied with the demand of Tiſſaphernes. The imperious voice of neceſſity was ſuperior to law; and when the actual danger had ceaſed they might re-eſtabliſh their ancient conſtitution." The opponents of Piſander were unable or afraid to reply: and the aſſembly paſſed a decree, inveſting ten ambaſſadors with full powers to treat with the Perſian ſatrap.

Negociation with Tiſſaphernes. Olymp. xcii. 1. A. C. 412.

Soon after the arrival of the Peloponneſian fleet on the coaſt of Aſia, the Spartan commanders had concluded, in the name of their republic, a treaty with Tiſſaphernes; in which it was ſtipulated, that the ſubſidies ſhould be regularly paid by the king of Perſia, and that the Peloponneſian forces ſhould employ their utmoſt endeavours to recover, for that monarch, the dominions of his anceſtors, which had been long unjuſtly uſurped, and cruelly inſulted, by the Athenians. This treaty ſeemed ſo honourable to the great king, that his lieutenant could not venture openly to infringe it. It is poſſible, that in the interval between his intrigues with Alcibiades, and the arrival of the Athenian ambaſſadors at Magneſia, the place of his uſual reſidence, Tiſſaphernes might receive freſh inſtructions from his court to make good his agreement with the Spartans. Perhaps the crafty ſatrap never entertained any ſerious thoughts of an alliance with the Athenians, although he ſufficiently reliſhed the advice given him by Alcibiades to weaken both parties. But whatever motive determined him, it is certain that he ſhewed a diſinclination to enter into any negociation with the Athenian ambaſſadors. Alarmed at the decay of his influence with the Perſians, on which he had built the flattering hopes of returning to his country, Alcibiades employed all the reſources of his genius to conceal his diſgrace. By ſolicitations, intreaties, and the meaneſt compliances, he obtained an audience for his fellow-citizens. As the agent of Tiſſaphernes, he then propoſed the conditions on which they might obtain the friendſhip of the great king. Several demands were made, demands moſt diſgraceful to the name of Athens: to all of which the

Artifices of Alcibiades.

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ambaſſadors ſubmitted. They even agreed to ſurrender the whole coaſt of Ionia to its ancient ſovereign. But when the artful Athenian (fearful leſt they ſhould, on any terms, admit the treaty which Tiſſaphernes was reſolved on no terms to grant) demanded that the Perſian fleets ſhould be allowed to ſail, undiſturbed, in the Grecian ſeas, the ambaſſadors, well knowing that ſhould this condition be complied with, no treaty could hinder Greece from becoming a province of Perſia, expreſſed their indignation in very unguarded language, and left the aſſembly in diſguſt. This imprudence enabled Alcibiades to affirm, with ſome appearance of truth, that their own anger and obſtinacy, not the reluctance of Tiſſaphernes, had obſtructed the negociation, which was preciſely the iſſue of the affair moſt favourable to his views [21].

The democracy overturned in Athens. Olymp. xcii. 2. A. C. 411.

His artifices ſucceeded, but were not attended with the conſequences expected from them. The Athenians, both in the camp and city, perceived, by this tranſaction, that his credit with the Perſians was leſs than he repreſented it; and the ariſtocratical faction were glad to get rid of a man, whoſe reſtleſs ambition rendered him a dangerous aſſociate. They perſiſted, however, with great activity, in executing their purpoſe; of which Phrynichus, who had oppoſed them only from hatred of Alcibiades, became an active abettor. When perſuaſion was ineffectual, they had recourſe to violence. Androcles, Hyperbolus [22], and other licentious demagogues were aſſaſſinated. The people of Athens, ignorant of the ſtrength of the conſpirators, and ſurpriſed to find in the number many whom they leaſt ſuſpected, were reſtrained by inactive timidity, or fluctuated in

[21] Thucydid. l. viii. p. 593.

[22] Thucydides paints his character in few words: Υπιεξουλον τι τινα Αθηναιων, μοχθηρον ανθρωπον ωστρακισμενον ου δια δυναμεως και αξιωματος φοβον, αλλα δια πονηριαν και αισχυνην της πολεως. "One Hyperbolus, a worthleſs fellow, and baniſhed by the oſtraciſm, not from fear of his power and dignity, but on account of his extreme profligacy, and his being a diſgrace to the city." The oſtraciſm was thought to be for ever diſgraced by being applied to ſuch an unworthy object, and thenceforth laid aſide. See Plut. in Nicia, and Ariſtoph. in Pac. ver. 680.

doubtful

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doubtful ſuſpenſe. The cabal alone acted with union and with vigour; and difficult as it ſeemed to ſubvert the Athenian democracy, which had ſubſiſted an hundred years with unexampled glory, yet this deſign was undertaken and accompliſhed by the enterpriſing activity of Piſander, the artful eloquence of Theramenes, the firm intrepidity of Phrynichus, and the ſuperintending wiſdom of Antiphon [23].

Government of the four hundred.

He it was who formed the plan, and regulated the mode of attack, which was carried on by his aſſociates. In a deliberation concerning the means of retrieving the affairs of the public, Piſander propoſed the electing of ten men, who ſhould be charged with the important truſt of preparing and digeſting reſolutions, to be on an appointed day laid before the aſſembly of the people. When the day arrived, the commiſſioners had but one reſolution to propoſe: "That every citizen ſhould be free to offer his opinion, however contrary to law, without fear of impeachment or trial;" a matter eſſential to the intereſts of the cabal, ſince by a ſtrange contradiction in government the Athenian orators and ſtateſmen were liable to [24]proſecution before the ordinary courts of juſtice, for ſuch ſpeeches and decrees as had been approved and confirmed by the aſſembly. In conſequence of this act of indemnity, Piſander and his party boldly declared, that neither the ſpirit nor the forms of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution (which had recently ſubjected them to ſuch a weight of misfortunes) ſuited the preſent dangerous and alarming criſis. That it was neceſſary to new-model the whole fabric of government; for which purpoſe five perſons (whoſe names he read) ought to be appointed by the people, to chooſe an hundred others; each of whom ſhould ſelect three aſſociates; and the four hundred thus choſen, men of dignity and opulence, who would ſerve their country without fee or reward, ought immediately to be inveſted with the ma-

[23] Thucydid. ibid. & Lyſias adverſ Agorat.

[24] By the γραφη παρανομων. See Vol. I. p. 466. Chap. xiii.

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jeſty of the republic. They alone ſhould conduct the adminiſtration uncontrouled, and aſſemble, as often as ſeemed proper, five thouſand citizens, whom they judged moſt worthy of being conſulted in the management of public affairs. This extraordinary propoſal was accepted without oppoſition: the partiſans of democracy dreaded the ſtrength of the cabal; and the undiſcerning multitude, dazzled by the impoſing name of five thouſand, a number far exceeding the ordinary aſſemblies of Athens, perceived not that they ſurrendered their liberties to the artifice of an ambitious faction [25].

Their tyranny renders them odious.

But the conduct of the four hundred tyrants (for hiſtorians have juſtly adopted the language of Athenian reſentment) ſoon opened the eyes and underſtanding of the moſt thoughtleſs. They aboliſhed every veſtige of ancient freedom; employed mercenary troops levied from the ſmall iſlands of the Ægean, to overawe the multitude, and to intimidate, in ſome inſtances to deſtroy, their real or ſuſpected enemies. Inſtead of ſeizing the opportunity of annoying the Peloponneſians, enraged at the treachery of Tiſſaphernes, and mutinous for want of pay and ſubſiſtence, they ſent ambaſſadors to ſolicit peace from the Spartans on the moſt diſhonourable terms. Their tyranny rendered them odious in the city, and their cowardice made them contemptible in the camp at Samos. Their cruelty and injuſtice were deſcribed, and exaggerated, by the fugitives who continually arrived in that iſland. The generous youth, employed in the ſea and land ſervice, were impatient of the indignities offered to their fellow-citizens. The ſame indignities might be inflicted on themſelves, if they did not vindicate their freedom. Theſe ſecret murmurs broke out into loud and licentious clamours, which were encouraged by the approbation of the Samians. Thraſybulus and Thraſyllus, two officers of high merit and diſtinction though not actually

Their partiſans at Samos deſtroyed by Thraſybulus and Thraſyllus.

[25] Thucydid. & Lyſias, ubi ſupra.

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entruſted with a ſhare in the principal command [26], gave activity and boldneſs to the inſurgents. The abettors of the new government were attacked by ſurpriſe: thirty of the moſt criminal were put to death, ſeveral others were baniſhed, democracy was re-eſtabliſhed in the camp, and the ſoldiers were bound by oath to maintain their hereditary government againſt the conſpiracy of domeſtic foes, and to act with vigour and unanimity againſt the public enemy.

The former conducts Alcibiades to the Athenian camp.

Thraſybulus, who headed this ſucceſsful and meritorious ſedition, had a mind to conceive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute, the moſt daring deſigns. He exhorted the ſoldiers not to deſpair of effecting in the capital the ſame revolution which they had produced in the camp. But ſhould they fail in that deſign they ought no longer to obey a city which had neither wealth nor wiſdom, neither ſupplies nor good counſel to ſend them. They were themſelves more numerous than the ſubjects of the four hundred, and better provided in all things neceſſary for war. They poſſeſſed an iſland which had formerly contended with Athens for the command of the ſea, and which, it was hoped, they might defend againſt every foe, foreign and domeſtic. But were they compelled to forſake it, they had ſtill reaſon to expect that, with an hundred ſhips of war, and with ſo many brave men, they might acquire an eſtabliſhment not leſs valuable elſewhere, in which they would enjoy, undiſturbed, the invaluable poſſeſſion of liberty. Their moſt immediate concern was to recal Alcibiades, who had been deceived and diſgraced by the tyrants, and who not only felt with peculiar ſenſibility, but could reſent with becoming dignity, the wrongs of his country and his own. The advice of Thraſybulus was approved; ſoon after he ſailed to Magneſia, and returned in company with Alcibiades.

[26] Neither generals nor admirals; for Thraſybulus only commanded a galley; and Thraſyllus ſerved in the heavy-armed infantry, whether as an officer, or in the ranks, the expreſſion leaves uncertain. The ſcholiaſt, however, conſiders οπλιτευοντι as ſynonimous with τω οπλιτικω αρχοντι. Thucydid. p. 604.

Near

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He addreſſes his country-men.

Near four years had elapſed ſince the eloquent ſon of Clinias had ſpoken in an Athenian aſſembly. Being preſented by Thraſybulus to his fellow-citizens, he began by accuſing his fortune, and lamenting his calamities. "Yet his baniſhment ought not to affect him with permanent ſorrow, ſince it had furniſhed him with an opportunity to ſerve the cauſe of his country. This event, otherwiſe unfortunate, had procured him the acquaintance and friendſhip of Tiſſaphernes; who, moved by his entreaties, had withheld the ſtipulated pay from the Peloponneſian forces, and who, he doubted not, would continue his good offices to the Athenians, ſupply them with every thing requiſite for maintaining the war, and even ſummon the Phœnician fleet to their aſſiſtance." Theſe were magnificent but flattering promiſes. In making them, Alcibiades however did not conſult merely the dictates of vanity. They raiſed his credit with the army, who immediately ſaluted him general [27]; they widened the breach between Tiſſaphernes and the Spartans; and they ſtruck terror (when his ſpeech got abroad) into the tyrants of Athens, who had provoked the reſentment of a man capable to ſubvert their uſurpation.

His meſſage to the tyrants.

Alcibiades left the care of the troops to his colleagues Thraſybulus and Thraſyllus, and withdrew himſelf from the applauſes of his admiring countrymen, on pretence of concerting with Tiſſaphernes the ſyſtem of their future operations. But his principal motive was to ſhew himſelf to the Perſian, in the new and illuſtrious character with which he was inveſted; for having raiſed his authority among the Athenians by his influence with the ſatrap, he expected to ſtrengthen this influence by the ſupport of that authority. Before he returned to the camp, ambaſſadors had been ſent by the tyrants, to attempt a negociation with the partiſans of de-

[27] Μετα των προτερων—They aſſociated him with the former commanders. But Thucydides immediately adds, και τα πραγματα παντα ανετιθεσαν, and referred every thing to his management, p. 609.

mocracy,

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mocracy, who, inflamed by continual reports of the indignities and cruelties committed in Athens, prepared to ſail thither to protect their friends, and take vengeance on their enemies. Alcibiades judiciouſly oppoſed this raſh reſolution, which muſt have left the Helleſpont, Ionia, and the iſlands, at the mercy of the hoſtile fleet. But he commanded the ambaſſadors to deliver to their maſters a ſhort, but pithy meſſage: "That they muſt diveſt themſelves of their illegal power, and reſtore the ancient conſtitution. If they delayed obedience, he would ſail to the Piræus, and deprive them of their authority and their lives[28]."

Tumults in Athens.

When this meſſage was reported at Athens, it added to the diſorder and confuſion in which that unhappy city was involved. The four hundred, who had acted with unanimity in uſurping the government, ſoon diſagreed about the adminiſtration, and ſplit into factions, which perſecuted each other as furiouſly as both had perſecuted the people[29]. Theramenes and Ariſtocrates condemned and oppoſed the tyrannical meaſures of their colleagues. The perfidious Phrynichus was ſlain: both parties prepared for taking arms; and the horrors of a Corcyrean ſedition were ready to be renewed in Athens, when the old men, the children, the women, and ſtrangers, interpoſed for the ſafety of a city which had long been the ornament of Greece, the terror of Perſia, and the admiration of the world[30].

Mutiny in the Peloponneſian camp.

Had the public enemy availed themſelves of this opportunity to aſſault the Piræus, Athens could not have been ſaved from immediate deſtruction. But the Peloponneſian forces at Miletus, long clamorous and diſcontented, had broken out into open mutiny, when they heard of the recal of Alcibiades, and the hoſtile intentions of Tiſſaphernes. To the duplicity of the ſatrap, and the treachery of their own captains, they juſtly aſcribed the want of pay and ſubſiſtence, and all the miſfortunes which they felt or

[28] Thucydid. ibid. & Plut. ii. 54. in Vit. Alcibiad.

[29] Lyſias adv. Agorat.

[30] Thucydid. p. 610.

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dreaded. Their reſentment was violent and implacable. They deſtroyed the Perſian fortifications in the neighbourhood of Miletus; they put the garriſons to the ſword; their treacherous commander, Aſtyochus, ſaved his life by flying to an altar; nor was the tumult appeaſed until the guilty were removed from their ſight, and Myndarus, an officer of approved valour and fidelity, arrived from Sparta to aſſume the principal command[31].

Amidſt the tumults in Athens, the Peloponneſian fleet appears on the coaſt.

The dreadful conſequences which muſt have reſulted to the Athenians, if, during the fury of their ſedition, the enemy had attacked them with a fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail, may be conceived by the terror inſpired by a much ſmaller Peloponneſian ſquadron of only forty-two veſſels, commanded by the Spartan Hegeſandridas. The friends of the conſtitution had aſſembled in the ſpacious theatre of Bacchus. Meſſengers paſſed between them and the partiſans of Antiphon and Piſander, who had convened in a diſtant quarter of the city. The moſt important matters were in agitation, when the alarm was given that ſome Peloponneſian ſhips had been ſeen on the coaſt. Both aſſemblies were immediately diſſolved. All ranks of men haſtened to the Piræus; manned the veſſels in the harbour; launched others; and prepared thirty-ſix for taking the ſea. When Hegeſandridas perceived the ardent oppoſition which he muſt encounter in attempting to land, he doubled the promontory of Sunium, and ſailed towards the fertile iſland of Eubœa, from which, ſince the fortification of Decelia, the Athenians had derived far more plentiful ſupplies than from the deſolated territory of Attica. To defend a country which formed their principal reſource, they ſailed in purſuit of the enemy, and obſerved them next day near the ſhore of Eretria, the moſt conſiderable town in the iſland.

Battle of Eretria.

The Eubœans, who had long watched an opportunity to revolt, ſupplied the Peloponneſian ſquadron with all neceſſaries in abun-

[31] Thucydid. p. 611.

dance;

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dance; but inſtead of furniſhing a market to the Athenians, they retired from the coaſt on their approach. The commanders were obliged to weaken their ſtrength, by detaching ſeveral parties into the country to procure proviſions; Hegeſandridas ſeized this opportunity to attack them: moſt of the ſhips were taken; the crews ſwam to land; many were cruelly murdered by the Eretrians, from whom they expected protection; and ſuch only ſurvived as took refuge in the Athenian garriſons ſcattered over the iſland[32].

Democracy re-eſtabliſhed in Athens. Olymp. xcii. 2. A. C. 411.

The news of this misfortune were moſt alarming to the Athenians. Neither the invaſion of Xerxes, nor even the defeat in Sicily, occaſioned ſuch terrible conſternation. They dreaded the immediate defection of Eubœa; they had no more ſhips to launch; no means of reſiſting their multiplied enemies: the city was divided againſt the camp, and divided againſt itſelf. Yet the magnanimous firmneſs of Theramenes did not allow the friends of liberty to deſpair. He encouraged them to diſburden the republic of its domeſtic foes, who had ſummoned, or who were at leaſt believed to have ſummoned, the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonian fleet, that they might be enabled to enſlave their fellow-citizens. Antiphon, Piſander, and others moſt obnoxious, ſeaſonably eſcaped; the reſt ſubmitted. A decree was paſſed, recalling Alcibiades, and approving the conduct of the troops at Samos. The ſedition ceaſed. The democracy, which had been interrupted four months, was reſtored; and ſuch are the reſources of a free government, that even this violent fermentation was not unproductive of benefit to the ſtate. The Athenians completed whatever had been left imperfect in former reformations[33]; and determined to defend, to the laſt extremity, the ancient glory of the republic.

By

[32] Thucydid. p. 622.

[33] The government was brought back to its original principles, as eſtabliſhed by Solon. Among other ſalutary regulations, it was enacted, that no one ſhould receive a ſalary for any public magiſtracy. "And now," ſays Thucydides, "for the firſt time, in the preſent age at leaſt, the Athenians modelled their

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The Athenians victorious at sea. Olymp. xcii. 2. A. C. 411.

By the imprudent or perfidious conduct of their commanders, and the seditious spirit of their troops, the Peloponnesians lost a seasonable opportunity to terminate the war with equal advantage and honour; and having neglected the prosperous current of their fortune, they were compelled long and laboriously to strive against an unfavourable stream. The doubtful Tissaphernes hesitated between the part of an open enemy, or a treacherous ally; the Spartans, who had formerly rejected the friendship, now courted the protection, of his rival Pharnabazus; to whose northern province they sailed with the principal strength of their armament, leaving only a small squadron at Miletus, to defend their southern acquisitions. The Athenians, animated by the manly counsels of Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, the generous defenders of their freedom, proceeded northwards in pursuit of the enemy; and the important straits, which join the Euxine and Ægean seas, became, and long continued, the scene of conflict. In the twenty-first winter of the war, a year already distinguished by the dissolution and revival of their democracy, the Athenians prevailed in three successive engagements, the event of which became continually more decisive. In the first, which was fought in the narrow channel between Sestos and Abydus, the advantages were in some measure balanced, since Thrasybulus took twenty Peloponnesian ships, with the loss of fifteen of his own. But the glory remained entire to the Athenians, who repelled the enemy, and offered to renew the battle[34]. Not long afterwards, they intercepted a squadron of fourteen Rhodian vessels, near Cape Rhegium. The islanders defended themselves with their usual bravery. Myndarus beheld the engagement from the distance of eight miles, while he performed his morning devotions to Minerva in the

their government aright; and this enabled Athens again to raise her head." Thucydid. p. 623. It is remarkable, that neither Diodorus, Plutarch, nor any of the orators, make the least mention of those salutary regulations, which, however, lasted not long after the return of Alcibiades.

[34] Thucydid. l. viii. p. 626.

lofty

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lofty temple of Ilium. Alarmed for the ſafety of his friends, he ruſhed from that ſacred edifice, and haſtened with great diligence to the ſhore, that he might launch his ſhips, and prevent, by ſpeedy aſſiſtance, the capture or deſtruction of the Rhodians[35]. The principal Athenian ſquadron attacked him near the ſhore of Abydus. The engagement was fought from morning till night, and ſtill continued doubtful, when the arrival of eighteen gallies, commanded by Alcibiades, turned the ſcale of victory. The eſcape of the Peloponneſians was favoured by the bravery of Pharnabazus, who, at the head of his Barbarian troops, had been an impatient ſpectator of the combat. He gallantly rode into the ſea, encouraging his men with his voice, his arm, and his example. The Spartan admiral drew up the greateſt part of his fleet along the ſhore, and prepared to reſiſt the aſſailants; but the Athenians, ſatisfied with the advantages already obtained, ſailed to Seſtos, carrying with them a valuable prize, thirty Peloponneſian gallies, as well as fifteen of their own, which they had loſt in the former engagement. Thraſyllus was ſent to Athens, that he might communicate the good news, and raiſe ſuch ſupplies of men and money as could be expected from that exhauſted city[36].

Alcibiades ſurpriſes, and takes the whole Peloponneſian fleet.

The Spartans yielded poſſeſſion of the ſea, which they hoped ſoon to recover, and retired to the friendly harbours of Cyzicus, to repair their ſhattered fleet; while the Athenians profited of the fame of their victory, and the terror of their arms, to demand contributions from the numerous and wealthy towns in that neighbourhood. The ſeveral diviſions returned to Seſtos, having met with very indifferent ſucceſs in their deſign; nor, without obtaining more deciſive and important advantages, could they expect to intimidate ſuch ſtrongly fortified places as Byzantium, Selembria, Perinthus, on the European, or Lampſacus, Parium, Chalcedon, on the Aſiatic, coaſt. It was determined, therefore, chiefly by the advice of Alci-

[35] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. c. i. Diodor. xiii. p. 354. [36] Id. ibid.

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biades, to attack the enemy at Cyzicus; for which purpoſe they ſailed, with eighty gallies, to the ſmall iſland of Proconneſus, near the weſtern extremity of the Propontis, and ten miles diſtant from the ſtation of the Peloponneſian fleet. Alcibiades ſurpriſed ſixty veſſels in a dark and rainy morning, as they were manœuvring at a diſtance from the harbour, and ſkilfully intercepted their retreat. As the day cleared up, the reſt ſailed forth to their aſſiſtance; the action became general; the Athenians obtained a complete victory, and their valour was rewarded by the capture of the whole Peloponneſian fleet, except the Syracuſan ſhips, which were burned, in the face of a victorious enemy, by the enterpriſing Hermocrates. The circumſtances and conſequences of this important action were related in few, but expreſſive words, to the Spartan ſenate, in a letter written by Hippocrates, the ſecond in command, and intercepted by the Athenians: "All is loſt; our ſhips are taken; Myndarus is ſlain; the men want bread; we know not what to do[37]."

The Athenians diligently improve their advantages.

Olymp. xcii. 3. A. C. 410.

The fatal diſaſter at Cyzicus prevented the Peloponneſians from obſtructing, during the following year, the deſigns of the enemy, who took poſſeſſion of that wealthy ſea-port, as well as of the ſtrong city Perinthus; raiſed a large contribution on Selambria; and fortified Chryſopolis, a ſmall town of Chalcedonia, only three miles diſtant from Byzantium. In this new fortreſs they placed a conſiderable body of troops; and guarded the neighbouring ſtrait with a ſquadron of thirty ſail, commanded by Theramenes and Eubulus, and deſtined to exact, as tribute, a tenth from all ſhips which ſailed through the Boſphorus into the Euxine ſea[38]. The Peloponneſians were aſſiſted by Pharnabazus in equipping a new

[37] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. c. i. & Plut. p. 60, in Alcibiad.

[38] It is well known, that Mahomet the Second obtained the ſame end, by fortifying two caſtles, one on the Aſiatic, and another on the European ſide. That near to Chryſopolis is called by the modern Greeks Neocaſtron; but the name of the town itſelf is now changed to Scutari, a place deemed by the Turks one of the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople. TOURNEFORT, Letter 15.

fleet;

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fleet; but were deprived of the wiſe counſels of Hermocrates, whoſe abilities were well fitted both to prepare and to employ the reſources of war. The ſucceſs of the Aſiatic expedition had not correſponded to the ſanguine hopes of his countrymen; the inſolent populace accuſed the incapacity of their commanders; and a mandate was ſent from Syracuſe, depriving them of their office, and puniſhing them with baniſhment. The conduct of Hermocrates is worthy of admiration. Having called an aſſembly, he deplored his hard fortune, but recommended the moſt ſubmiſſive obedience to the authority of the republic. He then exhorted the ſailors to name temporary commanders, till the arrival of thoſe who had been appointed by their country. But the aſſembly, eſpecially the captains and pilots, tumultuouſly called out, "That he and his colleagues ought to continue in the command." Hermocrates then conjured them "not to rebel againſt the government. When they ſhould return home, they would then enjoy a fair opportunity to do juſtice to their admirals, by recounting the battles which they had won, by enumerating the ſhips which they had taken, and by relating how their own courage, and the conduct of their commanders, had entitled them to the moſt honourable place in every engagement by ſea and land." At the earneſt and unanimous entreaty of the aſſembly, he conſented, however, to retain his authority, till the arrival of his ſucceſſors. His colleagues imitated the example; and ſoon after this memorable ſcene, Demarchus, Myſco, and Potamis, the admirals named by the ſtate, took the command of the Syracuſan forces. Yet the ſoldiers and ſailors would not allow their beloved leaders to depart, before taking in their preſence a ſolemn oath to revoke their unjuſt baniſhment, whenever they themſelves returned to Syracuſe. On Hermocrates in particular, the captains and pilots beſtowed many diſtinguiſhed tokens of their affection and reſpect, which his behaviour had juſtly merited; for every morning and evening he had called them together, communicated his deſigns,

Admirable behaviour of Hermocrates the Syracuſan.

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asked their opinion and advice, reviewed the past, and concerted the future, operations of the war; while his popular manners and condescending affability secured the love of those who respected his skill, his vigilance, and his courage[19].

Thrasyllus, at first successful, is defeated in the battle of Ephesus. Olymp. xcii. 4. A. C. 409.

Meanwhile Thrasyllus obtained at Athens the supplies which he had gone to solicit; supplies far more powerful than he had reason to expect. They consisted in a thousand heavy-armed men, an hundred horse, and fifty gallies, manned by five thousand experienced seamen. That the sailors might be usefully employed on every emergence at sea or land, they were provided with the small and light bucklers, the darts, swords, and javelins, appropriated to the Grecian targeteers, who, uniting strength and velocity, formed an intermediate and useful order between the archers and pikemen. With these forces, Thrasyllus sailed to Samos, hoping to render the twenty-third campaign not less glorious than the preceding; and ambitious to rival, by his victories in the central and southern parts of the Asiatic coast, the fame acquired by Alcibiades and Thrasybulus in the north. His first operations were successful. He took Colophon, with several places of less note, in Ionia; penetrated into the heart of Lydia, burning the corn and villages; and returned to the shore, driving before him a numerous body of slaves, and other valuable booty. His courage was increased by the want of resistance on the part of Tissaphernes, whose province he had invaded; of the Peloponnesian forces at Miletus; and of the revolted colonies of Athens. He resolved, therefore, to attack the beautiful and flourishing city of Ephesus, which was then the principal ornament and defence of the Ionic coast. While his soldiers, in separate divisions, were making their approaches to the walls of that place, the enemy assembled from every quarter to defend the majesty of Ephesian Diana. A vigorous sally of the townsmen increased the strength of Tissaphernes and the Peloponnesians, the latter of whom had been

[19] Xenoph. p. 431.

seasonably

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ſeaſonably reinforced by a conſiderable ſquadron from Sicily. The Athenians were defeated, with the loſs of three hundred men; and, retiring from the field of battle, they ſought refuge in their ſhips; and prepared to ſail towards the Helleſpont[40].

His ſoldiers regain their honour before the walls of Abydus.

During the voyage thither, they fell in with twenty Sicilian gallies, of which they took four, and purſued the reſt to Epheſus. Having ſoon afterwards reached the Helleſpont, they found the Athenian armament at Lampſacus, where Alcibiades thought proper to muſter the whole military and naval forces: but, on this occaſion, the northern army gave a remarkable proof of pride or ſpirit. They, who had ever been victorious, refuſed to rank with the ſoldiers of Thraſyllus, who had been ſo ſhamefully foiled before the walls of Epheſus. They ſubmitted, however, though not without reluctance, to live in the ſame winter-quarters; from which they made a conjunct expedition againſt Abydus. Pharnabazus defended the place with a numerous body of Perſian cavalry. The diſgraced troops of Thraſyllus rejoiced in an opportunity to retrieve their honour. They attacked, repelled, and routed the enemy. Their victory decided the fate of Abydus, and their courage was approved by the army of Alcibiades, who embraced them as fellow-ſoldiers and friends.

Alcibiades takes Byzantium. His ſucceſs by ſea and land. Olymp. xciii. 1. A. C. 408.

For ſeveral years the meaſures of the Athenians had been almoſt uniformly ſucceſsful; but the twenty-fourth campaign was diſtinguiſhed by peculiar favours of fortune. The invaſion of Sicily by the Carthaginians prevented that iſland from ſending any effectual aſſiſtance to their Peloponneſian allies. The dangerous revolt of the Medes withheld the Perſian reinforcements, which were neceſſary to ſupport the arms of Pharnabazus[41]. Both nations were repeatedly defeated by the Athenians, driven from their encampments and fortreſſes near the ſhore, and purſued into the inland country, which was plundered and deſolated by the victors. The Athenians returned in triumph to attack the fortified cities, which ſtill declined ſubmiſſion;

[40] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 434.

[41] Diodorus, l. xiii.

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miſſion; an undertaking in which Alcibiades diſplayed the wonderful reſources of his extraordinary genius. By gradual approaches, by ſudden aſſaults, by ſurpriſe, by treaſon, or by ſtratagem, he in a few months became maſter of Chalcedon, Selembria, and at laſt of Byzantium itſelf. His naval ſucceſs was equally conſpicuous. The Athenians again commanded the ſea. The ſmall ſquadrons fitted out by the enemy ſucceſſively fell into their power; and theſe multiplied captures, which were made with little difficulty, accumulated the trophies of the well-fought battles, which we have already deſcribed. It was computed by the partiſans of Alcibiades, that, ſince aſſuming the command, he had taken or deſtroyed two hundred Syracuſan and Peloponneſian gallies; and his ſuperiority of naval ſtrength enabled him to raiſe ſuch contributions, both in the Euxine and Mediterranean, as abundantly ſupplied his fleet and army with every neceſſary article of ſubſiſtence and accommodation [42].

His triumphant return to Athens. Olymp. xciii. 2. A. C. 407.

While the Athenian arms were crowned with ſuch glory abroad, the Attic territory was continually haraſſed by king Agis, and the Lacedæmonian troops poſted at Decelia. Their bold and ſudden incurſions frequently threatened the ſafety of the city itſelf; the deſolated lands afforded no advantage to the ruined proprietors; nor could the Athenians venture without their walls, to celebrate their accuſtomed feſtivals. Alcibiades, animated by his foreign victories, hoped to relieve the domeſtic ſufferings of his country; and after an abſence of many years, diſtinguiſhed by ſuch a variety of fortune, eagerly longed to reviſit his native city, and to enjoy the rewards and honours uſually beſtowed by the Greeks on ſucceſsful valour. This celebrated voyage, which ſeveral ancient hiſtorians ſtudiouſly decorated with every circumſtance of naval triumph [43], was performed in the twenty-fifth ſummer of the war. Notwithſtanding all his ſervices, the cautious ſon of Clinias, inſtructed by

[42] Xenoph. Hellen. Diodor. l xiii. Plut. in Alcibiad.
[43] Duris apud Plut. in Alcibiad.

adverſity,

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adverſity, declined to land in the Piræus, until he was informed that the aſſembly had repealed the decrees againſt him, formally revoked his baniſhment, and prolonged the term of his command. Even after this agreeable intelligence he was ſtill unable to conquer his well-founded diſtruſt of the variable and capricious humours of the people; nor would he approach the crowded ſhore, till he obſerved, in the midſt of the multitude, his principal friends and relations inviting him by their voice and action. He then landed amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the ſpectators, who, unattentive to the naval pomp, and regardleſs of the other commanders, fixed their eyes only on Alcibiades. Next day an extraordinary aſſembly was ſummoned, by order of the magiſtrates, that he might explain and juſtify his apparent miſconduct, and receive the rewards due to his acknowledged merit. The public anticipated his apology, by contraſting the melancholy ſituation of affairs, when Alcibiades aſſumed the command, with the actual condition of the republic. "At the former period Athens yielded the command of the ſea: the enemy were every where victorious; the ſtate was oppreſſed by foreign war, torn by ſedition, without reſources, and without hope. The addreſs and dexterity of Alcibiades were alone capable to have diſunited the councils, to have weakened and afterwards repelled the efforts, of a powerful confederacy; his activity and courage could alone have animated the dejection of the citizens to purſue the meaſures of offenſive war: his abilities, his virtue, and his fortune, could alone have rendered thoſe meaſures ſucceſsful."

His reception there.

Before judges ſo favourably diſpoſed to hear him, Alcibiades found no difficulty to make his defence; but it was difficult both for him and his friends to moderate the exceſſive tranſports of the people, who would have loaded their favourite with honours incompatible with the genius of a free republic, and which

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might, therefore, have proved dangerous to his future ſafety. He received, with pleaſure, the crowns and garlands, with other accuſtomed pledges of public gratitude and admiration; but he reſpectfully declined the royal ſceptre, expreſſing a firm reſolution to maintain the hereditary freedom of his country [44]. Athens required not a king, but a general with undivided power, capable of reſtoring the ancient ſplendour of the commonwealth. To this illuſtrious rank, which had been filled by Themiſtocles and Cimon, the ſon of Clinias might juſtly aſpire. He was appointed commander in chief by ſea and land [45]. An hundred gallies were equipped, and tranſports were prepared for fifteen hundred heavy-armed men, with a proportional body of cavalry.

The Eleuſinian myſteries.

Several months [46] had paſſed in theſe preparations, when the Eleuſinian feſtival approached; a time deſtined to commemorate and to diffuſe the temporal and ſpiritual gifts of the goddeſs Ceres, originally beſtowed on the Athenians, and by them communicated to the reſt of Greece [47]. Corn, wine, and oil were the principal production of Attica; each of which had been introduced into that country by the propitious intervention of a divinity, whoſe feſtival was diſtinguiſhed by appropriated honours. Minerva, who had given not only the olive, but what was regarded as far more valuable, her peculiar protection to the city of Athens, was rewarded with innumerable ſolemnities. Various alſo were the profeſſions of gratitude expreſſed, in ſtated days of the ſpring and autumn, to the generous

[44] Com. Iſocrat. Orat. pro Alcibiad. et Plut. in Alcibiad.

[45] Αιαιρηθις απαντων ηγιμων αυτοκρατωρ. "He was choſen abſolute commander of all." Xenoph. p. 440.

[46] From the feſtivals Plynteria and Eleuſinia, mentioned in the text, it appears that he arrived in July, and ſailed in November.

[47] Meurſius apud Gronov. Theſaur. has collected all the paſſages in ancient writers reſpecting this feſtival. It is ſaid to have been celebrated in the month Boedromion, which, according to Father Petaut, anſwers to our November. But as the Attic year was Lunar, the months of that year could not exactly correſpond to thoſe of ours. In the computation of their months, the Greeks agreed not with other nations, nor even among themſelves. Vid. Plut. in Vit. Romul. & Ariſtid.

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author of the vine. The worſhip of Ceres returned, indeed, leſs frequently; but was partly, on that account, the more ſolemn and awful; and partly, becauſe diſtinguiſhed by the Eleuſinian myſteries, thoſe hidden treaſures of wiſdom and happineſs, which were poured out on the initiated in the temple of Eleuſis. Fourteen[48] centuries before the Chriſtian æra, the goddeſs, it is ſaid, communicated theſe invaluable rites to Eumelus and Keryx, two virtuous men, who had received her in the form of an unknown traveller with pious hoſpitality[49]. Their deſcendants, the Eumolpidæ and Kerykes, continued the miniſters and guardians of this memorable inſtitution, which was finally aboliſhed by the great Theodoſius, after it had laſted eighteen hundred years[50]. The candidates for the initiation were prepared by watching, abſtinence, ſacrifice, and prayer; and before revealing to them the divine ſecrets, the moſt awful ſilence was enjoined them. Yet enough tranſpired among the prophane vulgar to enable us ſtill to collect, from impartial[51] and authentic teſtimony, that the myſteries of Ceres expreſſed by external ſigns the immortality of the human ſoul, and the rewards prepared in a future life for the virtuous ſervants of heaven. The ſecrecy enjoined by her miniſters, ſo unworthy the truths which they taught, might juſtify the indifference of Socrates[52], whoſe doctrines, not leſs divine, were inculcated with un-

[48] Marb. Arund. Epoch 14.

[49] Diodor. l. v. Iſocrat. Panegyr. Pollux, l. viii. c. ix.

[50] Lozim. Hiſt. l. iv.

[51] I ſay *impartial*, becauſe Iſocrates, the ſcholar of Socrates, cannot be ſuppoſed to exaggerate the merit of ceremonies, which his maſter is ſaid to have deſpiſed. The paſſage is remarkable: "Though what I am going to relate may be diſfigured by tradition and fable, the ſubſtance of it is not the leſs deſerving of your regard. When Ceres travelled to Attica in queſt of her daughter, ſhe received the moſt hoſpitable treatment, and thoſe particular good offices which are known to the initiated. The goddeſs was not ungrateful for ſuch favours, but in return conferred on our anceſtors the two moſt valuable preſents which either heaven can beſtow, or mankind can receive; the practice of agriculture, which delivered us from the fierce and precarious manner of life, common to us with wild animals; and the knowledge of thoſe ſacred myſteries which fortify the initiated againſt the terrors of death, and inſpire them with the pleaſing hopes of an happy immortality. See Panegyr. p. 24. & Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. l. iii.

[52] Laert. in Diogene.

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reſerved freedom. But the fate of Socrates may juſtify, in its turn, the circumſpection of the Hierophants of Ceres.

Alcibiades conducts the Eleuſinian proceſſion.

Beſides the myſterious ceremonies of the temple, the worſhip of that bountiful goddeſs was celebrated by vocal and inſtrumental muſic, by public ſhows, and exhibitions, which continued during ſeveral days, and above all, by the pompous proceſſion, which marched for ten miles along the ſacred road leading from Athens to Eleuſis [53]. This important part of the ſolemnity had formerly been intermitted, becauſe the Athenians, after the loſs of Decelia, were no longer maſters of the road, and were compelled, contrary to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, to proceed by ſea to the temple of Ceres. Alcibiades determined to wipe off the ſtain of impiety which had long adhered to his character, by renewing, in all its luſtre, this venerable proceſſion. He prepared to defend, by an armed force, the peaceful miniſters and votaries of the gods, perſuaded that the Spartans would either allow them to paſs undiſturbed, which muſt leſſen the military fame of that people, or, if they attempted to interrupt the ceremony, muſt be expoſed not only to the dangerous reſiſtance of men animated by enthuſiaſm, but to the diſgraceful charge of irreligion, and the general deteſtation of Greece. The prieſts, the heralds, and the whole body of the initiated, were appriſed of his intention, and requeſted to hold themſelves in readineſs by the appointed day. Early in the morning the cavalry explored the adjoining country; the eminences were occupied by the light infantry and targeteers; and, after ſufficient garriſons had been left to defend the Athenian walls and fortreſſes, the whole body of heavy-armed troops were drawn out to protect the Eleuſinian proceſſion, which marched along the uſual road towards the temple, and afterwards returned to Athens, without ſuffering any moleſtation from the Lacedæmonians;

[53] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxv. & Plut. in Alcibiad.

nians; having united, on this occaſion alone, all the ſplendour of war with the pomp of ſuperſtition [54].

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Soon after this meritorious enterpriſe, Alcibiades prepared to ſail for Leſſer Aſia, accompanied by the affectionate admiration of his fellow-citizens, who flattered themſelves that the abilities and fortune of their commander would ſpeedily reduce Chios, Epheſus, Miletus, and the other revolted cities and iſlands. The general alacrity, however, was ſomewhat abated by the reflection, that the arrival of Alcibiades in Athens coincided with the anniverſary of the Plynteria [55], a day condemned to melancholy idleneſs, from a ſuperſtitious belief that nothing undertaken on that day could be brought to a proſperous concluſion. The celebrated Parthenon, whoſe remains ſtill atteſt the magnificence of Pericles, was conſecrated by the preſence of a goddeſs, who realized the inſpirations of Homer, as far as they were capable of being expreſſed by the genius of Phidias. Minerva, compoſed of gold and ivory, and twenty-ſix cubits high, was repreſented with the caſque, the buckler, the lance, and all her uſual emblems; and the warm fancy of the Athenians, enlivened and tranſported by the graceful majeſty of her air and aſpect, confounded the painful production of the ſtatuary with the inſtantaneous creation of Jupiter. To confirm this uſeful illuſion the crafty prieſts of the temple carefully waſhed and brightened the image, whoſe extraordinary luſtre increaſed the veneration of the multitude. The Plynteria, during which this ceremony was performed, required uncommon ſecrecy and circumſpection. The eyes and imagination of the vulgar might have become too familiar with their revered goddeſs, had they beheld her ſtripped of her accuſtomed ornaments, and obſerved every part of her form brightening into new beauty under the plaſtic hands of the prieſts. To prevent

His glory clouded by the inauſpicious return of the Plynteria.

[54] Plut. in Alcibiad.

[55] Πλυνειν, to waſh; πλυντης, πλυντηριος; and in the plural neuter, "the ceremony of ablution."

this

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this dangerous conſequence, the Plynteria was veiled in myſtic obſcurity; the doors of the temple were ſhut; that ſacred edifice was ſurrounded on all ſides to intercept the approach of indiſcretion or profanity; and the return of Alcibiades, the favourite hope of his country, happening on the inauſpicious day when Minerva hid her countenance, was believed by many to announce the dreadful calamities which ſoon afterwards befel the republic[56].

[56] Xenoph. p. 438, & Plut. in Alcibiad.

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Character of Lyſander.—His Conference with Cyrus.—He defeats the Athenian Fleet.—Diſgrace of Alcibiades.—Lyſander ſucceeded by Callicratidas.—His Tranſactions with the Perſians—with the Spartan Allies.—Battle of Arginuſſæ.—Trial of the Athenian Admirals.—Eteonicus checks a Mutiny of the Peloponneſian Troops.—Lyſander reſumes the Command.—Battle of Ægos Potamos.—Spartan Empire in Aſia.—Siege and Surrender of Athens.—Humiliation of the Athenians.

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Lyſander takes the command of the Peloponneſian forces in the Eaſt. Olymp. xciii. 2. A. C. 407.

WHILE the ſuperſtitious multitude trembled at the imaginary anger of Minerva, men of reflection and experience dreaded the activity and valour of Lyſander, who, during the reſidence of Alcibiades at Athens, had taken the command of the Peloponneſian forces in the Eaſt. The forms of the Spartan conſtitution required a rapid ſucceſſion of generals; a circumſtance, which, amidſt the numerous inconveniencies with which it was attended, enlarged the ſphere of military competition, and multiplying the number of actors on the theatre of war, afforded an opportunity for the diſplay of many illuſtrious characters, which muſt otherwiſe have remained in obſcurity. In the rotation of annual elections, offices of importance and dignity will often be entruſted to men unworthy to fill them; but in the vaſt variety of experiments, abilities of the moſt diſtinguiſhed order (if any ſuch exiſt

in

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in the community) muſt ſome time be called into exertion, honoured with confidence, and armed with authority.

His character.

Such abilities the Spartans finally diſcovered in Lyſander; a ſhoot of the Herculean ſtock, but not deſcended from either of the royal branches. He had been educated with all the ſeverity of Spartan diſcipline; and having ſpent his youth and his manhood in thoſe honourable employments[1] which became the dignity of his birth, he approached the decline of life, when his ſuperior merit recommended him to the chief command in a ſeaſon of public danger. Years had added experience to his valour, and enlarged the reſources, without abating the ardour, of his ambitious mind. In his tranſactions with the world, he had learned to ſoften the harſh aſperity of his national manners; to gain by fraud what could not be effected by force; and, in his own figurative language, to "eke out the lion's with the fox's ſkin[2]. This mixed character admirably ſuited the part which he was called to act. His enterpriſing courage was ſucceſsfully exerted in the hoſtile operations againſt the Greeks; his ſubtile and inſinuating addreſs gave him an aſcendant in every negociation with the Perſians; and the re-union of thoſe various qualities enabled him, in a few years, finally to terminate the war, and to produce an important and permanent revolution in the affairs of Athens, of Sparta, and of Greece.

His conference with Cyrus. Olymp. xciii. 2. A.C. 407.

Since the deciſive action at Cyzicus, the Peloponneſians, unable to reſiſt the enemy, had been employed in preparing ſhips on the coaſt of their own peninſula, as well as in the harbours of their Perſian and Grecian allies. The moſt conſiderable ſquadrons had been equipped in Cos, Rhodes, Miletus, and Epheſus; in the laſt of which the whole armament, amounting to ninety ſail, was collected by

[1] He had ſerved in the army and navy; had been employed as ambaſſador in foreign ſtates, &c. Plut. in Lyſand.

[2] This was ſaid, in alluſion to the lion's ſkin of Hercules, to one who aſked Lyſander, "How he, who ſprang from that hero, could condeſcend to conquer his enemies by fraud?" His character is diffuſely deſcribed by Plutarch, t. iii. p. 4—15.

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Lyſander. But the aſſembling of ſuch a force was a matter of little conſequence, unleſs proper meaſures ſhould be taken for holding it together, and for enabling it to act with vigour. It was neceſſary, above all, to ſecure pay for the ſeamen; for which purpoſe, Lyſander, accompanied by ſeveral Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors, repaired to Sardis, to congratulate the happy arrival of Cyrus, a generous and valiant youth of ſeventeen, who had been entruſted by his father Darius with the government of the inland parts of Leſſer Aſia; or, in the language of the Perſian court, with the command of the numerous troops, who rendezvouſed in the plains of Kaſtolus[3]. Lyſander complained to the young and magnanimous prince, "of the perfidious duplicity of Tiſſaphernes, by which the Athenians had been enabled to re-aſſume that aſcendant in the Eaſt, which had formerly proved ſo dangerous and diſgraceful to the Perſian name. That ſatrap ſeemed, on one occaſion indeed, to have diſcovered the fatal tendency of his meaſures; and had attempted to check the victorious career of thoſe ambitious republicans, by ſeizing the perſon of Alcibiades[4]. Pharnabazus had more effectually ſerved the cauſe of his maſter, by his active valour in the field; by detaining the Athenian ambaſſadors, who had been ſent to ſurpriſe the unſuſpecting generoſity of Darius[5]; and by ſupplying the Peloponneſians, after the unfortunate engagement at Cyzicus, with the means of preparing a new fleet, and with the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life,

[3] This was the ſtyle of the letter, confirmed by the royal ſeal. Καταπιμπω Κυρον καραιον των ις Καστωλου αθροιζομενων. Xenoph. p. 438.

[4] This event, which happened in the twenty firſt year of the war, is related by Xenophon, p. 429. It was omitted in the text, becauſe Alcibiades ſoon effected his eſcape; and the treachery of Tiſſaphernes only diſplayed his own worthleſſneſs, without hurting his enemies.

[5] This diſhonourable tranſaction was approved even by Cyrus, which ſhews the diſregard of the Perſians to the laws of nations. He begged Pharnabazus to put the Athenians in his hands; at leaſt, not to ſet them at liberty, that their countrymen might be ignorant of the meaſures in agitation againſt them. But a remorſe of conſcience ſeized Pharnabazus, who had ſworn, either to conduct the ambaſſadors to the great king, or to ſend them to the Ionian coaſt; in conſequence of which, the Athenians were releaſed. Xenoph. p. 438.

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while they were employed in this useful undertaking. But Tissaphernes was unwilling, and Pharnabazus was perhaps unable, to discharge the stipulated pay, without which the Grecian seamen and soldiers could not be kept together, or engaged to act with vigour against the common enemy." Cyrus replied, "That he had been commanded by his father to assist the Lacedæmonians, and to pay their troops with the most exact punctuality. That, for this purpose, he had carried with him five hundred talents (near an hundred thousand pounds sterling); and if such a sum should be found insufficient, he would willingly expend his private fortune, and even melt down and coin into money the golden throne on which he sat[6]."

The pay of the Grecian sailors, and complement of their ships.

This discourse gave extraordinary satisfaction to his Grecian auditors; and Lysander endeavoured to avail himself of what, judging by his own character, he imagined might be nothing more than a sudden transport of generosity, by requesting that the seamen's pay might be raised from three oboli to an Attic drachma a day. Cyrus answered, "That, on this subject too, he had received express orders from his father[7]. That the pay should continue on the ancient footing, and the Peloponnesians regularly receive thirty minæ (above ninety pounds sterling) a month, for every ship which they fitted out." Lysander acquiesced at present, determining to seize the first favourable opportunity to renew his petition. But this instructive conversation may enable us to discover an important matter of fact omitted by historians. As the military and naval officers of the Greeks were not distinguished above the common men by the excessive inequality of their appointments, we may compute, from the

[6] Και τον θρονον κατακοψειν, εν ω ικαθητο, ορτα λεγειν, ου δυνατον δε ειναι παρ' ἀ βασιλευς επεστειλεν αργυρεον και χρυσουν. Literally, "that he would cut in pieces the throne on which he sat," which was composed of silver and gold.

[7] Xenophon makes Cyrus answer with more art than truth, "ὁ δι καλως μεν εφη αυτους αυτον αλλα ποιειν." Cyrus answered, "that *they* (Lysander and the Lacedæmonian ambassadors) spoke very reasonably, but that *he* could not act otherwise than he was commanded by his father."

monthly

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monthly ſum of thirty minæ, diſtributed at the rate of three oboli of daily pay, that the complement of each ſhip amounted to about two hundred and forty ſailors; ſo that a fleet of ninety ſail employed twenty-one thouſand and ſix hundred men.

Lyſander is entertained at Sardis by the Perſian prince.

Before Lyſander returned to Epheſus, he was invited by the Perſian prince to a magnificent entertainment, at which, according to the cuſtom of the age, the moſt ſerious matters were diſcuſſed amidſt the freedom and intemperance of the table. This was a ſeaſonable occaſion for diſplaying the arts of inſinuation and flattery, in which the Spartan was a complete maſter. He repreſented, without moderation, and without decency, the injuſtice and incapacity of Tiſſaphernes, who, as he was naturally the rival, might be ſuſpected ſoon to become the perſonal enemy of Cyrus. He magnified the beauty, the ſtrength, and the courage, of the young prince. His addreſs in military exerciſes, and the extraordinary endowments of his mind (the fame of which had reached the moſt diſtant countries), were extolled with the moſt elaborate praiſe. It is not improbable that he might find a topic of panegyric in a quality of which Cyrus was not a little vain; the capacity of bearing, without intoxication, a greater quantity of liquor than any of his equals[8]; and he might poſſibly ſuggeſt, that of all the ſons of Darius, Cyrus was the beſt qualified to ſucceed his father, to fill with dignity the Perſian throne, and to emulate the glory of that illuſtrious hero whoſe name he bore, the immortal founder of the monarchy. But whatever were the topics of which he made uſe, it is certain that he excited the warmeſt emotions of friendſhip in the youthful breaſt of Cyrus, who drinking his health, after the Perſian faſhion, deſired him to aſk a boon, with full aſſurance that nothing ſhould be denied him. Lyſander replied, with his uſual addreſs, "That he ſhould aſk what it would be no leſs uſeful for the prince to give, than for him to receive: the addition of an obolus a day to the pay of the mariners; an augmentation

His addreſs in procuring an addition to the ſeamen's pay.

[8] Plut. Sympoſ.

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mentation which, by inducing the Athenian crews to desert, would not only increase their own strength, but enfeeble the common enemy." Struck with the apparent disinterestedness of this specious proposal, Cyrus ordered him immediately ten thousand Daricks (above five thousand pounds sterling); with which he returned to Ephesus, discharged the arrears due to his troops, gave them a month's pay in advance, raised their daily allowance, and seduced innumerable deserters from the Athenian fleet[9].

Defeats the Athenian fleet in the absence of Alcibiades. Olymp. xciii. 2. A. C. 407.

While Lysander was usefully employed in manning his ships, and preparing them for action, Alcibiades attacked the small island of Andros. The resistance was more vigorous than he had reason to expect; and the immediate necessity of procuring pay and subsistence for the fleet, obliged him to leave his work imperfect. With a small squadron he sailed to raise contributions on the Ionian or Carian coast[10], committing the principal armament to Antiochus, a man totally unworthy of such an important trust[11]. Even the affectionate partiality of Alcibiades seems to have discerned the unworthiness of his favourite, since he gave him strict orders to continue, during his own absence, in the harbour of Samos, and by no means to risk an engagement. This injunction, as it could not prevent the rashness, might perhaps provoke the vain levity of the vice-admiral, who, after the departure of his friend, sailed towards Ephesus, approached the sterns of Lysander's ships, and with the most licentious insults challenged him to battle. The prudent Spartan delayed the moment of attack, until the presumption of the enemy had thrown them into scattered disorder[12]. He then commanded the Peloponnesian squadrons to advance. His manœuvres were judicious, and

[9] Plut. tom. iii. p. 7. Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 441. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 360.

[10] Xenophon says, "Alcibiades sailed to Phocæa," which is in Ionia; Plutarch says, "to the coast of Caria."

[11] Diodorus gives his character in few words: "Ὁ δὲ Ἀντιοχος ὢν τῇ φυσει προχειρος, και σπευδων δι' ἑαυτου τι πραξαι λαμπρον." "Antiochus, naturally precipitate, and desirous, by himself, to perform some splendid exploit."

[12] "Διεσπαρμεναις ταις ναυσι." Xenoph. p. 441.

executed

executed with a prompt obedience. The battle was not obſtinate, as the Athenians, who ſcarcely expected any reſiſtance, much leſs aſſault, ſunk at once from the inſolence of temerity into the deſpondency of fear. They loſt fifteen veſſels, with a conſiderable part of their crews. The remainder retired diſgracefully to Samos; while the Lacedæmonians profited of their victory by the taking of Eion and Delphinium. Though fortune thus favoured the prudence of Lyſander, he declined to venture a ſecond engagement with the ſuperior ſtrength of Alcibiades, who, having reſumed the command, employed every artifice and inſult that might procure him an opportunity to reſtore the tarniſhed luſtre of the Athenian fleet. CHAP. XXII.

But ſuch an opportunity never occurred to *him*. The people of Athens, who expected to hear of nothing but victories and triumphs, were mortified to the laſt degree, when they received intelligence of ſuch a ſhameful defeat. As they could not ſuſpect the abilities, they diſtruſted the fidelity, of their commander. Their ſuſpicions were increaſed and confirmed by the arrival of Thraſybulus[13], who, whether actuated by a laudable zeal for the intereſt of the public ſervice, or animated by a ſelfiſh jealouſy of the fame and honours that had been ſo liberally heaped on a rival, formally impeached Alcibiades in the Athenian aſſembly. "His miſconduct had totally ruined the affairs of his country. A talent for low buffoonery was a ſure recommendation to his favour. His friends were, partially, ſelected from the meaneſt and moſt abandoned of men, who poſſeſſed no other merit than that of being ſubſervient to his paſſions. To ſuch unworthy inſtruments the fleet of Athens was entruſted; Alcibiades accuſed and diſgraced.

[13] Thraſybulus, we have ſeen, had a principal ſhare in bringing about the recal of Alcibiades. Nor was the latter ungrateful to his benefactor. When the Athenians committed to him their whole military and naval force, "ἁπασας τας δυναμις," and allowed him to name his own colleagues, or rather ſubſtitutes, he named Thraſybulus and Adimantus. Diod. l. xiii. p. 368. Conſidering this interchange of good office between Alcibiades and Thraſybulus, it is remarkable that no Greek writer aſſigns any reaſon for the animoſity that ſoon afterwards broke out between them. Plutarch ſays, that Thraſybulus was the bitterеſt of Alcibiades's enemies, and imputes his acculation of him to enmity, not to patriotiſm.

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while the commander in chief revelled in debauchery with the harlots of Abydus and Ionia, or raiſed exorbitant contributions on the dependent cities, that he might defray the expence of a fortreſs on the coaſt of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of Byzantium, which he had erected to ſhelter himſelf againſt the juſt vengeance of the republic."

Ten commanders appointed in his ſtead.

Were it neceſſary to prove by examples the deceitful emptineſs of popular favour, this ſubject might be copiouſly illuſtrated by the hiſtory of the Athenians. The ſame man, whom a few months before they found it impoſſible ſufficiently to reward, was actually expoſed to the rage of diſappointment, and the fury of revenge. They regretted the loſs of every moment which intervened between the rapid progreſs of their reſentment, and the execution of their vengeance. In the ſame aſſembly, and on the ſame day, Alcibiades was accuſed, and almoſt unanimouſly condemned; and, that the affairs of the republic might not again ſuffer by the abuſe of undivided power, ten commanders were ſubſtituted in his room; among whom were Thraſyllus, Leon, Diomedon, whoſe approved valour, and love of liberty, juſtly recommended them to public honours; Conon, a character as yet but little known, but deſtined, in a future period, to eclipſe the fame of his contemporaries; and Pericles, who inherited the name, the merit, and the bad fortune, of his illuſtrious father. The new generals immediately ſailed to Samos; and Alcibiades ſought refuge in his Thracian fortreſs [14].

Callicratidas ſent to command the Peloponneſian fleet. Olymp. xciii. 3. A. C. 406.

They had ſcarcely aſſumed the command, when an important alteration took place in the Peloponneſian fleet. Lyſander's year had expired, and Callicratidas, a Spartan of a very oppoſite character, was ſent to ſucceed him. The active, ambitious, and intriguing temper of the former had employed as much aſſiduous and ſyſtematic policy during the ſhort term of his precarious power, as if his

[14] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. ſub fin. Diodor. xiii. 67—74.

authority

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authority had never been to end. Though endowed with uncommon vigour of mind, and with conſummate prudence (if prudence can belong to a character deficient in juſtice and humanity), he poſſeſſed not thoſe amiable and uſeful qualities which alone deſerve, and can alone obtain, public confidence and reſpect. Lyſander, ſenſible of this imperfection, had recourſe to the ordinary expedient by which crafty ambition ſupplies the want of virtue. He determined to govern by parties [15]. The boldeſt of the ſailors were attached to his perſon by liberal rewards and more liberal promiſes. The ſoldiers were indulged in the moſt licentious diſorders. In every city and in every iſland Lyſander had his partiſans, whom he flattered with the hopes of obtaining the ſame authority over their fellow-citizens, which the Spartans enjoyed over the inferior ranks of men in Laconia [16].

His inſolent reception.

It was the general expectation at Epheſus, that the Spartans would, for once, depart from eſtabliſhed practice, in order to prolong the command of ſuch an able and ſucceſsful officer. An univerſal clamour aroſe, when Callicratidas diſplayed his commiſſion in the council of the confederates. The friends of Lyſander affirmed, "That it was equally imprudent and ungenerous to check the victorious career of a deſerving and fortunate commander; that the important charge of the fleet ought not to be entruſted to men who were deſtitute of experience, and perhaps of abilities; nor would it be juſt to ſacrifice the intereſt of ſuch a numerous and powerful confederacy to a punctilious obſervance of the Lacedæmonian laws." Lyſander maintained a decent ſilence concerning the character of his ſucceſſor, only obſerving that he reſigned to him a fleet which commanded the ſea. The noiſy acclamations of the aſſembly confirmed his aſſertion.

[15] His maxims breathed the odious party ſpirit. "That it is impoſſible to do too much good to friends, or *too much evil to enemies*. That children are to be deceived by trinkets, men by oaths, and others equally flagitious" Plut. in Lyſand.

[16] Idem. ibid. & Xenoph. Hellen.

But

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His honeſty and firmneſs confounds the partiſans of Lyſander.

But Callicratidas had a heart untainted with reproach, and incapable of fear. Unabaſhed by the ſeditious turbulence of his opponents, he replied, That he muſt withhold his aſſent to the magnified ſuperiority of the Peloponneſian fleet, unleſs Lyſander ſhould ſet ſail from Epheſus, coaſt along the iſle of Samos (where the Athenians then lay) and ſurrender his victorious ſquadrons in the harbour of Miletus. The pride of Lyſander might have been confounded by this judicious and ſolid obſervation; but his ingenuity ſuggeſted a plauſible or rather an eluſive reply, "That he was no longer admiral."

Callicratidas then addreſſed the aſſembly, with the manly ſimplicity of an honeſt heart, which diſdains the artifice of words, defies the inſolence of power, and defeats the intrigues of policy. "Lacedæmonians and allies, I ſhould have been contented to ſtay at home; nor does it greatly affect me that Lyſander, or any other, ſhould be held a better ſeaman than myſelf. Hither I have been ſent by my countrymen to command the fleet, and *my* chief concern is to execute their orders, and to perform my duty. It is my earneſt deſire to promote the public intereſt; but you can beſt inform me whether I ought to continue here or to return to Sparta." Wonderful is the power of honeſt intentions and unaffected firmneſs. The aſſembly liſtened with admiration; the partiſans of Lyſander were abaſhed; none ventured to object; and, after a conſiderable pauſe, all unanimouſly acknowledged that it became both Callicratidas and themſelves to obey the orders of the Spartan government [17].

He meets the arrogance of the Perſians with equal contempt.

Lyſander, not a little mortified by the language of the aſſembly, reluctantly reſigned his employment; but determined to render it painful, and, if poſſible, too weighty for the abilities of his ſucceſſor. For this purpoſe he returned to the court of Cyrus, to whom he reſtored a conſiderable ſum of money ſtill unexpended in the ſer-

[17] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. c. v. & ſeqq. & Plut. in Lyſand.

vice

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vice of the Grecian fleet, and to whom he misrepresented, under the names of obstinacy, ignorance, and rusticity, the unaffected plainness, the downright sincerity, and the other manly, but uncomplying, virtues of the generous Callicratidas. When that commander repaired to Sardis to demand the stipulated pay, he could not obtain admission to the royal presence. The first time that he went to the palace he was told that Cyrus was at table. It is well, said the unceremonious Spartan, I will wait till he has dined. The simplicity of this proceeding, confirmed the opinion which Lysander had given the Persians of his character; and his honest frankness, which was construed into low breeding, seemed a proper object of ridicule to the proud retainers of the court. He returned on another occasion, but without being admitted to see the young prince. The injustice of this treatment might have deserved his resentment, but it chiefly excited his contempt. He left the royal city, despising the pride and perfidy of his Persian allies, whose accidental importance depended on the precarious advantage of riches, and lamenting the domestic dissentions of the Greeks, which obliged them to court the favour of insolent Barbarians.

Obtains voluntary contributions from the Ionians.

But Callicratidas could not, with honour or safety, return to the fleet at Ephesus, without having collected money to supply the immediate wants of the sailors. He proceeded, therefore, to Miletus and other friendly towns of Ionia; and having met the principal citizens, in their respective assemblies, he explained openly and fully the mean jealousy of Lysander, and the disdainful arrogance of Cyrus[18]. "The unjust behaviour of both compelled him, much against his inclination, to have recourse to the confederate cities (already too much burdened) for the money requisite to support the war. But he assured them, that, should his arms prove successful, he would

[18] It will appear, in the sequel, that Callicratidas had formed a very false opinion of the Persian prince, whose neglect of a worthy man was occasioned by the perfidious suggestions of his retainers, the friends or creatures of Lysander.

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repay their favours with gratitude. Their own intereſt required a cheerful compliance with his demands, ſince the expedition had been principally undertaken to vindicate their freedom. He had, however, ſent meſſengers to require effectual ſupplies from Sparta; but until theſe ſhould arrive, it became the Greeks in general, but eſpecially the Ionians, who had ſuffered peculiar injuries from the uſurping tyranny of the great king, to prove to the world that, without the ſordid aſſiſtance of *his* boaſted treaſures, they could proſecute their juſt deſigns, and take vengeance on their enemies." By thoſe judicious and honourable expedients Callicratidas, without fraud or violence, obtained ſuch conſiderable, yet voluntary contributions, as enabled him to gratify the importunate demands of the ſailors, and to return with honour to Epheſus, in order to prepare for action[19].

He takes Methymna.

His firſt operations were directed againſt the iſle of Leſbos, or rather againſt the ſtrong and populous towns of Methymna and Mitylené, which reſpectively commanded the northern and ſouthern diviſions of that iſland. Beſides the numerous citizens of an age to bear arms, Methymna was defended by an Athenian garriſon. The place made a brave reſiſtance; but the perſevering efforts of Callicratidas exhauſted its ſtrength: Methymna was taken by ſtorm, and ſubjected to the depredations of the Peloponneſian troops. The garriſon and the ſlaves were treated as part of the booty. The confederates adviſed, that the Methymneans alſo ſhould be ſold into ſervitude; but Callicratidas aſſured them, that, while *he* enjoyed the command, there ſhould not any Grecian citizen be reduced to the condition of a ſlave, unleſs he had taken arms to ſubvert the public freedom[20].

Takes thirty ſhips, and blocks up the reſt of the fleet in the harbour of Mitylené.

Meanwhile Conon, the moſt active and enterpriſing of the Athenian commanders, had put to ſea with a ſquadron of ſeventy ſail, in order to protect the coaſt of Leſbos. But this deſign was at-

[19] Xenoph. Hellen. p. 444.

[20] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 373.

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tempted too late; nor had it been more early undertaken, was the force of Conon ſufficient to accompliſh it. Callicratidas obſerved his motions, diſcovered his ſtrength, and, with a far ſuperior fleet, intercepted his retreat to the armament of Samos. The Athenians fled towards the coaſt of Mitylené, but were prevented from entering the harbour of that place by the reſentment of the inhabitants, who rejoiced in an opportunity to puniſh thoſe who had ſo often conquered, and ſo long oppreſſed, their city. In conſequence of this unexpected oppoſition, the Athenian ſquadron was overtaken by the enemy. The engagement was more ſharp and obſtinate than might have been expected in ſuch an inequality of ſtrength. Thirty empty ſhips (for moſt of the men ſwam to land) were taken by the Peloponneſians. The remaining forty were haled up under the walls of Mitylené: Callicratidas recalled his troops from Methymna, received a reinforcement from Chios, and blocked up the Athenians by ſea and land [21].

The Athenians fit out a new fleet.

The condition of Conon was moſt diſtreſsful. He was ſurrounded on all ſides by a ſuperior force; the town of Mitylené was hoſtile; his men were deſtitute of proviſions, incapable of reſiſtance, yet unwilling to ſurrender. In this melancholy ſituation he attempted the only enterpriſe which could promiſe a hope of relief. The braveſt and moſt experienced ſeamen were embarked in two ſwift ſailing veſſels, one of which eluding the vigilance of the enemy, eſcaped in ſafety to the Helleſpont, and informed the Athenians of the misfortunes and blockade at Leſbos. The intelligence was immediately communicated to Samos and to Athens; and the importance of the object, which was no leſs than the ſafety of forty ſhips, and above eight thouſand brave men, excited uncommon exertions of activity. The Athenians reinforced their domeſtic ſtrength with the aſſiſtance of their allies; all able-bodied men were preſſed into

[21] Idem, ibid.

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the ſervice; and, in a few weeks, they had aſſembled at Samos an hundred and fifty ſail, which immediately took the ſea, with a reſolution to encounter the enemy.

Battle of Arginuſſæ, in which Callicratidas is defeated and ſlain. Olymp. xciii. 3. A. C. 406.

Callicratidas did not decline the engagement. Having left fifty ſhips to guard the harbour of Mitylené, he proceeded with an hundred and twenty to Cape Malea, the moſt ſouthern point of Leſbos. The Athenians had advanced, the ſame evening, to the iſlands, or rather rocks, of Arginuſſæ, four miles diſtant from that promontory. The night paſſed in bold ſtratagems for mutual ſurpriſe, which were rendered ineffectual by a violent tempeſt of rain and thunder. At the dawn both armaments were eager to engage; but Hermon and Megareus, two experienced ſeamen, and the chief counſellors of Callicratidas, exhorted him not to commit the weakneſs of the Peloponneſians with the ſuperior ſtrength and numbers of the enemy. The generous and intrepid Spartan deſpiſed danger and death in compariſon of glory; but either his magnanimity had not overcome the laſt imperfection of virtuous minds, and was averſe to ſacrifice perſonal glory to public utility, or he imagined that this utility could not be ſeparated from an inflexible adherence to the martial laws of Lycurgus. He anſwered the prudent admonitions of his friends in theſe memorable words, which, according to the conſtruction that is put on them [22], deſerve our admiration or our pity. "My death cannot be deſtructive to Sparta, but my flight would be diſhonourable both to Sparta and myſelf." So ſaying he gave the ſignal for

[22] Cicero de Offic. l. i. c. xxiv. takes the unfavourable ſide. "Inventi autem multi ſunt, qui non modo pecuniam, ſed vitam etiam profundere pro patria parati eſſent: iidem gloriæ jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem poſtulante; ut Callicratidas, qui cum Lacedæmoniorum dux fuiſſet Peloponneſiaco bello, multaque feciſſet egregie; vertit ad extremum omnia, cum conſilio non paruit eorum, qui claſſem ab Arginuſſis removendam, nec cum Athenienſibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille reſpondit, Lacedæmonios, claſſe illa amiſſa aliam parare poſſe; ſe fugere ſine ſuo dedecore non poſſe." Notwithſtanding the reſpectable authority of Cicero, whoever attentively conſiders the laws of Lycurgus and the character of Callicratidas, will be diſpoſed to believe, that an undeviating principle of duty, not the fear of loſing his glory, formed the ſublime motive of that accompliſhed Spartan.

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his ſhips to advance. The fight was long and bloody; paſſing, ſucceſſively, through all the different gradations, from diſciplined order and regularity to the moſt tumultuous confuſion. The Spartan commander was ſlain charging in the centre of the braveſt enemies. The hoſtile ſquadrons fought with various fortune in different parts of the battle, and promiſcuouſly conquered, purſued, ſurrendered, or fled. Thirteen Athenian veſſels were taken by the Peloponneſians; but, at length, the latter gave way on all ſides: ſeventy of their ſhips were captured, the reſt eſcaped to Chios and Phocæa [23].

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The Athenian admirals, though juſtly elated with their good fortune, cautiouſly deliberated concerning the beſt means of improving their victory. Several adviſed that the fleet ſhould ſteer its courſe to Mitylené, to ſurpriſe the Peloponneſian ſquadron which blocked up the harbour of that city. Diomedon recommended it as a more immediate and eſſential object of their care to recover the bodies of the ſlain, and to ſave the wreck of twelve veſſels which had been diſabled in the engagement. Thraſybulus obſerved that, by dividing their ſtrength, both purpoſes might be effected. His opinion was approved. The charge of preſerving the dying, and collecting the bodies of the dead, was committed to Theramenes and Thraſybulus. Fifty veſſels were deſtined to that important ſervice, doubly recommended by humanity and ſuperſtition. The remainder ſailed to the iſle of Leſbos, in queſt of the Peloponneſians on that coaſt, who narrowly eſcaped deſtruction through the well conducted ſtratagem of Eteonicus, the Spartan vice-admiral. Soon after the engagement a brigantine arrived at Mitylené, acquainting him with the death of Callieratidas, as well as with the defeat and flight of the Peloponneſian fleet. The ſagacity of Eteonicus immediately foreſaw the probable conſequences of thoſe events. The Athenians would naturally ſail from Arginuſſæ to purſue their

Stratagem of Eteonicus;

[23] Xenoph. p. 446. & Diodor. p. 384.

good

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good fortune, and Conon, who was ſhut up at Mitylené, would be encouraged to break through the harbour, that he might join his victorious countrymen.

which ſaves the Peloponneſian ſquadron at Mitylené.

In order to anticipate thoſe meaſures, and to facilitate his own retreat, the Spartan commander ordered the brigantine privately to leave the harbour, and to return, at the diſtance of a ſhort time, with joyous acclamations and muſic, the rowers crowned with garlands, and calling out that Callicratidas had deſtroyed the laſt hope of Athens, and obtained a glorious and deciſive victory. The contrivance ſucceeded; the Spartans thanked heaven for the good news by hymns and ſacrifices; the ſailors were enjoined to refreſh themſelves by a copious repaſt, and to profit of a favourable gale to ſail to the iſle of Chios; while the ſoldiers burned their camp, and marched northward to Methymna, to reinforce the garriſon there, which was threatened by a ſpeedy viſit of the enemy [24].

Diſappointment of the Athenian admirals.

While the prudent foreſight of Eteonicus ſaved the Peloponneſian ſquadron at Mitylené, the violence of a ſtorm prevented Theramenes and Thraſybulus from ſaving their unfortunate companions, all of whom, excepting one of the admirals and a few others who eſcaped by their extraordinary dexterity in ſwimming, were overwhelmed by the waves of a tempeſtuous ſea; nor could their dead bodies ever be recovered. The Athenians were likewiſe diſappointed of the immediate advantages which ought to have reſulted from the engagement. Methymna was too ſtrongly fortified to be taken by a ſudden aſſault; they could not ſpare time for a regular ſiege; and when they proceeded to Chios in queſt of the Peloponneſian fleet, they found it carefully ſecured in the principal harbour of that iſland, which had been put in a vigorous poſture of defence. Theſe unforeſeen circumſtances were the more diſagreeable and mortifying to the commanders, becauſe, immediately after the battle, they had ſent

[24] Xenoph. Hellen. & Diodor. ibid.

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an advice-boat to Athens, acquainting the magiſtrates with the capture of ſeventy veſſels[25]; mentioning their intended expeditions to Mitylené, Methymna, and Chios, from which they had reaſon to hope the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs; and particularly taking notice that the important charge of recovering the bodies of the drowned or ſlain had been committed to Theramenes and Thraſybulus, two captains of approved conduct and fidelity.

Diſcontents in Athens.

The joy which the Athenians received from this flattering intelligence was converted into diſappointment and ſorrow, when they underſtood that their fleet had returned to Samos, without reaping the expected fruits of victory. They were afflicted beyond meaſure with the total loſs of the wreck, by which their brave and victorious countrymen had been deprived of the ſacred rites of funeral; a circumſtance viewed with peculiar horror, becauſe it was ſuppoſed, according to a ſuperſtition conſecrated by the belief of ages, to ſubject their melancholy ſhades to wander an hundred years on the gloomy banks of the Styx, before they could be tranſported to the regions of light and felicity. The relations of the dead lamented their private misfortunes; the enemies of the admirals exaggerated the public calamity; both demanded an immediate and ſerious examination into the cauſe of this diſtreſsful event, that the guilty might be diſcovered and puniſhed.

Amidſt the ferment of popular diſcontents Theramenes ſailed to Athens, with a view to exculpate himſelf and his colleague Thraſybulus. The letter ſent thither before them had excited their fear and their reſentment; ſince it rendered them reſponſible for a duty which they found it impoſſible to perform. Theramenes accuſed the admirals of having neglected the favourable moment to ſave the periſhing, and to recover the bodies of the dead; and, after the opportunity of this important ſervice was irrecoverably loſt, of having

[25] Xenoph. ſays ſixty-nine; Diodorus, ſeventy-ſeven.

devolved

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devolved the charge on others, in order to ſkreen their own miſconduct. The Athenians greedily liſtened to the accuſation, and caſhiered the abſent commanders. Conon, who during the action remained blocked up at Mitylené, was intruſted with the fleet. Protomachus and Ariſtogenes choſe a voluntary baniſhment. The reſt returned home to juſtify meaſures which appeared ſo criminal [26].

Trials of the admirals.

Among the ineſtimable rules of juriſprudence, invented by the wiſdom of Athens, we may remark that beneficial inſtitution which ſubjects the life, the character, and the fortune of individuals, not to the capricious will of an arbitrary judge, but to the equitable deciſion of the public. In every caſe, civil and criminal, the rights of an Athenian citizen were entruſted to the judgment of his peers; who, according as the queſtion was more or leſs important, conſiſted of a committee, more or leſs numerous, of the popular aſſembly. But, in order to unite the double advantages of law and liberty, the nine archons, or chief magiſtrates, men of approved wiſdom and fidelity, reſpectively preſided in the ſeveral courts of juſtice, received complaints, examined the parties, directed proceſs, and regularly conducted the ſuit through its various ſteps and ſtages. In matters of general concernment, ſuch as the treaſon, perfidy, or malverſation of men in power, the ſenate of the five hundred, or rather the Prytanes, who preſided in the ſenate, performed the functions of the magiſtrate, and the whole body of the people, convened in full aſſembly, executed the office of judge and jury. It belonged to the Prytanes to preſcribe the form of action or trial, and to admit the accuſer to implead or impeach his antagoniſt. The cauſe was then referred to the people, who, as judges of the fact, gave their verdict, and, as judges of the law, paſſed their ſentence or decree. Such were the regulations which reaſon had eſtabliſhed, but which paſſion and intereſt commonly rendered ineffectual.

[26] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. c. vii. & ſeqq. Diodor. xiii. 76—97.

Archedemus,

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Artifices of their accuſers.

Archedemus, an opulent and powerful citizen, and Callixenus, a ſeditious demagogue, partly moved by the intreaties of Theramenes, and partly excited by perſonal envy and reſentment, denounced the admirals to the ſenate. The accuſation was ſupported by the relations of the deceaſed, who appeared in mourning robes, their heads ſhaved, their arms folded, their eyes bathed in tears, piteouſly lamenting the loſs and diſgrace of their families, deprived of their protectors, who had been themſelves deprived of thoſe laſt and ſolemn duties to which all mankind are entitled. A falſe witneſs ſwore in court, that he had been ſaved, almoſt by miracle, from the wreck, and that his companions, as they were ready to be drowned, charged him to acquaint his country how they had fallen victims to the cruel neglect of their commanders. During theſe proceedings it happened that the people had met to celebrate the Apatouria, or feſtival in January ſo named, becauſe the Athenians then preſented their ſons, who had reached their ſeventh year, to be inſcribed in the regiſter of their reſpective tribes. Callixenus preſuming on the evidence given in the ſenate, and on the actual diſpoſition of the aſſembly, propoſed the following reſolution: "That the cauſe of the admirals ſhould be immediately referred to the people; that the ſuffrages ſhould be given by tribes, in each of which the criers ſhould make proclamation, having prepared two urns to receive the white and black beans; if the latter were more numerous, the admirals ſhould be delivered to the eleven men, the executioners of public juſtice, their eſtates confiſcated, and the tenth part conſecrated to Minerva."

Informality of the trial.

This unjuſt decree, which deprived the commanders of the benefits of a ſeparate trial, of an impartial hearing, and of the time as well as the means neceſſary to prepare a legal defence, was approved by a majority of the ſenate, and received with loud acclamations by the people, whoſe levity, inſolence, pride, and cruelty, all eagerly demanded the deſtruction of the admirals. In ſuch a numerous

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rous aſſembly, two men alone, Euryptolemus and Axiochus, defended the cauſe of law and juſtice. The former impeached Callixenus for propoſing a reſolution inconſiſtent with all the forms of legal procedure. But the rabble made a violent uproar, calling out that none ſhould attempt, with impunity, to abridge their ſovereign power. The Prytanes, who attended, as uſual, to direct and controul the proceedings of the multitude, endeavoured to moderate the ferment: but they were licentiouſly told, that if they did not concur with the opinion of the majority, they ſhould be involved in the ſame accuſation with the admirals. This abſurd menace (ſuch was the popular frenzy) might be carried into immediate execution. The ſenators were intimidated into a reluctant compliance with meaſures which they diſapproved, and by which they were for ever to be diſgraced. Yet the philoſophic firmneſs of Socrates diſdained to ſubmit. He proteſted againſt the tameneſs of his colleagues, and declared that neither threats, nor danger, nor violence, could compel him to conſpire with injuſtice for the deſtruction of the innocent.

They are condemned and executed.

But what could avail the voice of one virtuous man amidſt the licentious madneſs of thouſands! The commanders were accuſed, tried, condemned; and, with the moſt irregular precipitancy, delivered to the executioner. Before they were led to death, Diomedon addreſſed the aſſembly in a ſhort but ever-memorable ſpeech. "I am afraid, Athenians! leſt the ſentence which you have paſſed on us, prove hurtful to the republic. Yet I would exhort you to employ the moſt proper means to avert the vengeance of heaven. You muſt carefully perform the ſacrifices which, before giving battle at Arginuſſæ, we promiſed to the gods in behalf of ourſelves and of you. Our misfortunes deprive us of an opportunity to acquit this juſt debt, and to pay the ſincere tribute of our gratitude. But we are deeply ſenſible that the aſſiſtance of the gods enabled us to obtain that glorious and ſignal victory." The diſintereſtedneſs, the patriotiſm,

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triotiſm, and the magnanimity of this diſcourſe, muſt have appeaſed (if any thing had been able to appeaſe) the tumultuous paſſions of the vulgar. But their headſtrong fury defied every reſtraint of reaſon or of ſentiment. They perſiſted in their bloody purpoſe, which was executed without pity: yet their cruelty was followed by a ſpeedy repentance, and puniſhed by the ſharp pangs of remorſe, the intolerable pain of which they vainly attempted to mitigate by inflicting a well-merited vengeance on the worthleſs and deteſtable Callixenus [27].

Character of their ſucceſſors.

The removal of the Athenian admirals, and the defeat and death of the Spartan Callicratidas, ſuſpended for ſeveral months the military and naval operations on both ſides. The behaviour of Philocles and Adimantius, who had been joined in authority with Conon, were better fitted to obſtruct than promote the meaſures of that brave and prudent commander. The former was a man of a violent and impetuous temper, unaccuſtomed to reflection, deſtitute of experience, and incapable of governing others, or himſelf. The latter poſſeſſed perhaps the virtue of humanity, but was deſtitute of ſpirit and activity, qualities ſo uſual in his age and country. Though ready with his tongue, he was ſlow with his hand, careleſs of diſcipline, negligent of duty, and ſuſpected of a treaſonable correſpondence with the public enemy.

Eteonicus checks a mutiny among the Peloponneſian troops.

Eteonicus, who commanded the Spartans and their confederates, was a man of a very different character. But the diſtreſsful ſituation of affairs prevented him from diſplaying his abilities in any important enterpriſe. His armament was inferior in ſtrength; his ſailors were diſheartened by defeat; he had not money to pay them; even their ſubſiſtence at Chios was very ſparing and precarious. Theſe vexatious circumſtances increaſed the mutinous ſpirit by which the confederates were too naturally animated. They reproached the unge-

[27] Xenoph. & Diodor. ibid.

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nerous parſimony of the Chians, whom they had taken arms to defend; they ſpurned the authority of their commander; and, in order to obtain thoſe advantages which their ſervices deſerved, and which had been unjuſtly denied them, they determined to become rich at once by ſeizing and plundering the large and wealthy capital of that flouriſhing iſland. The deſign, though ſecretly formed, was avowed with open boldneſs. The conſpirators, whoſe numbers ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, or at leaſt to ſecure impunity, aſſumed a badge of diſtinction, that they might encourage each other, and intimidate their opponents. Eteonicus was juſtly alarmed with the progreſs of ſedition. It was dangerous to attack the inſurgents by force: if he deſtroyed them by fraud, he might be expoſed to the reproach and obloquy of Greece. The conduct which he purſued was conceived with an enterpriſing courage, and executed with a reſolute firmneſs. With only fifteen faithful and intrepid followers, armed with concealed daggers, he patrolled the ſtreets of Chios. The firſt man whom they met diſtinguiſhed by a reed (for that was the badge of conſpiracy) was put to death, and a crowd collecting to know why the man had been ſlain, they were told it was for wearing a reed on his caſque. The report was immediately ſpread through every quarter of the city. The reed-men (as they were called) were confounded at diſcovering a conſpiracy more ſecret and more formidable than their own. They dreaded that every man whom they met might know and kill them; and, as they had not time to aſſemble for their mutual defence, they haſtily threw away the reeds, which expoſed them to the dangerous aſſault of their unknown enemies.

Lyſander reſumes the command, and takes Lampſacus. Olymp. xciii. 3. A. C. 406.

The character of Eteonicus, as far as we can judge from his actions, juſtly entitled him to the command; but the partiality both of Cyrus and of the confederates eagerly ſolicited the return of Lyſander. The Spartans, though inclined to gratify them, were perplexed by an ancient law enacted in the jealouſy of freedom, to prohibit

prohibit the ſame perſon from being twice entruſted with the fleet. That they might not violate the reſpect due to the laws, while at the ſame time they complied with the requeſt of their powerful allies, they inveſted Aracus, a weak and obſcure man, with the name of admiral, and ſent out Lyſander as ſecond in command. The latter was received at Sardis by the Perſian prince, with the warmeſt demonſtrations of joy. He was ſupplied with money to ſatisfy the immediate wants of the troops; and, as Cyrus at that time happened to make a journey into Upper Aſia, the revenues of his wealthy province were conſigned, in his abſence, to the management of his Spartan friend. Such powerful reſources could not long remain unemployed in the active hands of Lyſander. His emiſſaries aſſiduouſly engaged or preſſed the Ionian and Carian ſeamen. The harbours of Aſia Minor, particularly the port of Epheſus, glowed with the ardour of naval preparation, and in a few months Lyſander ſailed to the Helleſpont with an hundred and fifty gallies, and attacked the important town of Lampſacus. The place, though vigorouſly defended by the natives as well as by the Athenian garriſon, was at length taken by ſtorm; and, according to the barbarous practice of the age, abandoned to the licentious rapacity, the avarice, the luſt, and the fury, of the conquerors[28].

The languid and imprudent meaſures of the Athenians at Samos accuſe the abilities of Tydeus, Menander, and Cephiſodotus, who had been lately joined in command with Conon and his unworthy colleagues. They ſailed too late to ſave Lampſacus, but as they poſſeſſed an hundred and eighty gallies, a force ſuperior to Lyſander's, they anchored on the oppoſite, or European, ſide of the Helleſpont, at the diſtance of fifteen furlongs, in order to provoke the enemy to an engagement. Their unfortunate ſtation was the mouth of the Ægos Potamos, or river of the goat, diſtinguiſhed by that name on

The Athenian commanders prepare to give him battle.

[28] Plut. in Lyſand.

account

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account of ſome ſmall iſlands, which riſing high above the ſurface of the waters, exhibit to a lively imagination the appearance of that animal. This place was injudiciouſly choſen, ſince it afforded very inſecure riding; and was diſtant two miles from Seſtos, the neareſt town from which the fleet could be provided with neceſſaries. Alcibiades, who in his Thracian retirement was unable to withdraw his attention from the war in which he had long acted ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part, modeſtly admoniſhed his countrymen of their imprudence; but he was arrogantly reproached for preſuming, while an exile and an outlaw, to give advice to the admirals of Athens. Their ſubſequent conduct too faithfully correſponded with this inſolence and folly. Deſpiſing the inferiority of the Peloponneſian fleet, they advanced in order of battle to the harbour of Lampſacus; and when the enemy moved not from their ſtation, they returned in triumph as acknowledged maſters of the ſea. The prudence of Lyſander perceived and indulged their preſumption. During four days he bore, with extraordinary patience, their repeated inſults, affecting the utmoſt diſinclination to an engagement, carefully retaining his fleet in a place of ſecurity, and regularly diſpatching a few ſwift-ſailing veſſels to obſerve the motions and behaviour of the Athenians when they returned from their daily cruiſe to the road of Ægos Potamos.

Their imprudence and inſolence.

The fifth day they again bore up with the Peloponneſians, and provoked them to battle by more daring menaces than on any former occaſion. As they flattered themſelves with an undoubted proſpect of ſucceſs, they yielded without reſerve to all the petulance of proſperity, and debated in what manner they ſhould treat the Lacedæmonian priſoners who had the misfortune to fall into their power. The cruel Philocles propoſed to cut off their right hands, that thoſe enemies of Athens might be equally incapable to manage the oar and to brandiſh the ſpear; and this bloody reſolution, though oppoſed by Adimantus, was approved by the majority of his colleagues. After inſulting the enemy in a manner the moſt mortifying and diſgraceful,

Deceitful battle of Ægos Potamos, in which the Athenians loſe their fleet. Olymp. xciii. 4. A. C. 405. December.

graceful, they retired with an air of exultation mingled with contempt. The Peloponneſian ſpy-boats followed them as uſual at a convenient diſtance, and obſerved that they had no ſooner reached their ſtation than the ſeamen landed, ſtraggled about the ſhore, advanced into the inland country in queſt of proviſions or amuſement, indulged in indolence, or revelled in diſorder. The advice-boats returned with uncommon celerity to convey the welcome intelligence to Lyſander, who had embarked the troops, cleared his ſhips, and made every neceſſary preparation to avail himſelf of the favourable opportunity to effect by ſtratagem what it might have been dangerous to attempt by force. When his ſcouts approached the middle of the channel, they hoiſted their ſhields (for that was the appointed ſignal) and at the ſame moment the Peloponneſian ſquadrons were commanded to ſet ſail that they might ſurpriſe the hoſtile fleet, and indulge that reſentment and animoſity which had been rendered more violent and furious by the long and prudent reſtraint of their commander. The victory was complete, if that can be called a victory where there was ſcarcely any reſiſtance. The vigilant activity of Conon endeavoured ſeaſonably to aſſemble the ſtrength of the Athenians; but his advice was diſdained by officers incapable and unworthy to command, and his orders were deſpiſed by ſeamen unaccuſtomed and unwilling to obey. At length they became ſenſible of the danger when it was too late to avoid it. Their ſhips were taken, either altogether empty, or manned with ſuch feeble crews as were incapable to work, much leſs to defend them. The troops and ſailors who flocked to the ſhore from different quarters, and with diſordered precipitation, were attacked by the regular onſet and diſciplined valour of the Peloponneſians. Thoſe who fought were ſlain; the remainder fled into the inmoſt receſſes of the Cherſoneſus, or took refuge in the Athenian fortreſſes which were ſcattered over that peninſula. When Lyſander reviewed the extent of his well-merited ſucceſs, he found that of a fleet of an hundred

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hundred and eighty ſail, only nine veſſels had eſcaped, eight of which were conducted by Conon to the friendly iſland of Cyprus, while the ninth carried to Athens the melancholy news of a diſaſter equally unexpected and fatal. An hundred and ſeventy-one gallies, and three thouſand priſoners (among whom were Philocles and Adimantus) rewarded the patience and fortitude of Lyſander, who returned with his invaluable ſpoil to Lampſacus, amidſt the joyous acclamations of naval triumph [29].

The Athenian priſoners executed.

Before purſuing the natural conſequences of an event, the moſt important that had hitherto happened in all the Grecian wars, it was neceſſary for Lyſander to decide the fate of the Athenian priſoners, againſt whom the confederates were animated by all that unrelenting hatred which is congenial to the ſtern character of republicans, exaſperated by recent provocation and inſult. The injuſtice and cruelty of that ambitious people were carefully deſcribed and maliciouſly exaggerated in the dreadful tribunal of their enemies. "It would be tedious to enumerate, though it was impoſſible ever to forget, their multiplied and abominable crimes, of which ſo many individuals, and ſo many communities, had been the innocent and unhappy victims. Even of late they had deſtroyed, without remorſe, and without the ſhadow of neceſſity, the helpleſs crews of a Corinthian and an Andrian veſſel. The gods had averted the atrocious reſolution propoſed by the bloody Philocles, of which the author and

[29] Xenoph. p. 456, & ſeqq. & Plut. in Lyſand. By the battle of Ægos Potamos the Athenians loſt the *empire* of the ſea, which they had acquired by the conſent of their maritime allies in the fourth year of the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad. They enjoyed, therefore, that ſovereignty, or empire as they ſtyled it, from the year 477 till the year 405 before Chriſt; that is a period of ſeventy-two years. This important computation is not to be found in any ancient writer; and no two authors agree in calculating the duration of the Athenian empire. Lyſias in his Funeral Oration, p. 93, ſays, "During ſeventy years in which the Athenians commanded the ſea." Diodorus Siculus (ad Olymp. 95. 1.) ſays the Athenians commanded the ſea ſixty-five years. Iſocrates in one place (i. p. 174) agrees with Lyſias; in another (ii. p. 209) with Diodorus. Andocides (Orat. iii. p. 286) ſtates it at eighty-five years. Lycurgus (Adv. Leoc. p 145) at ninety. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus (Ant. Rom. ſub init.) at ſixty-eight. Demoſthenes, as we ſhall ſee below, ſtates it variouſly at forty-five, ſixty-five, and ſeventy-three years.

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the approvers were equally criminal; nor could thoſe deſerve pardon who were incapable of pity." Such diſcourſe, which reſounded from every quarter of the aſſembly, declared, without the neceſſity of a formal vote, the unanimous decree of the confederates. As the priſoners had been ſtripped of their arms, there was nothing to be feared from their numbers and deſpair. They were conducted into the preſence of their armed judges; and, as a prelude to the inhuman maſſacre, Lyſander ſternly demanded of Philocles what he deſerved to ſuffer for his intended cruelty. The Athenian replied with firmneſs, "Accuſe not thoſe whom you are entitled to judge, but inflict on us the ſame puniſhment which we, in a different fortune, would have inflicted on our enemies." The words were ſcarcely ended when Lyſander hacked him in pieces. The Peloponneſian ſoldiers followed the bloody example of their commander. Of three thouſand Athenians, Adimantus alone was ſpared, either becauſe he had oppoſed the deteſtable reſolution of Philocles, or becauſe he had engaged in a treacherous correſpondence with the Spartans [30].

Views of Lyſander.

It might be expected that immediately after an event which gave him the command of the ſea, Lyſander ſhould ſail to the Piræus, and aſſault the unfortunate city, which was already grievouſly oppreſſed by the Lacedæmonian army at Decelia. But the ſagacious Spartan foreſaw the numerous obſtacles that oppoſed his conqueſt of Athens, and prudently reſtrained the eagerneſs of the troops and his own. The ſtrongly fortified harbours of that capital, the long and lofty walls which ſurrounded the city on every ſide, the ancient renown and actual deſpair of the Athenians, muſt render the ſiege, if not altogether fruitleſs, at leaſt difficult and tedious; and the precious moments waſted in this doubtful enterpriſe might be employed in attaining certain, immediate, and moſt important advantages.

[30] Xenoph. Hellen. Plutarch. in Lyſand.

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He eſtabliſhes the Spartan empire over the coaſts and iſlands of Aſia and Europe. Olymp. xciii. 4. A. C. 405.

On the coaſt neither of Greece nor of Aſia, nor of any of the intermediate iſlands, was there a naval force capable of contending with the fleet of Lyſander, nor any fortified place in all thoſe countries (except the city of Athens alone) ſufficient to reſiſt the impreſſion of his army. It was a deſign, therefore, which might well deſerve his ambition, and which was not condemned by his prudence, to eſtabliſh or confirm the Lacedæmonian empire over theſe valuable and extenſive coaſts. The populous cities of Byzantium and Chalcedon were attacked and taken during the aſtoniſhment and terror occaſioned by the dreadful and irreparable misfortune of their Athenian allies. After theſe important acquiſitions, Lyſander ſailed to the iſland of Leſbos, reduced Mitylené, and confirmed the allegiance of Methymna. While he extended his arms over the neighbouring iſlands, as well as the maritime towns of Lydia and Caria, a powerful ſquadron, commanded by the enterpriſing valour of Eteonicus, ravaged the ſhores of Macedon, ſubdued the ſea-ports of Thrace, and rode victorious in the Helleſpont and Propontis, the Ægean and Euxine ſeas. In ſix or eight months after the Athenian diſaſter at Ægos Potamos, the faireſt portion of the ancient world, the moſt favoured by nature, and the moſt adorned by art, reluctantly ſubmitted to the power, or voluntarily accepted the alliance, of Sparta.

His meaſures for the reduction of Athens.

During this long ſeries of triumphs, Lyſander never loſt ſight of the reduction of Athens; an object not only uſeful but neceſſary to the completion of his deſigns. The vigilance of the Peloponneſian ſquadrons prevented the uſual ſupplies of foreign grain from reaching the diſtreſſed city. In all the towns which ſurrendered, or which were taken by ſtorm, the Athenian garriſons were ſaved from immediate death, only on condition that they returned to their native country. By ſuch contrivances the crafty Spartan expected that the ſcarcity of proviſions would ſoon compel the growing multitude of inhabitants to ſubmit to the Lacedæmonian army at Decelia. But the Athenians, who

deſpiſed

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deſpiſed the aſſaults of the enemy, braved the hardſhips of famine. Even after Lyſander had blocked up their harbours with an hundred and fifty ſail, they ſtill defended, with vigour, their walls and ramparts; patiently endured fatigue and hunger; and beheld, with obſtinate unconcern, the affliction of their wives and children. Amidſt the ravages of death and diſeaſe, which advanced with increaſing horror, they puniſhed, with the utmoſt ſeverity, the ignoble cowardice of Archeſtratus, who firſt mentioned capitulation, and declared that the ſame moment ſhould put an end to their independence and their lives.

Siege of Athens. Olymp. xciv. 1. A. C. 404.

But notwithſtanding the melancholy firmneſs of the popular aſſembly, a numerous and powerful party in the ſtate was governed rather by intereſt than by honour; and the greateſt enemies of Athenian liberty flouriſhed in the boſom of the republic. The ariſtocratical leven of the Four Hundred had infected the whole body of the ſenate; and not only the inconſtant Theramenes, but ſeveral other men of abilities and influence, who had been moſt active in ſubverting that cruel tyranny, regretted the reſtoration of democracy to a people, who (as they had recently proved in many parts of their conduct) were unable to enjoy, without abuſing, the invaluable gift of freedom. In republican governments, the misfortunes, which ought to bind all ranks of men in the firmeſt and moſt indiſſoluble union, have often little other tendency than to increaſe the political factions which tear and diſtract the community. Amidſt every form of public diſtreſs, the Athenians caballed, clamoured, accuſed, and perſecuted each other; and the faction of the nobles, who acted with ſuperior concert, vigour, and addreſs, deſtroyed, by dark inſinuations, falſe witneſſes, perjury, and every other ſpecies of legal fraud and cruelty, the ſeditious Cleophon, and other turbulent demagogues, who might moſt effectually have oppoſed their meaſures[31].

[31] Lyſias, p. 272.

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Negociation of Theramenes with the Spartans;

When theſe obſtacles were removed, Theramenes (whoſe recent merit prevented the ſuſpicion of the aſſembly) propoſed an embaſſy to Lacedæmon, which ſhould requeſt a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and obtain, if poſſible, ſome moderate terms of accommodation. He named himſelf, with nine colleagues, as the perſons beſt qualified to undertake this important commiſſion; flattering the people in the cleareſt and leaſt ambiguous terms, with an undoubted proſpect of ſucceſs. A decree was immediately paſſed, inveſting the ambaſſadors with full powers. They aſſumed the ſacred badge of their inviolable character, reached in ſafety the Spartan camp, held a conference with king Agis, and afterwards repaired to the Lacedæmonian capital. During four months they carried on their pretended negociation with the ſenate, the kings, the ephori, and eſpecially with Lyſander, whoſe authority, being unknown to the ancient conſtitution of Sparta, was far more extenſive than that of all the other magiſtrates together. With him, principally, the plan was concerted for compelling the Athenians to ſubmit to terms of peace, which they muſt have regarded as worſe, not only than war, but death [31]. The fortifications of their harbours were to be demoliſhed, as well as the long walls which joined them with the city: they were to ſurrender all their ſhips but twelve; to reſign every pretenſion to their ancient poſſeſſions in foreign parts; to recal from baniſhment the ſurviving members of the late tyrannical ariſtocracy; to follow the ſtandard of Sparta in war; and, in peace, to mould their political conſtitution after the model which that victorious republic might think fit to preſcribe.

which is confirmed by the Athenians.

When Theramenes produced theſe unexpected fruits of his boaſted negociation, the Athenians had no longer either ſtrength or ſpirit to reſiſt, or even courage to die. During the long abſence of their ambaſſadors, the ſiege had been carried on with redoubled vigour. The Lacedæmonians, reinforced by the Thebans as well as by their

[31] Lyſias againſt Eratoſthenes, p. 273.

numerous

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numerous allies of Peloponneſus, had inveſted the city on every ſide, the harbours were cloſely blocked up by Lyſander, who had become maſter of Melos, Ceos, Ægina, and Salamis; iſlands ſo near to Athens that they were almoſt regarded as a part of the Attic territory. The greateſt miſery prevailed within the walls; the famine was intolerable, and the diſeaſes more intolerable than the famine. The full period of thrice nine years had elapſed, which, if we may credit a moſt accurate and faithful hiſtorian [32], had been aſſigned by repeated oracles and predictions, as the deſtined term of the Peloponneſian war, and of the Athenian greatneſs. The principal leaders of the democracy had been cut off by the perfidious ſnares of their opponents, who were prepared to bear a foreign yoke, provided they might uſurp domeſtic tyranny. That odious faction was ready to approve the meaſures of Theramenes, who might intimidate the dejected aſſembly by declaring (a moſt melancholy truth) that the ſeverity of the Lacedæmonians, exceſſive as it ſeemed, was yet moderation and lenity when compared with the furious and unextinguiſhable rage of the Thebans and Corinthians, who maintained that the Athenians deſerved not any terms of accommodation; that their crimes ought to be perſecuted with unrelenting vengeance; their proud city demoliſhed with ſuch perfect deſtruction, that not even its veſtige ſhould remain; and the inſolent inhabitants utterly extirpated from Greece, which they had ſo long diſturbed by their ambition, and provoked by their tyranny and cruelty. Such an argument Theramenes might have employed, if it had been neceſſary to employ any argument, to juſtify his negociation with the Spartans, which was confirmed and ratified by the voice of the ariſtocratical

[32] The words of Thucydides, l. v. p. 362, are very remarkable. "He remembers that from the firſt commencement of hoſtilities, it had been conſtantly propheſied that the war would laſt thrice nine years; which, of all predictions, was *εἰ τι* firm and ſtable;" or as the idiom of the Greek language will bear, "the moſt firm and ſtable."

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cabal, and ſubmitted to, rather than accepted, by the majority of the aſſembly, with the gloomy ſilence of deſpair.

Athens ſurrenders—its humiliation excites the compaſſion of its enemies. Olymp. xciv. 1. A. C. 404.

On the ſixteenth of May, the day on which the Athenians had been accuſtomed to celebrate the anniverſary of the immortal victory of Salamis, the hoſtile armament took poſſeſſion of their harbours; the combined army entered their gates. The walls and fortreſſes of the city of Minerva, which the generous magnanimity of its inhabitants, preferring the public ſafety to their own, had abandoned in defence of Greece to the fury of a barbarian invader, were ungratefully levelled to the ground by the implacable reſentment of the Greeks; who executed their deſtructive purpoſe with all the eagerneſs of emulation, boaſting, amidſt the triumphs of martial muſic, that the demolition of Athens would be regarded, in ſucceeding ages, as the true æra of Grecian freedom. Yet after they had ſatisfied their vengeance, they ſeemed to regret its effects. The day was concluded with a magnificent feſtival, in which the recitation of the poets formed, as uſual, the principal ornament of the entertainment. Among other pieces was rehearſed the Electra of Euripides, and particularly that affecting chorus, "We come, O daughter of Agamemnon! to thy ruſtic and humble roof." The words were ſcarcely uttered, when the whole aſſembly melted into tears, the forlorn condition of that young and virtuous princeſs, expelled the royal palace of her father, and inhabiting a miſerable cottage, in want and wretchedneſs, recalling the dreadful viciſſitude of fortune which had befallen Athens, once miſtreſs of the ſea. and ſovereign of Greece, but deprived, in one fatal hour, of her ſhips, her walls, and her ſtrength, and reduced from the pride of power and proſperity to miſery, dependence, and ſervitude, without exerting one memorable effort to brighten the laſt moment of her deſtiny, and to render her fall illuſtrious [33].

[33] Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. c. i. & ſeqq. Diodor. l. xiii. 104—107. Plut. in Lyſand. p. 438. Lyſias in Eratoſth. & Agorat.

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Rapacity and Cruelty of the Spartan Government.—The Thirty Tyrants in Athens.—Perſecution of Lyſias and his Family.—Theramenes oppoſes the Tyrants.—Sanguinary Speech of Critias.—Death of Theramenes.—Perſecution and Death of Alcibiades.—Thraſybulus ſeizes Phylé.—Defeats the Tyrants.—Memorable Speech of Thraſybulus.—Oath of Amneſty—not faithfully obſerved.

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The rapacity and cruelty of the Spartan government.

THE conqueſt of Athens, and the acknowledged dominion of Sparta, terminated the memorable war of twenty-ſeven years. It ſtill remained for Lyſander to reduce the iſland of Samos[1], which enjoys the honourable diſtinction of being the laſt ſettlement in the Eaſt that defied the ambition of Pericles, and the laſt which ſubmitted to the arms of Lyſander. The conquered iſlands and cities ſuffered ſtill greater vexations under the Spartan, than they had done under the Athenian, empire. Among the hoſtile factions[2] which ambition or danger had formed in thoſe turbulent republics, Lyſander always preferred that party which poſſeſſed moſt

[1] Comp. Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 461. & Plut. iii. p. 31. in Lyſand. Lyſias adv. Eratoſth. p. 274. & Diodor. p. 396. It is remarkable, that Xenophon and Lyſias, both contemporaries, ſhould differ in a matter of chronology; the one placing the conqueſt of Samos before, and the other after, Lyſander's voyage to Athens.

[2] The ſe were the συνωμοσιαι ἐπι δικαις και αρχαις, mentioned by Thucydides and Xenophon; "aſſociations, or rather conſpiracies, for mutual defence in courts of juſtice, and for mutual aſſiſtance in obtaining offices of power."

craft,

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craft, and leaſt patriotiſm. At the head of this cabal, he placed a Spartan Harmoſtes, or governor, on whoſe obſequious cruelty he could depend. The citadels were garriſoned by mercenaries; a tyrannical faction inſulted as ſubjects, thoſe whom they had envied as rivals, or dreaded as enemies; and every ſpecies of licence and diſorder was exerciſed, with a preſumption that could be equalled only by the tameneſs with which it was endured[3]. The Aſiatic Greeks regretted the diſhonourable yoke of Perſia; they regretted the ſtern dominion of Athens; both which ſeemed tolerable evils, compared to the oppreſſive cruelty of Sparta and Lyſander. The contributions, of which they had formerly ſo much complained, no longer appeared exorbitant. Lyſander was the firſt and the laſt conqueror who impoſed on thoſe feeble communities the enormous tribute of a thouſand talents[4].

Cauſes to which aſcribed.

The unrelenting ſeverity of Sparta has uſually been aſcribed to the perſonal character of her general, whoſe natural arrogance and cruelty were heightened and confirmed by the ſudden exaltation of his fortune. From the ſimple citizen of a ſmall, and then unfortunate republic, he became, in a few years, the arbiter of Greece. Athens acknowledged his authority; the ſmaller cities courted his protection; venal poets and orators extolled him with odes and panegyrics; he was honoured with crowns and ſtatues, and worſhipped by hymns and ſacrifices[5]. Yet it is obvious to remark, that

[3] Inſtead of the ſweet draught of Liberty, Sparta, according to Theopompus, gave Greece the bitter cup of Slavery. In the city of Miletus, he ſacrificed at once eight hundred men, of the democratical faction, to the implacable rage of their adverſaries. Plut. in Lyſand.

[4] Diodorus, p. 400. ſays, πλειω των χιλιων ταλαντων καθ' ἑκαστον, "more than a thouſand talents yearly;" that is, above two hundred thouſand pounds. It may be computed from Plut. in Lyſand. & Xenoph. p. 462. that Lyſander ſent home a ſtill larger ſum after the ſurrender of Samos. The law of Lycurgus reſpecting gold and ſilver, which had been long virtually, was now formally, abolished. The uſe of the precious metals was allowed to the ſtate, but forbidden to individuals, under pain of death. The prohibition, however, was univerſally diſregarded; many Spartans poſſeſſed abundance of gold and ſilver; none incurred the penalty of the law. Compar. Plat. & Xenoph. loc. citat. & Iſocrat. in Archidam.

[5] Plut. in Lyſand.

whatever

whatever might be the temper and manners of Lyſander, his country is juſtly accountable for the wrongs which he was allowed to commit with impunity; and it is uncertain whether another general, placed in the ſame ſituation, would have acted on different principles; ſince the nature of the Spartan inſtitutions, and the ambitious views of the republic, ſeemed to demand and juſtify uncommon exertions of ſeverity. In the adminiſtration of their domeſtic government, five or ſix thouſand Spartans tyranniſed over thirty thouſand Lacedæmonians; theſe tyranniſed, with ſtill greater rigour, over thrice that number of ſlaves; and it was natural to expect, that when the ſlaves were aſſociated with the troops[6], all theſe deſcriptions of men, Spartans, Lacedæmonians, and Helots, would tyranniſe, with the emulation of cruelty, over their conquered ſubjects.

The deep impreſſion which they made on contemporaries.

The ſcanty materials of ancient hiſtory cannot enable us minutely to explain the humiliation and diſtreſs of the Aſiatic Greeks, oppreſſed by the double tyranny of the Spartans, and of their fellow-citizens. Contemporary writers, who beheld this ſcene of miſery and deſolation, ſeem at a loſs for words to impreſs its horror. Iſocrates endeavours to graſp the amplitude of the ſubject in the vague language of general deſcription; by ſtrokes of exaggeration and hyperbole, he ſupplies the place of clear and poſitive information; but all the copiouſneſs and energy of the Greek tongue ſink beneath the heavy afflictions of that unfortunate people; and the mind of the orator ſeems to labour with a thought which he is unable to expreſs[7]. It is not, however, from ſuch rhetorical deſcriptions that

[6] The Helots then took the title of νεοδαμωδεις, Libertini, δυνατας δι το νεοδαμωδεις ελευθερον ηδη ειναι. Thucydid. l. v. p. 533. From ſome paſſages in Iſocrates (Panegyr. & de Pace.), it ſhould ſeem that Lyſander often appointed theſe freed men to offices of great truſt and authority.

[7] See the oration of Iſocrates on the peace, p. 171, &c. In the panegyric of Athens, ſpeaking of the ariſtocratical factions ſupported by Lyſander and the Lacedæmonians, Iſocrates ſays, they conſiſted of wretches, "whoſe cruelty and injuſtice are unexampled in the hiſtory of mankind. From what indignity did they abſtain? Into what exceſſes were they not tranſported? They, who regarded the moſt factious as the moſt faithful; the moſt treacherous as the moſt deſerving. Their crimes

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that we can attain an adequate and ſatisfactory knowledge of the Spartan adminiſtration: hiſtory delights in plain and authentic facts; and the rigorous treatment of the Athenians themſelves, will beſt repreſent the hardſhips inflicted on their Aſiatic colonies and dependencies.

The thirty tyrants in Athens. Olymp. xciv. 1. A. C. 404.

The Athenians had ſurrendered their fleet; their walls and harbours were demoliſhed; their citadel was occupied by a Lacedæmonian garriſon, commanded by Callibius, the friend of Lyſander; and their government was uſurped by thirty men, the dependants and creatures of Sparta. The furious and profligate Critias formed a proper head for this ariſtocratical council, whoſe members have been juſtly branded in hiſtory under the name of the Thirty Tyrants[8]. On pretence of delivering the ſtate from the malice of informers, and the turbulence of ſeditious demagogues, they deſtroyed the moſt valuable portion of the community[9]. Niceratus, the ſon of Nicias, and a ſon who inherited not only the opulence, but the virtues of his illuſtrious father, was condemned to death; Leon, the moſt public-ſpirited, and Antiphon, the moſt eloquent of his contemporaries, ſhared the ſame fate; Thraſybulus and Anytus were baniſhed. Whoever was known to be powerful, was regarded as dangerous; whoever was ſuppoſed to be rich, was accuſed as criminal. Strangers and citizens were involved in one promiſcuous ruin[10].

Illuſtrated by the perſecution of Lyſias and his family.

Amidſt this general wreck of whatever was moſt worthy and reſpectable, I ſhall ſelect the perſecution of Lyſias and his family, the only tranſaction of that kind, recorded with ſuch circumſtances

crimes proved infectious, and changed the mildneſs of human nature into ſavage ferocity," &c. See p. 52, &c.

[8] Their names are preſerved in Xenophon, Hellen. ii. 3.

[9] Xenoph. p. 462. which Cæſar, ap. Salluſt. de bello Catil. c. 51. evidently had in view. "Lacedæmonii devictis Athenienſibus, triginta viros impoſuere. . . . Hi primo cœpere peſſimum quemque, & omnibus invisum, indemnatum necare. Eo populus lætari, & merito dicere fieri. Poſt ubi paullatim licentia crevit juxta bonos & malos libidinoſe interficere. . . . Ita civitas, ſervitute oppreſſa, ſtultæ lætitiæ graves pœnas dedit."

[10] Xenoph. l. ii. p. 463, & ſeqq.

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as anſwer the ends of hiſtory. Cephalus, the father of that ingenious orator, was by birth a Syracuſan. The friendſhip of Pericles perſuaded him to ſettle in Athens, where, under the protection of that powerful ſtateſman, he obtained wealth and honours. His inoffenſive and generous character eſcaped the enmity and perſecution to which the opulent Athenians were commonly expoſed; and he enjoyed the rare felicity of living thirty years in the midſt of continual trials and impeachments, without being obliged to appear as plaintiff or defendant in any litigation. His ſons, Lyſias and Polemarchus, inherited his innocence, his generoſity, and his good fortune. Though poſſeſſed of the moſt valuable accompliſhments, natural and acquired, the brothers prudently kept aloof from the dangerous paths of public life; contented with their domeſtic felicity, they aſpired not to the rank of Athenian citizens; but liberally contributed to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate, from the profits of a flouriſhing manufacture of ſhields, which they carried on by the labour of an hundred and twenty ſlaves. The cruelty of the thirty tyrants, from whoſe rapacious eye neither obſcurity could conceal, nor merit defend, occaſioned the death of Polemarchus, and the immediate misfortunes, as well as the future glory of Lyſias, who acted a diſtinguiſhed part in overturning that deteſtable tyranny, and in bringing its authors and abettors to condign puniſhment [11].

The orator's account of that matter.

The hiſtory is related by himſelf with perſpicuous preciſion, and graceful ſimplicity: "The tyrants Theognis and Piſo acquainted their aſſociates, that many ſtrangers eſtabliſhed at Athens were diſaffected to the government. This was a plauſible pretence for rifling the effects of theſe unhappy men; a meaſure to which the thirty were not only excited by avarice, but prompted by fear. Money was become neceſſary for the preſervation of their power, which, being founded on uſurpation, and tyrannically adminiſtered, could

[11] See the Life of Lyſias, and the Orations there referred to, p. 110, & ſeqq.

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only be maintained by the influence of corruption, and the mercenary aid of foreign troops. The life of man, therefore, they regarded as a matter of little moment; the amaſſing of wealth was the principal object of their deſire; to gratify which, ten ſtrangers were at once devoted to deſtruction. In this number, indeed, were two poor men; a baſe and cruel artifice to perſuade you, Athenians! that the remaining eight had been condemned, not for the ſake of their riches, but in order to preſerve the public tranquillity; as if the intereſt of the public had ever been the concern of that tyrannical cabal! Their infamous deſign was executed with inhuman cruelty. Their victims were taken in their beds, at ſupper, in the privacy of domeſtic retirement. Me they ſeized exerciſing the rites of hoſpitality; my gueſts were rudely diſmiſſed; I was delivered into the cuſtody of the worthleſs Piſo. While his accomplices continued in the workſhop, taking a liſt of our ſlaves and effects, I aſked him, "Whether money could ſave my life?" "Yes, a conſiderable ſum." "I will give you a talent of ſilver." This he conſented to accept, as the price of my ſafety; and to ſuch a melancholy ſituation was I reduced, that it afforded me a momentary conſolation to depend on the precarious faith of a man, who (as I well knew) deſpiſed every law, human and divine. But my comfort was of ſhort duration; for I had no ſooner opened my coffer to pay him the talent, than he ordered his attendant to ſeize the contents, conſiſting of three talents of ſilver, an hundred Daricks, three hundred Cyzicenes, and three ſilver cups. I intreated Piſo to allow me a ſmall ſum to defray the expence of my journey. But he deſired me to be thankful to eſcape with my life. Going out together, we met the tyrants Melobius and Mneſitheides, returning from the workſhop. They enquired, where we were going? Piſo anſwered, to examine the houſe of my brother Polemarchus. They deſired him to proceed; but commanded me to follow them to the houſe of Damaſippus. Piſo whiſpered me to be ſilent, and to fear nothing, becauſe he would

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would immediately come there. Upon our arrival, we found Theognis guarding ſeveral of my companions in calamity. I increaſed the number of his priſoners; but obtained an opportunity to repreſent my innocence and misfortunes to Damaſippus, intreating him, by our paſt friendſhip, to employ his influence in my behalf. He aſſured me of his intention to intercede with Theognis, whoſe avarice would eaſily perſuade him to betray his truſt. While they converſed on this ſubject, I took advantage of my knowledge of the houſe to eſcape through three ſecret paſſages, which all happened to be open and unguarded; and fortunately reaching the country-houſe of my friend Archimaus, a ſhip-maſter, ſent him to the city, that he might bring me intelligence of my brother. He diſcovered, that the tyrant Eratoſthenes had dragged him from the road, and conducted him to priſon, where he was ordered to drink hemlock. At this melancholy news, I ſailed to Megara, under cover of the night. Our effects became the property of the tyrants, whoſe mean avarice ſpared not the ſmalleſt trifle belonging to us. Even the gold earrings of Polemarchus's wife were forcibly torn away by the brutal Melobius[12]."

The Thirty juſtified theſe abominable acts of cruelty by the authority of a ſervile ſenate, which they ſtill allowed to ſubſiſt as the inſtrument and accomplice of their tyranny. It could not be expected, however, that in a city accuſtomed to the utmoſt liberty of opinion and freedom of debate, a body of five hundred, or even of thirty men, ſhould continue to agree in the ſame odious and oppreſſive meaſures. The firſt ſeeds of diſcord, or rather the firſt ſymptoms of repentance, appeared in the ſpeeches and behaviour of the bold and active Theramenes; who, though the principal author of the uſurpation, was already diſpoſed by the humanity of his nature, or by the ſingular inconſtancy of his temper[13], to deſtroy the

Theramenes oppoſes the tyrants.

[12] See the diſcourſes of Lyſias againſt Agoratus and Eratoſthenes, p. 258, & ſeqq.

[13] Thucydid. viii. 68. & ſeqq. Lyſias adverſ. Eratoſth. Xenophon paints him more favourably; and Ariſtot. apud Plut. iii. 337. & Diodor. p. 350. & ſeqq. ſtill more favourably than Xenophon.

work

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work of his own hands. His ſtrenuous endeavours were uſed to ſave the innocent and unhappy victims whom his furious colleagues daily devoted to deſtruction; under his protection the citizens aſſembled, and expreſſed their reſentment or deſpair; and it was juſtly apprehended that the government of the Thirty might be diſſolved by the ſame means, and by the ſame man, who had ſet on foot and ſubverted the ſhort-lived tyranny of the four hundred. The preſent uſurpation, indeed, was defended by a Lacedæmonian garriſon; but the Thirty dreaded the influence of Theramenes over the foreign troops; they dreaded ſtill more his influence over the Athenian citizens. When they conſidered the precarious tenure of their authority, and the unjuſt violence of their adminiſtration, they reflected on the paſt with pain, and viewed the future with terror. But they had gone too far to retreat, and nothing remained but to prop the tottering fabric of their power by enlarging its baſe. Three thouſand citizens were invited to participate in the advantages and dangers of their government. The reſt were diſarmed and treated with an increaſe of ſeverity.

He is accuſed by Critias.

Theramenes vainly oppoſed the criminal deſigns of his colleagues, who implicitly ſubmitted their opinions to the implacable fury of Critias. He it was who chiefly encouraged them boldly to perſevere, and to remove every obſtacle to the unlimited gratification of their paſſions. The ſafety of Theramenes, he aſſured them, was no longer compatible with their own. His delicacy, real or affected, was totally inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the preſent adminiſtration; nor could the government of Thirty, any more than that of *one* tyrant, admit of being curiouſly canvaſſed, or faſtidiouſly oppoſed. Theſe ſentiments being received with approbation, we might expect that Theramenes ſhould have been deſtroyed by that ſudden and open violence which had proved fatal to ſo many others. But as the moſt daring violators of the laws of ſociety are obliged to eſtabliſh and obſerve ſome rules of juſtice, in their conduct towards each other, it had been

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been reſolved by the Thirty, that, amidſt the violent and capricious outrages which they committed againſt their ſubjects, none of their own number ſhould be put to death without the benefit of a trial before the ſenate; a privilege extending to the three thouſand intruſted with the uſe of arms, and ſufficiently denoting the miſerable condition of the other citizens. The ſenate was aſſembled to try Theramenes; but this tribunal was ſurrounded by armed men. When the pretended criminal appeared, Critias addreſſed the court in a ſpeech too remarkable ever to be forgotten.

Sanguinary Speech of Critias.

"Should you imagine, O ſenators! conſidering the great numbers who have ſuffered death, that we have been guilty of unneceſſary cruelty, you will alter that opinion on reflecting that revolutions of government muſt always be attended with bloodſhed; but particularly when a populous city like Athens, which has been long pampered with liberty, is reduced under the dominion of a few. The actual form of adminiſtration was impoſed by the Lacedæmonians as the condition of the public ſafety. In order to maintain its authority we have removed thoſe ſeditious demagogues, whoſe democratical madneſs hath occaſioned all our paſt calamities. It is our duty to proceed in this uſeful work, and to deſtroy, without fear or compaſſion, all who would diſturb the public tranquillity. Should a man of this dangerous diſpoſition be found in our own order, he ought to be puniſhed with double rigour, and treated not only as an enemy but as a traitor. That Theramenes is liable to this accuſation appears from the whole tenour of his conduct. He concluded the treaty with the Lacedæmonians; he diſſolved the popular government; he directed and approved the firſt and boldeſt meaſures of our adminiſtration: but no ſooner did difficulties ariſe than he deſerted his aſſociates, declared his oppoſition to their deſigns, and undertook the protection of the populace. When the weather was fair and favourable, he purſued the ſame courſe with his companions, but, on the firſt change of wind, he thought proper to

alter

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alter his navigation. With ſuch an irreſolute ſteerſman it is impoſſible to govern the helm of the republic, and to guide the veſſel to her deſtined harbour. This dangerous inconſiſtency ought, indeed, to have been expected from a man to whoſe character perfidy is congenial. He began his political career under the direction of his father Hagnon, a violent partiſan of democracy. He afterwards changed his ſyſtem, in order to obtain the favour of the nobles. He both eſtabliſhed and diſſolved the government of the four hundred; and the whole ſtrain of his behaviour proves him unfit to govern, and unworthy to live [14]."

Therameneſ's defence.

Theramenes made a copious and perſuaſive defence, acknowledging, "That he had often changed his conduct, but denying that he had ever varied his principles. When the democracy flouriſhed he had maintained the juſt rights, but repreſſed the inſolence, of the people. When it became neceſſary to alter the form of the republic, in compliance with the command of the Spartans, he had ſupported the legal power, but oppoſed the tyranny, of the magiſtrates. Under every adminiſtration of government he had approved himſelf the friend of moderation and juſtice, which he ſtill continued, and ever would continue, to recommend and enforce, convinced that thoſe virtues alone could give ſtability and permanence to any ſyſtem of government, whether ariſtocratical or popular."

Theramenes dragged to execution.

The ſenators murmured applauſe, unawed by the preſence of Critias and his aſſociates. But this furious tyrant made a ſignal to the armed men, who ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, to ſhew the points of their daggers; and then ſtepping forward, ſaid, "It is the duty, O ſenators! of a prudent magiſtrate, to prevent the deception and danger of his friends. The countenance of thoſe brave youths (pointing to his armed partiſans) ſufficiently diſcovers that they will not permit you to ſave a man who is manifeſtly ſubverting the go-

[14] Xenoph. p. 464—466.

vernment:

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vernment: I, therefore, with the general conſent, ſtrike the name of Theramenes from the liſt of thoſe who have a right to be tried before the ſenate; and, with the approbation of my colleagues, I condemn him to immediate death." Rouſed by this unexpected and bloody ſentence, Theramenes ſtarted from his ſeat, and ſprang to the altar of the ſenate-houſe, at once imploring the compaſſion, and urging the intereſt of the ſpectators, whoſe names, he obſerved, might be ſtruck out, and whoſe lives might be ſacrificed, as unjuſtly and cruelly as his own. But the terror of armed violence prevented any aſſiſtance or interceſſion; and the eleven men (for thus the Athenian delicacy ſtyled the executioners of public juſtice) dragged him from the altar, and hurried him to execution.

His death.

In proceeding through the market-place the unhappy victim of tyranny invoked the favour and gratitude of his fellow-citizens, who had often been protected by his eloquence, and defended by his valour. But the impudent Satyrus, the chief miniſter of vengeance both in authority and cruelty, ſternly told him, that if he continued his lamentations and uproar he ſhould ſoon cry in good earneſt [15]: "And ſhall I not," ſaid Theramenes, "though I remain ſilent?" When he drank the fatal hemlock, he poured a libation on the ground with a health to the honeſt Critias; circumſtances unworthy to relate, if they proved not, that even in his laſt moments, he was forſaken neither by his facetiouſneſs nor by his fortitude [16].

Exceſſive cruelty of the tyrants.

The death of Theramenes delivered the tyrants from the only reſtraint which tended to controul their inſolence, and to moderate

[15] Ὅτι οἰμωξοιτο, ει μη σιωπησειεν. Literally, that he would cry out unleſs he were ſilent. The inaccurate language of the executioner furniſhed occaſion to the ſmart reply of Theramenes.

[16] Xenoph. p. 470. The glorious death of Theramenes cancelled the imperfections of his life. That his character was inconſtant, moſt writers allow. Lyſias adverſus Eratoſthen. accuſes him of many deliberate crimes; but he died in a virtuous cauſe, and, however he acted, left the ſcene gracefully. "Quam me delectat Theramenes! quam elato animo eſt! Etſi enim flemus, cum legimus, tamen non miſerabiliter vir clarus moritur." Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.

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their cruelty. They might now indulge in all the licentiouſneſs of outrage, without the fear of reproach or the danger of reſiſtance. Their miſerable ſubjects were driven from the city, from the Piræus, from their houſes, their farms, and their villages, which were divided among the deteſtable inſtruments of an odious uſurpation. Nor did the tyrants ſtop here. A mandate was publiſhed, enforced by the authority of the Spartan ſenate, prohibiting any Grecian city to receive the unfortunate fugitives. But this inhuman order was almoſt univerſally diſobeyed; the ſacred laws of hoſpitality prevailed over the terror of an unjuſt decree; Thebes, Argos, and Megara were crowded with Athenian exiles [17].

They dread the machinations of Alcibiades.

In exerciſing thoſe abominable acts of cruelty, the Thirty probably conſulted the immediate ſafety of their perſons, but they precipitated the downfal of their power. The oppreſſed Athenians, whoſe ſufferings ſeemed no longer tolerable, required only a leader to rouſe them to arms, and to conduct them to victory and to vengeance. This danger the tyrants had greater reaſon to apprehend, ſince they could not expect a reinforcement to the garriſon, while the efforts of Lyſander and the Spartans were principally directed towards the extenſion of their Aſiatic conqueſts. The abilities and reſentment of Alcibiades pointed him out as the perſon beſt qualified to undertake the arduous and honourable deſign of re-aſſembling the fugitives, and of animating them with courage to recover their loſt country. That illuſtrious exile had been driven from his Thracian fortreſs by the terror of the Lacedæmonians, then maſters of the Helleſpont, and had acquired a ſettlement under the protection of Pharnabazus, in the little village of Grynium in Phrygia, where, undiſturbed by the dangerous contentions of war and politics, he enjoyed an obſcure happineſs in the boſom of love and friendſhip. But the cruel fears of the tyrants purſued him to this laſt retreat.

[17] Diodor. l. xiv. p. 236.

Lyſander

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His death.

Lyſander told Pharnabazus that the ſacrifice of Alcibiades was neceſſary for the ſafety of that form of government which had been recently eſtabliſhed in Athens, and which it was the intereſt both of Sparta and of Perſia to maintain. A private reaſon (which will afterwards appear) prevailed with the ſatrap to pay immediate attention to this bloody advice. A band of armed Phrygians was ſent to ſurpriſe and deſtroy Alcibiades. Such was the fame of his proweſs, that theſe timid aſſaſſins durſt not attack him in broad day, or by open force. They choſe the obſcurity of night to ſurround and ſet fire to his houſe, which, according to the faſhion of the country, was chiefly compoſed of light and combuſtible materials. The crackling noiſe of the flames alarmed Alcibiades, whoſe own treacherous character rendered him always ſuſpicious of treachery. He ſnatched his ſword, and, twiſting his mantle round his left arm, ruſhed through the flaming edifice, followed by his faithful Arcadian friend, and by his affectionate miſtreſs Timandra [18]. The cowardice of the Phrygians, declining to meet the fury of his aſſault, covered him with a ſhower of javelins. But even theſe Barbarians ſpared the weakneſs and the ſex of Timandra, whoſe tears and entreaties obtained the melancholy conſolation of burying her unfortunate lover; a man whoſe various character can only be repreſented in the wonderful viciſſitudes of his life and fortune; and who, though eminently adorned with the advantages of birth, wealth, valour, and eloquence, and endowed with uncommon gifts of nature, and acquirements of art, yet deficient in diſcretion and probity, involved his country and himſelf in inextricable calamities.

Thraſybulus, with a handful of fugitives, ſeizes Phyla.

Although the life of Alcibiades had been highly pernicious to his country, his death, at this particular juncture, might be regarded as a misfortune, if the Athenian exiles at Thebes had not been headed by a man who poſſeſſed his excellencies, purified from his defects

[18] Corn. Nepos, & Plut. in Alcibiad.

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and vices. The enterprifing courage of Thrafybulus was animated by the love of liberty; and while he generally followed [19] the rules of juftice and humanity, he had magnanimity to conceive, abilities to conduct, and perfeverance to accompliſh, the boldeſt and moſt arduous deſigns. Having communicated his intentions to the unhappy fugitives in Thebes and Megara, he encouraged a body of ſeventy intrepid followers to ſeize the important fortreſs of Phyla, ſituate on the Bœotian and Athenian frontier. This daring enterpriſe alarmed the tyrants, who marched forth with the flower of their troops to diſlodge the new garriſon. But the natural ſtrength of the place baffled their aſſault; and, when they determined to inveſt it, the unexpected violence of a tempeſt, accompanied with an extraordinary fall of ſnow [20], obliged them to deſiſt from their undertaking. They returned with precipitation to Athens, leaving behind part of their attendants and baggage, which fell a prey to the garriſon of Phyla; the ſtrength of which continually augmented by the confluence of Athenian exiles, and ſoon increaſed from ſeventy, to ſeven hundred, men.

The tyrants baffled in their attempts to diſlodge them.

The tyrants had juſt reaſon to apprehend that theſe daring invaders might ravage the ſurrounding country, and even attack the capital. Alarmed by this danger they diſpatched ſeveral troops of horſe, with the greater part of their Lacedæmonian mercenaries, who encamped in a woody country, at the diſtance of fifteen furlongs from Phyla, in order to watch the motions and repreſs the incurſions of the enemy. But theſe forces, which had been ſent to guard the territory and city from ſurpriſe, were themſelves ſurpriſed by Thraſybulus, who ſilently marched forth in the night, poſted his men amidſt the concealed intricacies of the foreſt, and ſuddenly attacked the Lacedæmonians before they had time to recollect themſelves, or even to ſtand to their arms. The dread of an ambuſh,

Thraſybulus ſurpriſes and defeats the enemy.

[19] His conduct, as will appear hereafter, was not uniform.

[20] Επιγιγνεται της νυκτος χιων παμπληθης. Xenoph. p. 471.

probably

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probably prevented the wary general from following them to any great diſtance from the garriſon. An hundred and twenty men were ſlain in the purſuit; a trophy was erected; the baggage and arms were conveyed in triumph to Phyla [21].

The tyrants remove to Eleuſis.

The news of this diſaſter inſpired the Thirty with ſuch terror that they no longer regarded a demoliſhed city like Athens as proper for their reſidence. They determined to remove to the neighbouring town of Eleuſis, which, in caſe of extremity, ſeemed more capable of defence. The three thouſand, who were entruſted with the uſe of arms, accompanied them thither, and aſſiſted them in treacherouſly putting to death all ſuch of the Eleuſinians as were thought diſaffected to the uſurpation. Under pretence of muſtering the inhabitants, thoſe unhappy men were ſingly conducted through a narrow gate leading to the ſhore, where they were ſucceſſively diſarmed, bound, and executed, by the cruel inſtruments of tyranny [22].

Thraſybulus marches to the Piræus.

Meanwhile the garriſon of Phyla continually received new reinforcements. The orator Lyſias, whoſe domeſtic ſufferings have been recently deſcribed, collected three hundred men to take vengeance on the murderers of his brother, and the authors of his own baniſhment [23]. Theſe uſeful ſupplies encouraged Thraſybulus to attempt ſurpriſing the Piræus, the inhabitants of which, conſiſting chiefly of tradeſmen, merchants, and mariners, bore with great impatience and indignation, the injuries of a ſubordinate council of Ten, the obſequious imitators of the Thirty. This enterpriſe was crowned with ſucceſs, although the tyrants brought forth their whole force to oppoſe it. Having intercepted their march to the place, Thraſybulus occupied a riſing ground, which gave him a deciſive advantage in the engagement.

[21] Xenoph. p. 471.
[22] Id. ibid.
[23] Juſtin. l. v. c. ix. The compiler, with his uſual inaccuracy, ſays Lyſias *Syracuſanus* orator.

Before

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Addreſſes his followers in ſight of the enemy.

Before leading his men to action, he animated their valour and reſentment, by reminding them, that the enemy on the right conſiſted of thoſe Lacedæmonians whom only five days before they had ſhamefully routed and put to flight; that the troops on the left were commanded by the Thirty tyrants, who had unjuſtly driven them into baniſhment, confiſcated their property, and murdered their deareſt friends. "But the gods have finally given us the opportunity (long ardently deſired) to face our oppreſſors with arms in our hands, and to take vengeance on their multiplied wickedneſs and cruelty. When they inveſted us at Phyla, the gods, conſulting our ſafety, ruffled the ſerenity of the ſky with an unexpected tempeſt. The aſſiſtance of Heaven enabled us, with a handful of men, to raiſe a trophy over our numerous foes; and the ſame divine Providence ſtill favours us with the moſt manifeſt marks of partiality. The enemy are drawn up in a deep and cloſe array; they muſt be obliged to aſcend the eminence; the javelins of their rear cannot reach beyond their van; while, from the reverſe of theſe circumſtances, no weapon of ours needs be diſcharged in vain. Let us avail ourſelves, therefore, of an arrangement evidently produced by the favour of Heaven; each ſoldier remembering, that he never can atchieve a more honourable victory, or obtain a more glorious tomb[24]."

The tyrants defeated.

The revered authority of the prieſt enforced the exhortation of the general. He promiſed them complete ſucceſs, provided they forbore to charge, till one of their men were killed or wounded: "Then," added he, "I will conduct you on to victory, though I myſelf ſhall fall." He had ſcarcely ended, when the enemy threw their javelins; upon which, as if guided by a divine impulſe, he ruſhed forward to the attack. Both parts of his prediction were accompliſhed. The battle was neither long nor bloody; but Critias and Hippomachus, the two moſt violent of the tyrants, were left among

[24] Xenoph. p. 473. & Diodor. l. xiv. p. 414.

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the ſlain. Thraſybulus judiciouſly avoided to purſue the ſcattered fugitives, who being ſuperior in number, might ſtill rally and renew the battle, if he quitted the advantage of the ground. But having proceeded to the foot of the hill, he ſtopped the ardour of his troops, and commanded the herald Cleocritus to proclaim with a loud voice, "Wherefore, Athenians! would you fly from your countrymen? Wherefore have you driven them from the city? Why do you thirſt for their blood? We are all united by religious, civil, and domeſtic ties. Often, with combined arms, have we fought, by ſea and land, to defend our common country and common freedom. Even in this unnatural civil war, excited and fomented by the ambition of impious and abominable tyrants, who have ſhed more blood in eight months, than the Peloponneſians, our public enemies, in ten years. We have lamented your misfortunes as much as our own; nor is there a man whom you have left on the field of battle, whoſe death does not excite our ſympathy, and increaſe our affliction." The tyrants, dreading the effect of a proclamation well calculated to ſow the ſeeds of diſaffection, led off their troops with great precipitation; and Thraſybulus, without ſtripping the dead, marched to the Piræus[25].

His proclamation to the vanquiſhed.

Next day the Thirty, ſhamefully diſcomfited in the engagement, and deprived of Critias, their furious, but intrepid leader, took their melancholy ſeats in council with ſtrong indications of expected ruin. Their unfortunate ſubjects accuſed their commanders, and each other; a new ſedition aroſe; nor was the ferment allayed, until the tyrants had been deprived of their dignity, and ten magiſtrates (one elected from each tribe) appointed in their room[26]. The ſurviving tyrants, with thoſe who were too cloſely united with them in guilt, not to be united in intereſt, fled to Eleuſis.

Government of the Decemvirs;

It might be expected that the Decemvirs, who now aſſumed the government, ſhould have been deterred from injuſtice by the fatal example

as violent as that of the Thirty.

[25] Xenoph. p. 474.

[26] Idem, ibid. & Iſocrat. ii. p. 426.

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ample of their predeceſſors. But in the turbulent republics of Greece, however free in theory, men were little acquainted with the benefits of practical liberty. Whether the nobles, or people, or a prevailing faction of either; whatever party in the ſtate obtained the chief adminiſtration, their authority was almoſt alike oppreſſive and tyrannical. Alternately maſters and ſlaves, thoſe fierce republicans were either unable or unwilling to draw that deciſive and impervious line between the power of government, and the liberty of the ſubject; a line which forms the only ſolid barrier of an uniform, conſiſtent, and rational freedom.

Lyſander marches to the Piræus.

The Ten had no ſooner been inveſted with the enſigns of command, than they ſhewed an equal inclination with the Thirty to obey the Lacedæmonians, and to tyranniſe over their fellow-citizens[27]. After various ſkirmiſhes, which happened in the courſe of two weeks, and generally proved honourable to the bravery and conduct of Thraſybulus, the tyrants both in Eleuſis and in Athens diſpatched meſſengers to ſolicit farther aſſiſtance from Sparta and Lyſander. That active and enterpriſing leader employed his uſual diligence to protect the government which he had eſtabliſhed. At the head of a powerful body of mercenaries, he marched to the Piræus, which he inveſted by land; while his brother Libys, who commanded a conſiderable ſquadron, blocked up the harbour[28].

His meaſures thwarted by Pauſanias.

Theſe vigorous exertions reſtored the hopes and courage of the tyrants; nor can it be doubted that Thraſybulus and his followers muſt have ſpeedily been compelled to ſurrender, had the Spartan commanders been allowed to act without controul. But the proud arrogance of Lyſander, and the rapacious avarice of his dependants, provoked the indignation and reſentment of whatever was moſt reſpectable in his country. The kings, magiſtrates, and ſenate, conſpired to humble his ambition; and, leſt he ſhould enjoy the glory

[27] Lyſias adverſ. Eratoſth. p. 212. & ſeqq.

[28] Xenoph. p. 476. & Diodor. ubi ſupra.

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of conquering Athens a ſecond time, Pauſanias, the moſt popular and beloved of the Spartan princes, haſtily levied the domeſtic troops, and a conſiderable body of Peloponneſian allies, and marching through the Iſthmus of Corinth encamped in the neighbourhood of Athens; little ſolicitous to increaſe the diſſentions in that city, provided he could anticipate and thwart the meaſures of Lyſander.

Pauſanias eſpouſes the intereſt of Thraſybulus and his adherents. Olymp. xciv. 2. A. C. 403.

While the two Lacedæmonian armies diſcovered, in the diſtance of their encampments, a diſunion of their views and intereſts, an incident happened which determined Pauſanias to undertake the protection of Thraſybulus and his adherents; a reſolution to which he was naturally inclined from oppoſition to an envied and odious rival. Diognotus, an Athenian of an amiable and reſpectable character, brought him the children of Niceratus and Eucrates; the former the ſon, the latter the brother, of the great Nicias, with whom the Spartan king was connected by the hereditary ties of hoſpitality and friendſhip. Having placed the helpleſs infants on his knees, he conjured him, by his religious regard for the memory of their much-reſpected anceſtor, to pity their innocence and weakneſs, and to defend them againſt the cruel tyranny of a worthleſs faction, ambitious to cut off and deſtroy whatever was diſtinguiſhed by birth, wealth, or virtue[29]. This affecting ſcene, had it failed to touch the heart of Pauſanias, muſt at leaſt have afforded him a plauſible pretence for embracing the party of Thraſybulus, which numbered among its adherents the friends and family of Nicias, who had long been ſuſpected of an undue attachment to the Spartan intereſt.

Commiſſioners appointed to ſettle the affairs of Athens.

Before he could fully perſuade the enemy of his favourable intentions, ſeveral bloody ſkirmiſhes were fought, in which the partiſans of democracy defended the Piræus with unequal force, but with uncommon reſolution[30]. At length Pauſanias made them underſtand, that, inſtead of deſtroying their perſons, he wiſhed to protect their

[29] Lyſias adv. Poliuchum, p. 323. and the tranſlation of Lyſias, p. 231.

[30] Xenoph. Diodor. Lyſias, ubi ſupra.

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liberties. In Athens his emiſſaries made known this unexpected revolution, which excited a numerous party to throw off the yoke of the tyrants, and to deſire a reconciliation with their fellow-citizens in the Piræus. The deputies were favourably received by the Spartan king, and ſent, under his protection, to propoſe overtures of accommodation to the ephori and ſenate. The meſſengers of Lyſander and the tyrants endeavoured to traverſe this negociation; but notwithſtanding *their* oppoſition, the Spartans appointed fifteen commiſſioners, who, in conjunction with Pauſanias, were empowered to ſettle the affairs of Athens[31].

This happily effected.

With the approbation, or rather by the command of thoſe miniſters, the Athenian factions ceaſed from hoſtility; the tyrants were diveſted of their power; the foreign garriſon was withdrawn; and the popular government re-eſtabliſhed. This important revolution was remarkable for its ſingular mildneſs. The authors and inſtruments of the moſt oppreſſive uſurpation recorded in the annals of any people were allowed to retire in ſafety to Eleuſis. Thraſybulus conducted a military proceſſion to the temple of Minerva in the citadel, where the acknowledgments of thanks and ſacrifice were offered to that protecting divinity, who had reſtored the virtuous exiles to their country, and healed the diviſions of the ſtate. The citizens who had been baniſhed, and thoſe who had driven them into baniſhment, joined in this ſolemn exerciſe of religious duty; after which, convening in full aſſembly, they were addreſſed by Thraſybulus in theſe memorable words:

Memorable ſpeech of Thraſybulus.

"The experience of your paſt tranſactions may enable you, men of Athens! to know each other, and to know yourſelves. On what pretence could you, who drove us from the city, abet a tyrannical faction? Why would you have enſlaved your fellow-citizens? On what ſuperiority of merit could you found your claim of dominion?

[31] Xenoph p. 478.

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Is it that you are more honeſt and virtuous? Yet the people whom you inſulted never relieved their poverty by unjuſt gain; whereas the tyrants, whom you ſerved, increaſed their wealth by the moſt oppreſſive rapacity. Is it that you are more brave and warlike? Yet this injured people, alone and unaſſiſted, and almoſt unarmed, have overcome your ſuperior numbers, reinforced by the Lacedæmonian garriſon, the powerful ſuccours of Pauſanias, and the experienced mercenaries of Lyſander. As you muſt yield the prize both of probity and of proweſs, ſo neither can you claim the honour of ſuperior prudence and ſagacity. You have been not only conquered in war, but overcome in negociation, by the people whom you deſpiſed; to whom your Lacedæmonian maſter have delivered you, like biting curs [32], bound and muzzled, to be juſtly puniſhed for your unprovoked inſolence and audacity. But as to you, my fellow-ſufferers and fellow-exiles! you, who ſhared the hardſhips of my baniſhment, and who now ſhare the triumph of my victorious return, I exhort you to forgive and forget our common injuries. Let the dignity of your ſentiments adorn the ſplendour of your actions. Prove yourſelves ſuperior to your enemies, not only in valour but in clemency, that moderation may produce concord, and concord ſtrength."

The amneſty

The effect of this generous enthuſiaſm, excited and diffuſed by Thraſybulus, appeared in a very extraordinary reſolution of the aſſembly. During the uſurpation of the Thirty, an hundred talents had been borrowed from the Lacedæmonians, to ſupport the rigorous cruelty of a government which had baniſhed five thouſand [31], and put to death, untried, fifteen hundred citizens. The repayment of this ſum was not to be expected from the people at large,

[32] Ὥσπερ τὴς δακνοντας κλειω δεσμοις παρα διδοασι. Xenoph. Hellen. ii. ſub. fin. In their compariſons the ancients, it is well known, regarded juſtneſs more than dignity.

[31] Iſocrat. in Areopag. p. 345, ſays upwards of five hundred. Diodorus ſays the one-half of the citizens.

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againſt whoſe intereſt and ſafety it had been ſo notoriouſly employed. Yet the Athenians unanimouſly reſolved, on this occaſion, that the money ſhould be charged indiſcriminately on them all [34]. This unexampled generoſity might have encouraged even the enfeebled party of the tyrants to return from Eleuſis. But they were too ſenſible of their guilt to expect forgiveneſs or impunity. Having fortified their inſecure reſidence, in the beſt manner that their circumſtances could permit, they began to prepare arms; to collect mercenaries; and to try, anew, the fortune of war. But their unequal hoſtility, the effect of rage and deſpair, was eaſily defeated by the vigour of the new republic. The moſt obnoxious leaders ſealed, with their blood, the ſafety of their adherents, who ſubmitted to the clemency of Thraſybulus. That fortunate and magnanimous commander generouſly undertook their cauſe, and obtained a decree of the people for reſtoring them to the city, for reinſtating them in their fortunes and privileges, and for burying, in oblivion, the memory of their paſt offences [35]. The aſſembly even ratified, by oath, this act of amneſty, of which both the idea and the name have been adopted by moſt civiliſed nations, and extolled by all hiſtorians, ancient and modern; who, dazzled by the ſplendour of a tranſaction ſo honourable to Thraſybulus and to Athens, have univerſally for-

[34] Iſocrates, ibid. & p. 495 of the tranſlation.

[35] Among theſe offences were reckoned the arbitrary laws enacted during their uſurpation. All theſe laws were annulled, and thoſe of Solon, Cliſthenes, Pericles, &c. reeſtabliſhed. It appears that the Athenians embraced the ſame opportunity of examining their ancient laws, aboliſhing ſuch as no longer ſuited the condition of the times, and enacting ſome new ones. Andocid. Orat. i. de Myſter. p. 212. & Demoſt. adv. Timocrat. p. 469. The year in which the democracy was reſtored, or, in other words, the archonſhip of Euclides was regarded, therefore, is an important æra in Athenian juriſprudence. The only material alterations on record conſiſt, 1. In the law, confining the right of voting in the aſſembly to thoſe born of Athenian mothers. Formerly it ſufficed that the father was a citizen, the condition of the mother not being regarded. Athenæus, xiii. p. 285. & Mark. in Vit. Lyſiæ. p. 55. 2. In the law of Demophantus, requiring the citizens to take an oath that no perſonal danger ſhould prevent them from doing their utmoſt to deliver their country from tyrants. Vid. Lycurg. adv. Leocr. p. 180. & Andoc. de Myſt. p. 220.

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got to mention, that the conditions of the amneſty were not faithfully obſerved. Yet there is the fulleſt evidence to prove [36], that, when the tyrants were no more, the abettors of their uſurpation were accuſed, convicted, and puniſhed, for crimes of which they had been promiſed indemnity by a ſolemn oath. So true it is, that the Athenians had wiſdom to diſcern, but wanted conſtancy to practiſe, the leſſons of ſound policy, or even the rules of juſtice.

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not obſerved.

[36] See Lyſias's Orations againſt Agoratus and Eratoſthenes, from p. 233 to p. 280.

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Accuſation of Socrates.—Artifices of his Accuſers.—His Defence.—Condemnation.—Addreſs to the Judges.—His Converſation in Priſon—and Death.—Tranſient Perſecution of his Diſciples.—Writings of Cebes—Æſchines.—State of Philoſophy.—Of the Fine Arts.—Of Literature.—Herodotus—Thucydides—Xenophon.—Tranſition to the public Tranſactions of Greece.—The Spartans invade Elis.—The Meſſenians driven from Greece.—Hiſtory of Cyrene—Of Sicily.—War with Carthage.—Siege of Agrigentum.—Reign of Dionyſius.—Sicily the firſt Province of Rome.

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Accuſation of Socrates. Olymp. xcv. 1. A. C. 400.

IT were well for the honour of Athens, if none but the cruel abettors of an ariſtocratical faction had experienced the unjuſt rigour of its tribunals. But among the firſt memorable tranſactions, after the re-eſtabliſhment of democracy, happened the trial and condemnation of Socrates; a man guiltleſs of every offence but that of diſgracing, by his illuſtrious merit, the vices and follies of his contemporaries. His death ſealed the inimitable virtues of his uſeful and honourable life; it ſeemed to be beſtowed as a favour, not inflicted as a puniſhment; ſince, had Socrates, who had already paſſed his ſeventieth year, yielded to the decays of nature, his fame would have deſcended leſs ſplendid, certainly more doubtful, to poſterity.

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Principal causes of that measure.

The remote cauſe of his proſecution was the ludicrous farce of Ariſtophanes, entitled the Clouds; to which we had occaſion formerly to allude. In this infamous performance Socrates is introduced denying the religion of his country, corrupting the morals of his diſciples, and profeſſing the odious arts of ſophiſtry and chicane. The envy of a licentious populace, which ever attends virtue too independent to court, and too ſincere to flatter them, gradually envenomed the ſhafts of the poet, and malignantly inſinuated that the pretended ſage was really ſuch a perſon as the petulance of Ariſtophanes had deſcribed him. The calumny was greedily received, and its virulence embittered by the craft of deſigning prieſts and ambitious demagogues, as well as by the reſentment of bad poets and vain ſophiſts, whoſe pretended excellencies the diſcernment of Socrates had unmaſked, and whoſe irritable temper his ſincerity had grievouſly offended[1]. From ſuch a powerful combination it ſeems extraordinary that Socrates ſhould have lived ſo long, eſpecially ſince, during the democracy, he never diſguiſed his contempt for the capricious levity, injuſtice, and cruelty of the multitude, and during the uſurpation of the Thirty, openly arraigned the vices, and defied the authority of theſe odious tyrants. His long eſcape he himſelf aſcribed to his total want of ambition. Had he intermeddled in public affairs, and endeavoured, by arming himſelf with authority, to withſtand the corruptions of the times, his more formidable oppoſition would have expoſed him to an earlier fate[2]. Notwithſtanding

[1] The cauſes of his perſecution, which are hinted at in Xenophon's Apology for Socrates, are more fully explained in that written by Plato. Vid. Plat. Apolog. Socrat. ſect. vi. From theſe two admirable treatiſes of practical morality, together with the firſt chapter of Xenophon's Memorabilia, and Plato's Phædo, the narrative in the text is principally extracted.

[2] The memorable words of Socrates will for ever brand the ſtern unfeeling ſpirit of democracy. Εν γαρ ισθ' ω ανδρες Αθηναιοι, ει εγω παλαι επιχειρησα τα της πολεως πραγματα πραττειν, παλαι αν απολωλειν, και ουτε αν υμας ωφελησα ουτε αν εμαυτον. και τοι μη οχθησθε λεγοντι τα αληθη, ου γαρ εστιν ουδεν, σαθρον εσται, ουτε υμιν ουτε αλλω ουδενι πληθει γνησιως εναντιωμενον, και διεκλυων πολλα αδικα και παρανομα εν τη πολει γιγνεσθαι· αλλα ανανκαιον

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ing his private ſtation it ſeems ſtill to have appeared remarkable to his diſciples, that, amidſt the litigious turbulence of democracy, his invidious fame and merit ſhould have eſcaped perſecution during a long life of ſeventy years.

Artifices of his accuſers.

When his enemies finally determined to raiſe an accuſation againſt him, it required uncommon addreſs to give their malignant calumnies the appearance of probability. Socrates converſed in public with every deſcription of men, in all places, and on all occaſions. His opinions were as well known as his perſon, and ever uniform and conſiſtent; he taught no ſecret doctrines; admitted no private auditors; his leſſons were open to all; and, that they were gratuitous, his poverty, compared with the exorbitant wealth of the ſophiſts who accuſed him, furniſhed abundant proof. To balance theſe ſtubborn circumſtances, his enemies confided in the hatred of the jury and judges, compoſed of the meaneſt populace, and the perjury of falſe witneſſes, which might be purchaſed at Athens for the ſmall ſum of a few drachmas. They truſted, however, not leſs in the artifices and eloquence of Miletus, Anytus[3], and Lycon; the firſt of whom appeared on the part of the prieſts and poets; the ſecond, on that of the politicians and artiſts; the third, on that of the rhetoricians and ſophiſts[4].

Informality of the trial.

From the nature of an accuſation, which principally reſpected religion, the cauſe ought to have been regularly tried in the leſs numerous but more enlightened tribunal of the Areopagus; yet it was

αναγκαιον ιϛι τω οντι μαχεμενον υπερ τε δικαιε, και ει μελλει ολιγον χρονον σωθησεσθαι, ιδιωτευειν, αλλα μη δημοσιευειν. Plut. Apolog. Socrat. c. xiii. "You well know, Athenians! that had I formerly intermeddled in public affairs I ſhould formerly have periſhed, without benefiting either you or myſelf. Be not offended; but it is impoſſible that *he* ſhould live long who arraigns and manfully oppoſes the injuſtice and licentiouſneſs of you, Athenians! or of any other multitude. A champion for virtue, if he would ſurvive but a few years, muſt lead a private life, and not interfere in politics."

[3] Some perſonal reaſons are glanced at why Miletus and Anytus ſtepped forth as accuſers. Vid. Andocid. Orat. i. & Xenoph. Apol. Socrat. Libanius has ſwelled to a long ſtory, and ſtrangely diſfigured the hint of Xenophon. Apol. Soc. p. 642. & ſeqq.

[4] Plato Apol. Soc. c. x.

immediately

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immediately carried before the tumultuary aſſembly, or rather mob of the Heliæa[5], a court, for ſo it was called, conſiſting of five hundred perſons, moſt of whom were liable, by their education and way of life, to be ſeduced by eloquence, intimidated by authority, and corrupted by every ſpecies of undue influence.

Uncomplying integrity of Socrates.

In a degenerate age and nation, few virtuous or able men ever acquired popularity merely by their virtues or abilities. In ſuch a nation, ſhould a perſon, otherwiſe eſtimable, be unfortunately curſed with ambition, he muſt endeavour to gratify it at the expence of his feelings and his principles, and can attain general favour only in proportion as he ceaſes to deſerve it. Uncomplying integrity will meet with deriſion; and wiſdom, diſdaining artifice, will grovel in obſcurity, while thoſe alone will reach fame, or fortune, or honour, who, though endowed with talents juſt beyond mediocrity, condeſcend to flatter the prejudices, imitate the manners, gratify the pride, or adopt the reſentments, of an inſolent populace.

His defence.

The ſuperior mind of Socrates was incapable of ſuch mean compliances. When called to make his defence, he honeſtly acknowledged that he himſelf was much affected by the perſuaſive eloquence of his adverſaries; though, in truth, if he might uſe the expreſſion, they had ſaid nothing to the purpoſe[6]. He then obſerved, that the fond partiality of his friend Chærephon, having aſked the Delphic oracle, whether any man was wiſer than Socrates?—the oracle replied, that Socrates was the wiſeſt of men. In order to juſtify the anſwer of that god, whoſe veracity they all acknowledged, he had converſed

[5] This appears from innumerable circumſtances, ſome of which are mentioned below, though Meurſius, in his Treatiſe on the Areopagus, (Vid. Gronov. Theſaur. vol. v.) maintains that Socrates was tried in that court; an opinion which has been generally followed, but which the ſlighteſt attention to the works of the Athenian orators is ſufficient to diſprove. Vid. Iſoc. Orat. Areopag. Lyſias adv. Andocid. p. 108, & Andocid. Orat. i. p. 215. The oath to which Socrates alludes in Xenophon's Apology, c. iv. can only apply to the Heliæa. It is recited at length by Demoſthenes, Orat. cont. Timocrat.

[6] The ſimplicity of the original is inimitable—Και τοι αληθες [illegible] μηδεν ειρηκασι. Plut. Apol.

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with every diſtinction of perſons, moſt eminent in the republic; and finding that they univerſally pretended to know many things of which they were ignorant, he began to ſuſpect, that in this circumſtance he excelled them, ſince he pretended to no ſort of knowledge of which he was not really poſſeſſed. What he did poſſeſs, he freely communicated, ſtriving, to the utmoſt, to render his fellow-citizens more virtuous and more happy; an employment to which he believed himſelf called by the god, "whoſe authority I reſpect, Athenians! ſtill more than yours."

Provokes the anger of his judges.

The judges were ſeized with indignation at this firm language from a man capitally accuſed, from whom they expected that, according to the uſual practice, he would have brought his wife and children to intercede for him by their tears [7], or even have employed the elaborate diſcourſe which his friend Lyſias, the orator, had compoſed for his defence; a diſcourſe alike fitted to detect calumny, and to excite compaſſion. But Socrates, who conſidered it as a far greater misfortune to commit, than to ſuffer, an injuſtice, declared, that he thought it unbecoming his fame, and unworthy his character, to employ any other defence than that of an innocent and uſeful life. Whether to incur the penalties of the delinquency with which he was falſely charged ought to be regarded as an evil, the gods alone knew. For his part he imagined that he ſhould have no reaſon for ſorrow at being delivered from the inconveniencies of old age, which were ready to overtake him, and at being commanded to quit life [8] while his mind, ſtill active and vigorous, was likely to

[7] Theſe circumſtances, which are mentioned both by Xenophon and Plato, prove that Socrates was tried before a popular tribunal. It is well known that the Areopagus rigorouſly proſcribed all ſuch undue methods of biaſſing the judgment, and ſeducing the paſſions. Vid. Demoſth. in Neær. & Ariſtocrat. Æſchin. in Timarch. Lucian. Hermotim. & Iſocrat. Areopag.

[8] Xenophon ſays, that he writes Socrates's Defence, after ſo many others, who had already executed that taſk with ſufficient ſkill and fidelity, in order to illuſtrate one point, much inſiſted on by Socrates, "That it was better for him to die than to live." Xenoph. Apol. ſub init.

leave

leave behind him the moſt agreeable impreſſion in the remembrance of his friends.

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The firm magnanimity of Socrates could not alter the reſolution of his judges; yet ſuch is the aſcendant of virtue over the worſt of minds, that he was found guilty by a majority of only three voices[9]. The court then commanded him, agreeably to a principle which betrays the true ſpirit of democratical tyranny, to paſs ſentence of condemnation on himſelf, and to name the puniſhment which ought to be inflicted on him. The puniſhment, ſaid Socrates, which I deſerve for having ſpent my whole life in endeavouring to render my fellow-citizens wiſer and better, and particularly in ſtriving to inſpire the Athenian youth with the love of juſtice and temperance, is, "To be maintained, during the remainder of my life, in the Prytanæum; an honour due to *me*, rather than to the victors in the Olympic games, ſince, as far as depended on me, I have made my countrymen more happy *in reality*, they only in *appearance*." Provoked by this obſervation, by which they ought to have been confounded, the judges proceeded to paſs ſentence, and condemned Socrates to drink hemlock[10].

Socrates is condemned.

This atrocious injuſtice excited the indignation of his numerous friends and diſciples, moſt of whom had accompanied him to the court; but it awakened no other paſſion in the illuſtrious ſage than that of pity for the blind prejudices of the Athenians. He then addreſſed that part of the court who had been favourable to him, or rather to themſelves, ſince they had avoided the misfortune of paſſing an unjuſt ſentence, which would have diſgraced and embittered the lateſt moment of their lives. "He conſidered them as friends with whom he would willingly converſe for a moment, upon the event which had happened to him, before he was ſummoned to death. From the commencement of the proſecution, an unuſual circumſtance, he ob-

His addreſs to the judges who voted in his favour.

[9] Plato. Apol. [10] Idem, ibid.

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ſerved, had attended all his words, and actions, and every ſtep which he had taken in the whole courſe of his trial. The dæmon, who on ordinary occaſions had ever been ſo watchful to reſtrain him, when he prepared to ſay or do any thing improper or hurtful, had never once withheld him, during the whole progreſs of this affair, from following the bent of his own inclination. For this reaſon he was apt to ſuſpect that the fate which the court had decreed him, although they meant it for an evil, was to him a real good. If to die was only to change the ſcene, muſt it not be an advantage to remove from theſe pretended judges to Minos, Rhadamanthus, and other real judges, who, through their love of juſtice, had been exalted by the divinity to this important function of government! What delight to live and converſe with the immortal heroes and poets of antiquity! It becomes you alſo, my friends! to be of good comfort with regard to death, ſince no evil, in life or death, can befal virtuous men, whoſe true intereſt is ever the concern of heaven. For my part, I am perſuaded that it is better for me to die than to live, and therefore am not offended with my judges. I intreat you all to behave towards my ſons, when they attain the years of reaſon, as I have done to you, not ceaſing to blame and accuſe them, when they prefer wealth or pleaſure, or any other frivolous object, to the ineſtimable worth of virtue. If they think highly of their own merit, while in fact it is of little value, reproach them ſeverely, Athenians! as I have done you. By ſo doing you will behave juſtly to me and to my ſons. It is now time for us to part. I go to die, you to live; but which is beſt, none but the Divinity knows [11].

The execution of the ſentence deferred on account of the Delian feſtival.

It is not wonderful that the diſciples of Socrates ſhould have believed the events of his extraordinary life, and eſpecially its concluding ſcene, to be regulated by the interpoſition of a particular

[11] Plato. Apol. ſub fin.

providence.

providence [12]. Every circumſtance conſpired to evince his unalterable firmneſs, and diſplay his inimitable virtue. It happened, before the day of his trial, that the high-prieſt had crowned the ſtern of the veſſel, which was annually ſent to Delos, to commemorate, by grateful acknowledgments to Apollo, the triumphant return of Theſeus from Crete, and the happy deliverance of Athens from a diſgraceful tribute [13]. This ceremony announced the commencement of the feſtival, which ended with the return of the veſſel; and, during the intervening time, which was conſecrated to the honour of Apollo, it was not lawful to inflict any capital puniſhment. Contrary winds protracted the ceremony thirty days, during which Socrates lay in priſon, and in fetters. His friends daily viſited him, repairing, at the dawn, to the priſon-gate, and impatiently waiting till it opened. Their converſation turned on the ſame ſubjects which had formerly occupied them; but afforded not that pure unmixed pleaſure which they uſually derived from the company of Socrates. It occaſioned, however, nothing of that gloom which is naturally excited by the preſence of a friend under ſentence of death. They felt a certain pleaſing melancholy, a mixed ſenſation of ſorrow and delight, for which no language has aſſigned a name [14].

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[12] According to Plato nothing happened in this tranſaction απο θειας μοιρας. Plat. Apoll. Yet in the Phædo. ſub. init. he ſays, τυχη τις αυτω, ω Εχεκρατες! συνηλθεν. But τυχη here refers not to the cauſe, but to the effect; not to blind chance, but to an unaccountable diſpoſition of events produced by a particular interpoſition of the divinity. In this ſenſe the word is uſed not only by philoſophers but orators, particularly Demoſthenes, as we ſhall ſee below.

[13] See vol. i. p. 23.

[14] This is admirably deſcribed by Plato: Αλλα ατιχιως αισθοιτο τις μοι παθους παρειη, και τις ανθρωπινη κρασις—απο τις της ηδονης συγκεκραμενη ομως και της λυπης. The following circumſtances are inimitable: Και παντες οι παροντες σχεδον τι ειτω διεκειμεθα, ποτε μεν γελωντι, ενιοτε δε δακρυοντες· εις δε ημων διαφερεντως Απολλοδορος· οισθα γαρ τον ανδρα και τον τροπον αυτου. Phædo, viii c. ii. Socrates alone felt none of theſe ſenſations; but as Montaigne, who had ſeized his true character, ſays, Et qui ne reconnoiſſe en luy, non ſeulement de la fermeté & de la conſtance (c'étoit ſon aſſiette ordinaire que celle là) mais je ne ſçay quel contentement nouveau & une allegreſſe enjouée en ſes propos & façons dernieres.

When

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He refuſes to eſcape from priſon.

When the fatal veſſel arrived in the harbour of Sunium, and was hourly expected in the Piræus, Crito, the moſt confidential of the diſciples of Socrates [15], firſt brought the melancholy intelligence; and, moved by the near danger of his admired friend, ventured to propoſe a clandeſtine eſcape, ſhewing him at the ſame time that he had collected a ſufficient ſum of money to corrupt the fidelity of his keepers. This unmanly propoſal, which nothing but the undiſtinguiſhing ardour of friendſhip could excuſe, Socrates anſwered in a vein of pleaſantry, which ſhewed the perfect freedom of his mind, "In what country, O Crito! can I eſcape death? where ſhall I fly to elude this irrevocable doom, paſſed on all human kind?" To Apollodorus, a man of no great depth of underſtanding, but his affectionate and zealous admirer, who ſaid, "That what grieved him beyond meaſure was, that ſuch a man ſhould periſh unjuſtly," he replied, ſtroaking the head of his friend, "And would you be leſs grieved, O Apollodorus! were I deſerving of death [16]?" When his friends, and Crito eſpecially, inſiſted, "That it would be no leſs ungenerous than imprudent, in compliance with the haſty reſolution of a malignant or miſguided multitude, to render his wife a widow, his children orphans, his diſciples for ever miſerable and forlorn, and conjured him, by every thing ſacred, to ſave a life ſo ineſtimably precious;" Socrates aſſumed a tone more ſerious, recalled the maxims which he profeſſed, and the doctrines which he had ever inculcated, "That how unjuſtly ſoever we were treated, it could never be our intereſt to practiſe injuſtice, much leſs to retort the injuries of our parents or our country; and to teach, by our example, diſobedience to the laws." The ſtrength of his arguments, and ſtill more, the unalterable firmneſs and cheerful ſerenity that appeared in his looks, words, and actions [17], ſilenced the ſtruggling emotions of his diſciples. The dignity of virtue elevated their ſouls; they parted with

[15] Finding Socrates in a profound ſleep, he repoſed himſelf by his ſide till he awoke. Plat. ibid.

[16] Xenoph. & Plat. ibid.

[17] Και ομμασι κασχημασι και βαδισμασι φαιδρος. Xenoph. Apol.

tears

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tears of inexpreſſible admiration, and with a firm purpoſe to ſee their maſter earlier than uſual on the fatal morning.

His behaviour during the laſt day of his confinement.

Having arrived at the priſon-gate, they were deſired to wait without, becauſe the Eleven (ſo the delicacy of Athens ſtyled the executioners of public juſtice) unlooſed the fetters of Socrates, and announced to him his death before the ſetting of the ſun. They had not waited long, when they were deſired to enter. They found Socrates juſt relieved from the weight of his bonds, attended by his wife Xantippé, who bore in her arms his infant ſon. At their appearance, ſhe exclaimed, "Alas! Socrates, here come your friends, whom you for the laſt time behold, and who for the laſt time behold you!" Socrates, looking at Crito, deſired ſome one to conduct her home. She departed beating her breaſt, and lamenting with that clamorous ſorrow natural to her ſex[18] and her character.

His converſation with his diſciples.

Socrates, meanwhile, reclining on the couch with his uſual compoſure, drew his leg towards him, and gently rubbing the part which had been galled by the fetters, remarked the wonderful connection between what men call pleaſure, and its oppoſite, pain. The one ſenſation, he obſerved (as juſt happened to his leg after being delivered from the ſmart of the irons), was generally followed by the other. Neither could long exiſt apart; they are ſeldom pure and unmixed; and whoever feels the one, may be ſure that he will ſoon feel the other. "I think, that had Æſop the fabuliſt made this reflection, he would have ſaid, that the Divinity, deſirous to reconcile theſe oppoſite natures, but finding the deſign impracticable, had at leaſt joined their ſummits; for which reaſon pleaſure has ever ſince dragged pain after it, and pain pleaſure."

Why he compoſed verſes in priſon, having never done it before.

The mention of Æſop recalled to Cebes, the Theban, a converſation which he had recently had with Evenus of Paros, a celebrated

[18] Βοωσαι τε και κοπτομεναι; and a little above, "δια δη παθασι αι γυναικες." Phædo, ſect. iii.

elegiac

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elegiac poet, then reſident in Athens[19]. The poet aſked Cebes, "Why his maſter, who had never before addicted himſelf to poetry, ſhould, ſince his confinement, have written a hymn to Apollo, and turned into verſe ſeveral of Æſop's fables?" The Theban ſeized the preſent opportunity to ſatisfy himſelf in this particular, and to acquire ſuch information as might ſatisfy Euenus, who, he aſſured Socrates, would certainly repeat his queſtion. The illuſtrious ſage, whoſe inimitable virtues were all tinged, or rather brightened, by enthuſiaſm, deſired Cebes to tell Euenus, "That it was not with a view to rival him, or with a hope to excel his poetry (for *that*, he knew, would not be eaſy), that he had begun late in life this new purſuit. He had attempted it in compliance with a divine mandate, which frequently commanded him in dreams to cultivate muſic. He had, therefore, firſt applied to philoſophy, thinking *that* the greateſt muſic; but ſince he was under ſentence of death, he judged it ſafeſt to try likewiſe the popular muſic, leſt any thing ſhould on his part be omitted, which the gods had enjoined him. For this reaſon, he had compoſed a hymn to Apollo, whoſe feſtival was now celebrating; and not being himſelf a mythologiſt, had verſified ſuch fables of Æſop as happened moſt readily to occur to his memory. Tell this to Euenus—bid him farewel; and farther, that if he is wiſe, he will follow me; for I depart, as it is likely, to-day; ſo the Athenians have ordered it."

His opinion concerning ſuicide, and the immortality of the ſoul.

The laſt words introduced an important converſation concerning ſuicide, and the immortality of the ſoul. Socrates maintained, that though it was better for a wiſe man to die than to live, becauſe there was reaſon to believe that he would be happier in a future than in the preſent ſtate of exiſtence, yet it could never be allowable to periſh by his own hand, or even to lay down life without a ſufficient motive, ſuch as that which influenced himſelf, a reſpectful ſubmiſ-

[19] The following narrative, to the death of Socrates, is entirely borrowed from the Phædo, to which it is therefore unneceſſary at every moment to refer.

ſion

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tion to the laws of his country. This intereſting diſcuſſion conſumed the greateſt part of the day. Socrates encouraged his diſciples not to ſpare his opinions, from delicacy to his preſent ſituation. Thoſe who were of his mind he exhorted to perſevere. Entwining his hand in the long hair of Phædo, "Theſe beautiful locks, my dear Phædo, you will this day cut off[20]; but were I in your place, I would not again allow them to grow, but make a vow (as the Argives did in a matter of infinitely leſs moment) never to reſume the wonted ornament of my beauty, until I had confirmed the doctrine of the ſoul's immortality."

Concerning death, burial, and the duties of friends to the deceaſed.

The arguments of Socrates convinced and conſoled his diſciples, as they have often done the learned and virtuous in ſucceeding times. "Thoſe who had adorned their minds with temperance, juſtice, and fortitude, and had deſpiſed the vain ornaments and vain pleaſures of the body, could never regret their ſeparation from this terreſtrial companion. And now," continued he, in the language of tragedy, "the deſtined hour ſummons me to death; it is almoſt time to bathe, and ſurely it will be better that I myſelf, before I drink the poiſon, ſhould perform this operation, than occaſion unneceſſary trouble to the women after I am dead." "So let it be," ſaid Crito; "but firſt inform us, Socrates, in what we can do you pleaſure, reſpecting your children, or any other concern." "Nothing new, O Crito! but what I have always told you. By conſulting your own happineſs, you will act the beſt part with regard to my children, to me, and to all mankind; although you bind not yourſelves by any new promiſe. But if you forſake the rules of virtue, which we have juſt endeavoured to explain, you will benefit neither my children, nor any with whom you live, although you ſhould now ſwear to the contrary." Crito then aſked him, "How

[20] The ceremony of cutting off the hair at funerals was mentioned above, Vol. I. c. vii. p. 238, where the tranſaction of the Argives, alluded to in the text, is related.

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he choſe to be buried?" "As you pleaſe, provided I don't eſcape you." Saying this, he ſmiled, adding, that as to his *body*, they might bury it as ſeemed moſt decent, and moſt ſuitable to the laws of his country.

He bathes;

He then retired into the adjoining chamber, accompanied only by Crito; the reſt remained behind, like children mourning a father. When he had bathed and dreſſed, his ſons (one grown up, and two children), together with his female relations[21], were admitted to him. He converſed with them in the preſence of Crito, and then returned to his diſciples near ſun-ſet, for he tarried long within. Before he had time to begin any new ſubject, the keeper of the priſon entered, and ſtanding near Socrates, "I cannot," ſaid he, "accuſe you, O Socrates! of the rage and execrations too often vented againſt me by thoſe here confined, to whom, by command of the magiſtrates, I announce that it is time to drink the poiſon. Your fortitude, mildneſs, and generoſity, exceed all that I have ever witneſſed; even now I know you pardon me, ſince I act by compulſion; and as you are acquainted with the purport of my meſſage, farewel, and bear your fate with as much patience as poſſible." At theſe words the executioner, hardened as he was in ſcenes of death, diſſolved in tears, and, turning from Socrates, went out. The latter following him with his eye, replied, "And you alſo farewel; as to me, I ſhall obey your inſtructions." Then looking at his diſciples, "How truly polite," ſaid he, "is *the man*[22]! During my confinement, he often viſited and converſed with me; and now, how generouſly does he lament my death! But let the poiſon be brought, that we may obey his orders."

is addreſſed by the meſſenger of death.

[21] The οικιαι γυναικες of Plato. This expreſſion ſeems to have given riſe to the abſurd fable, that Socrates had two wives, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, and others; and the abſurd explication of that irregularity, "that the Athenians, after the peſtilence, had allowed polygamy, at leaſt bigamy, to repair the ravages of that dreadful malady."

[22] Ὁ ανθρωπος, the term for the executioner.

Crito

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His converſation before drinking the poiſon.

Crito then ſaid, "Still, O Socrates! there is time; the ſun ſtill brightens the tops of the mountains. Many have I known, who have drank the poiſon late in the night, after a luxuriant ſupper and generous wines, and laſtly, after enjoying the embraces of thoſe with whom they were enamoured[23]. But haſten not; it is yet time." "With good reaſon," ſaid Socrates, "theſe perſons did what you ſay, becauſe they believed thereby to be gainers; and with good reaſon I ſhall act otherwiſe, becauſe I am convinced that I ſhould gain nothing but ridicule by an over-anxious ſolicitude for life, when it is juſt ready to leave me." Crito then made a ſign to the boy who waited; he went, ground the hemlock, and returned with him who was to adminiſter it. Socrates perceiving his arrival, "Tell me," ſaid he, "for you are experienced in ſuch matters, what have I to do?" "Nothing farther than to walk in the apartment till your limbs feel heavy; then repoſe yourſelf on the couch." Socrates then taking the cup in his hand, and looking at him with ineffable ſerenity, "Say, as to this beverage, is it lawful to employ any part of it in libation?" The other replied, "There is no more than what is proper to drink." "But it is *proper*," rejoined Socrates, "and neceſſary, if we would perform our duty, to pray the gods, that our paſſage hence may be fortunate." So ſaying, he was ſilent for a moment, and then drank the poiſon with an unaltered countenance. With a mixture of gentleneſs and authority, he ſtilled the noiſy lamentations of his friends, ſaying, that in order to avoid ſuch unmanly complaints, he had before diſmiſſed the women. As the poiſon began to gain his vitals, he uncovered his face, and ſaid to Crito, "We owe a cock to Æſculapius; ſacrifice it, and neglect it not." Crito aſked, if he had any thing further to command? But he made no reply. A little after, he was in agony; Crito ſhut his eyes. Thus died Socrates; whom, his diſciples declared, they could

His prayer, and death.

[23] Συγγνωμαι γουν ὡι αν τυχωσι επιθυμουντες. Phæd. c. xlviii. What an extraordinary picture of Athenian manners!

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never ceaſe to remember, nor remembering, ceaſe to admire. "If any man," ſays Xenophon inimitably, "if any man, a lover of virtue, ever found a more profitable companion than Socrates, I deem that man the happieſt of human kind[24]."

Tranſient perſecution of his diſciples.

The current of popular paſſions is nowhere more uniform than in the hiſtory of Athens. The factitious reſentment excited againſt Socrates by ſuch improbable calumnies, as even thoſe who were the readieſt to receive and to diſſeminate, could never ſerioufly believe, extended itſelf with rapidity to his numerous friends and adherents. But fortunately for the intereſt of letters and humanity, the rage of popular frenzy was confined within the Athenian frontiers. Plato, Antiſthenes, Æſchines, Critobulus, and other Athenians, wiſely eluded a ſtorm which they had not ſtrength to reſiſt. Some took refuge in Thebes with their fellow-diſciples, Simmias, Cebes, and Phædondas; others found protection in Megara from Euclid and Terpſion. This perſecution of philoſophy, however, was accidental and tranſient.

The Athenians repent, and honour the memory of Socrates.

Mingled ſentiments of pity, ſhame, and reſentment, ſoon gave a new direction to the popular fury, which raged with more deſtructive, yet far juſter cruelty, againſt the accuſers and judges of Socrates[25]. Many were driven into exile; many were put to death; ſeveral periſhed in deſpair, by their own hands. The illuſtrious ſage was honoured by ſignal monuments of public admiration[26]; his fame, like the hardy oak, derived vigour from years[27]; and increaſed from age to age, till the ſuperſtition of the Athenians at length worſhipped, as a god[28], him whom their injuſtice had condemned as a criminal.

[24] Plato ſpeaks with equal feeling, or rather enthuſiaſm. Και γαρ το μιμησθαι, και αυτον λεγοντα, και αλλω ακουοντα, μοιγε απο παντων ηδιστον. Phæd. c. ii.

[25] Plutarch. de Invid. p. 538.

[26] Statues, altars, even a chapel, called Socrateion. Vide Diogen. in Socrat.

[27] Creſcit occulto, velut arbor, ævo
Fama Marcelli—— HORACE.

[28] Or rather as a demi-god; but the boundaries were not very accurately aſcertained, though *that* is attempted by Arrian, in Expedit. Alexand. l. iv. p. 86.

The

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The writings of his diſciples.

The perſecution, the death, and the honours of Socrates, all conſpired to animate the affection, and to increaſe the zeal, of his diſciples. Their number had been great in his life-time: it became greater after his death; ſince thoſe who followed, and thoſe who rejected his doctrines, alike ſtyled themſelves Socratic philoſophers. His name was thus adopted and prophaned by many ſects, who, while they differed widely from each other, univerſally changed, exaggerated, or perverted the tenets of their common maſter. Among the genuine followers of Socrates, Xenophon, as will appear hereafter, unqueſtionably merits the firſt place. Plato comes next, yet ſeparated by a long interval. In the ſame claſs may be ranked Cebes the Theban, Æſchines, Crito, and Simon, the Athenians. The table of Cebes, which has been tranſmitted to modern times, contains a beautiful and affecting picture of human life, delineated with accuracy of judgment, and illuminated by the ſplendor of ſentiment. Three remaining dialogues of Æſchines breathe the ſame ſublime ſpirit, and abound in irreſiſtible perſuaſions to virtue: "That happineſs is attained, not by gratifying, but by moderating the paſſions; that he alone is rich and powerful, whoſe faculties exceed his deſires; that virtue is true wiſdom, and being attended with the only ſecure happineſs that can be enjoyed in the preſent life, muſt, according to the unalterable laws of Providence, be crowned with immortal felicity hereafter."

Cebes.

Æſchines.

The philoſophers who miſrepreſented his opinions.

The remains of Cebes and Æſchines, and far more, as will appear in the ſequel, the copious writings of Plato and Xenophon, may enable us to diſcriminate the philoſophy of Socrates, from that of the various ſects who miſrepreſented or adulterated his opinions. The eſtabliſhment of theſe ſects belongs not to the period of hiſtory now under our review. But the foundation of their reſpective tenets, which had been laid in a former age, was confirmed by the philoſophers who flouriſhed in the time of Socrates. Of theſe, the moſt

diſtinguiſhed

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Euclid and Phædo, Ariſtippus and Antiſthenes.

diſtinguiſhed were Euclid of Megara, Phædo of Elis, Ariſtippus of Cyrené, Antiſthenes of Athens. The two firſt reſtored the captious logic of the ſophiſts; Ariſtippus embraced their licentious morality. While the ſchools of Elis and Megara laboured to confound the underſtanding, that of Cyrené tended to corrupt the heart. Antiſthenes ſet himſelf to oppoſe theſe pernicious ſects, deriding the refined ſubtleties of the ſceptics, and diſdaining the mean pleaſures of the Epicureans[29]. To prefer the mind to the body, duty to intereſt, and virtue to pleaſure, were the great leſſons of Antiſthenes. Yet this ſublime philoſophy he carried to extravagance[30], affecting not only to moderate and govern, but to ſilence and extirpate the paſſions, and declaring bodily pleaſure not only unworthy of purſuit, but a thing carefully to be avoided, as the greateſt and moſt dangerous of evils. His rigid ſeverity of life deceived not the penetration of Socrates. The ſage could diſcern, that no ſmall ſhare of ſpiritual pride lurked under the tattered cloak of Antiſthenes.

State of the fine arts during the period under review.

A. C. 431—404.

While philoſophy, true or falſe, thus flouriſhed in Greece, a propitious deſtiny watched over the imitative arts, which continued, during half a century of perpetual wars and revolutions, to be cultivated with equal aſſiduity and ſucceſs. The moſt diſtinguiſhed ſcholars of Phidias were Alcamenes of Athens, and Agoracritus of the iſle of Paros. They contended for the prize of ſculpture in their reſpective ſtatues of Venus; and the Athenians, it is ſaid, too partially decided in favour of their countryman. Agoracritus, unwilling that his work ſhould remain in a city where it had met with

[29] I anticipate theſe names. The *ſcepticiſm* of Pyrrho, as will be explained hereafter, aroſe from the quibbling ſophiſms of the ſchools of Elis and Megara. *Epicurus*, having adopted and refined the ſelfiſh philoſophy of Ariſtippus, had the honour of diſtinguiſhing, by his name, the *Epicurean* ſect.

[30] His follower, Diogenes, as will appear in the ſequel, puſhed this extravagance ſtill farther. They both taught in the ſuburb of Athens called the *Cynoſarges*, from which they and their diſciples were called *Cynics*. In a ſubſequent part of this work, it will be explained, how the *Cynical philoſophy* gave riſe to *Stoiciſm*, ſo called, becauſe Zeno and his followers taught at Athens in the "*Stoa* pœcile," the painted portico.

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ſo little juſtice, ſold it to the borough of Rhamnus. There it was beheld with admiration, and ſoon paſſed for a production of Phidias[31] himſelf. The ſculptor Cteſelaus excelled in heroes. He choſe noble ſubjects, and ſtill farther ennobled them by his art[32]. His contemporary Patrocles diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſtatues of Olympic victors, and particularly of celebrated wreſtlers. Aſſiſted by Canachus, he made the greateſt work mentioned during the period now under our review, thirty-one figures of bronze, repreſenting the reſpective commanders of the ſeveral cities or republics, who, under the conduct of Lyſander, obtained the memorable victory of Ægos Potamos. They were erected in the temple of Delphian Apollo, together with the ſtatue of Lyſander himſelf, crowned by Neptune. Inferior artiſts[33] were employed to copy the ſtatues of various divinities, dedicated at the ſame time, and in the ſame place, by the Lacedæmonian conqueror.

Of literature.

It appears not however that, during the Peloponneſian war, any new ſtyle was attempted either in ſculpture or painting. The artiſts of that period contented themſelves with walking in the footſteps of their great predeceſſors. The ſame obſervation applies to muſic and poetry; but eloquence, on the contrary, received a new form, and flouriſhing amidſt the tumults of war, and the contentions of active life, produced that conciſe, rapid, and manly character of compoſition which thenceforth diſtinguiſhed the Attic writers. The works of Homer, Sophocles, and Pindar, left few laurels to be gained by their ſucceſſors. It was impoſſible to excel, it was dangerous to rival them. Great genius was required to ſtart, without diſgrace, in a career where ſuch candidates had run. But great genius is rare, and commonly diſdains imitation; and the firſt poetical prizes being already carried off, men who felt the animation

[31] Vid. Suid & Heſych. voc. Ραμνις.
[32] Plin. l. xxxv.
[33] See their names in Pauſan. l. x. p. 625, & ſeqq.

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and vigour of their own powers, naturally directed them to objects which poſſeſſed the charms of novelty, and promiſed the hope of excellence.

Principal authors in proſe preceding this period.

Even in proſe compoſition the merit and fame of Herodotus and Democritus [34] (not to mention authors more ancient) oppoſed very formidable obſtacles to the ambition of their ſucceſſors. In a work no leſs ſplendid than important, the father of prophane hiſtory had deduced the tranſactions between the Greeks and Barbarians, from the earlieſt accounts till the concluſion of the Perſian war; a work including the hiſtory of many centuries, and comprehending the greateſt kingdoms and empires of the ancient world. This extenſive ſubject was handled with order and dignity. The epiſodes were ingeniouſly interwoven with the principal action. The various parts of the narrative were ſo ſkilfully combined, that they mutually reflected light on each other. Geography, manners, religion, laws, and arts, entered into the plan of his work; and it is remarkable that the earlieſt of hiſtorians agrees more nearly, as to the deſign and form of his undertaking, with the enlightened writers of the preſent century, than any hiſtorical author in the long ſeries of intervening ages.

Character of Herodotus as *an hiſtorian.*

His language was the picture of his mind; natural, flowing, perſuaſive; lofty on great occaſions [35], affecting in ſcenes of diſtreſs [36], perſpicuous in narration, animated in deſcription. Yet this admired writer has ſometimes inſerted reports romantic and incredible. Of many, indeed, of the fables of Herodotus, as ignorance conceited

[34] Itaque video viſum eſſe nonnullis Platonis & Democriti locutionem, etſi abſit a verſu, tamen quod incitatius feratur, & clariſſimis verborum luminibus utatur, potius poëma putandum, quàm comicorum poëtarum. Cicero ad M. Brutum Orator. c. xx. See alſo de Orator. l. i. c. xi. It is impoſſible to read Lucretius, without fancying, if we recollect Cicero's criticiſms on Democritus, that we are peruſing the long loſt works of that great philoſopher.

[35] Longinus cites as an example of the ſublime, Herodot. l. vii. c. lx. The whole expedition of Xerxes is written with an elevation becoming the ſubject.

[36] See the affecting ſtory of Adraſtus, l. i. c. xxxv.

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of its knowledge long affected to call them, ſubſequent experience has proved the reality; modern diſcoveries and voyages ſeem purpoſely directed to vindicate the fame of a writer, whom Cicero[37] dignifies with the appellation of Prince of Hiſtorians. Of other wondrous tales which he relates, his own diſcernment ſhewed him the futility. Whatever is contrary to the analogy of nature he rejects with ſcorn. He ſpeaks with contempt of the Ægepodes, and of the one-eyed Arimaſpi, and of other ridiculous and abſurd fictions which have been adopted, however, by ſome credulous writers even in the eighteenth century. But Herodotus thought himſelf bound in duty to relate what he had heard, not always to believe what he related[38]. Having travelled into Egypt and the Eaſt, he recounts, with fidelity, the reports current in thoſe remote countries. And his mind being opened and enlarged by an extenſive view of men and manners, he had learned to ſet bounds to his diſbelief, as well as to his credulity. Yet it muſt not be diſſembled that the fabulous traditions, in which he too much abounds, give the air of romance to his hiſtory. Though forming, comparatively, but a ſmall part of the work, they aſſume magnitude and importance, when invidiouſly detached from it[39]. It thus ſeems as if this moſt inſtructive author had written with a view rather to amuſe the fancy than to inform the underſtanding. The lively graces of his diction tend to confirm this ſuppoſition. His mode of compoſition may be regarded as the intermediate ſhade between Epic poetry and hiſtory. Neither conciſe, nor vehement, the general character of his ſtyle

[37] L. ii. de Orator.

[38] Εγω δι οφειλω λεγειν τα λεγομενα, πειθεσθαι γε μην ου πανταπασι οφειλω. Herodot. l. vii. c. clii. p. 433.

[39] The reproaches which Juvenal (Satyr. 10) and Plutarch (in his treatiſe entitled the Malignity of Herodotus) make to this great hiſtorian, are fully anſwered by Aldus Manutius, Camerarius, and Stephanus. Plutarch, forſooth, was offended that his countrymen made ſo bad a figure in the hiſtory of Herodotus. The criticiſm of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, a writer of more taſte and diſcernment than Plutarch, does ample juſtice to the father of hiſtory.

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is natural, copious, and flowing [40]; and his manner throughout breathes the ſoftneſs of Ionia, rather than the active contention of Athens.

Of Thucydides.

In this light Herodotus appeared to the Athenians in the age immediately ſucceeding his own. At the Olympic games he had read his work with univerſal applauſe. Thucydides, then a youth, wept mixed tears of wonder and emulation [41]. His father was complimented on the generous ardour of a ſon, whoſe early inquietude at another's fame marked a character formed for exertions that lead to immortality. But Herodotus had preoccupied the ſubjects beſt adapted to hiſtorical compoſition; and it was not till the commencement of the memorable war of twenty-ſeven years, that Thucydides, amidſt the dangers which threatened his country, rejoiced in a theme worthy to exerciſe the genius, and call forth the whole vigour of an hiſtorian. From the breaking out of this war, in which he proved an unfortunate actor, he judged that it would be the greateſt, the moſt obſtinate, and important that had ever been carried on. He began therefore to collect, and treaſure up, ſuch materials as were neceſſary for deſcribing it: in the ſelection, as well as in the diſtribution of which, he afterwards diſcovered an evident purpoſe to rival and ſurpaſs Herodotus. Too much indulgence for fiction had diſgraced the narrative of the latter: Thucydides profeſſed to be animated purely by the love of truth. "His relation was not in-

[40] Ariſtotle, in his Rhetoric, l. iii. c. ix. diſtinguiſhes two kinds of ſtyle; the continuous and the periodic. The former flows on without interruption, until the ſenſe is complete. The latter is divided, by ſtops, into due proportions of duration, which are eaſily felt by the ear, and meaſured by the mind. The former ſtyle is tireſome, becauſe in every thing men delight to ſee the end; even racers, when they paſs the goal, are quickly out of breath. Herodotus is the moſt remarkable inſtance of the continuous ſtyle. In his time ſcarcely any other was in uſe; but it is now entirely laid aſide. So far Ariſtotle, who ſeems rather unjuſt to Herodotus, ſince many parts of his work are ſufficiently adorned by periods, although the looſe ſtyle in general prevails. But the partiality of his countryman Dionyſius, completely avenges the wrongs of Herodotus.

[41] Suidas, Photius, Marcellinus.

tended

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tended to delight the ears of an Olympic audience. By a faithful account of the paſt, he hoped to aſſiſt his readers in conjecturing about the future. While human nature remained the ſame, his work would have its uſe, being built on ſuch principles as rendered it an everlaſting poſſeſſion, not a contentious inſtrument of temporary applauſe." The execution correſponded with this noble deſign. In his introductory diſcourſe he runs over the fabulous ages of Greece, carefully ſeparating the ore from the droſs. In ſpeaking of Thrace, he touches, with proper brevity, on the fable of Tereus and Progne[42]; and in deſcribing Sicily, glances at the Cyclops and Leſtrigons. But he recedes, as it were, with diſguſt, from ſuch monſtrous phantoms, and immediately returns to the main purpoſe of his hiſtory. In order to render it a faithful picture of the times, he profeſſes to relate not only what was done, but what was ſaid, by inſerting ſuch ſpeeches of ſtateſmen and generals as he had himſelf heard, or as had been reported to him by others. This valuable part of his work has been imitated by all future hiſtorians, till the improvement of military diſcipline on the one hand, and the corruption of manners on the other, rendered ſuch ſpeeches ſuperfluous. Eloquence was once an incentive to courage, and an inſtrument of government. But the time was to arrive, when the dead principles of fear and intereſt ſhould alone predominate. In moſt countries of Europe, deſpotiſm has rendered public aſſemblies a dramatic repreſentation; and in the few, where men are not enſlaved by a maſter, they are the ſlaves of pride, of avarice, and of faction.

Thucydides, doubtleſs, had his model in the ſhort and oblique ſpeeches of Herodotus; but in this particular he muſt be acknowledged far to ſurpaſs his pattern. In the diſtribution of his ſubject, however, he fell ſhort of that writer. Thucydides, aſpiring at extraordinary accuracy, divides his work by ſummers and winters,

Compariſon between them.

[42] Ovid. Metam. l. vi. f. 8.

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relating apart the events comprehended in each period of ſix months. But this ſpace of time is commonly too ſhort for events deſerving the notice of hiſtory, to be begun, carried on, and completed. His narrative, therefore, is continually broken and interrupted: curioſity is raiſed without being ſatisfied, and the reader is tranſported, as by magic, from Athens to Corcyra, from Leſbos to Peloponneſus, from the coaſt of Aſia to Sicily. Thucydides follows the order of time; Herodotus the connection of events: in the language of a great critic, the ſkill and taſte of Herodotus have reduced a very complicated argument into one regular harmonious whole; the prepoſterous induſtry of Thucydides has divided a very ſimple ſubject into many detached parts and ſcattered limbs, which it is difficult again to reduce into one body[43]. The ſame critic obſerves, that Herodotus's hiſtory has not only more art and variety, but more gaiety and ſplendour. A ſettled gloom, doubtleſs, hangs over the events of the Peloponneſian war: but what is the hiſtory of all wars, but a deſcription of crimes and calamities! The auſtere gravity of Thucydides admirably correſponds with his ſubject. His majeſty is worthy of Athens, when ſhe commanded a thouſand tributary republics. His conciſe, nervous, and energetic ſtyle, his abrupt brevity, and elaborate plainneſs, admirably repreſent the contentions of active life, and the tumult of democratical aſſemblies. Demoſthenes, whom Dionyſius himſelf extols above all orators, tranſcribed eight times, not the elegant flowing ſmoothneſs of Herodotus, but the ſententious, harſh, and often obſcure annals of Thucydides[44].

Tranſition to the military tranſactions of Greece.

Thucydides left his work unfiniſhed in the twenty-firſt year of the Peloponneſian war. It was continued by Xenophon, who deduced the revolutions of Greece through a ſeries of forty-eight years to the battle of Mantinæa; a work which enables us to purſue the important ſeries of Grecian hiſtory.

[43] Dionyſ. Halicarn. de Herodot. & Thucydid.

[44] Idem, ibid.

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To a reader accuſtomed to contemplate the uniform and conſiſtent operations of modern policy, it muſt appear extraordinary that, at the diſtance of leſs than two years from the ſubverſion of the Athenian democracy by a Spartan general, the ſame turbulent form of government ſhould have been re-eſtabliſhed with new ſplendour, by the approbation, and even the aſſiſtance, of a Spartan king. The reaſons explained in the preceding Chapter may leſſen, but cannot altogether remove, his ſurpriſe; and, in order fully to comprehend the cauſes of this event, it is neceſſary to conſider not only the internal factions which diſtracted the councils of Sparta, but the external objects of ambition or revenge which ſolicited and employed her arms.

The Eleans incur the diſpleaſure of Sparta.

While the fortune of the Peloponneſian war ſtill hung in doubtful ſuſpenſe, the peaceful inhabitants of Elis often teſtified an inclination to preſerve an inoffenſive neutrality, that they might apply, with undivided attention, to their happy rural labours, to the adminiſtration of the Olympian feſtival, and to the indiſpenſable worſhip of thoſe gods and heroes to whom their territory was peculiarly conſecrated. The continual ſolicitation of Sparta, and the unprovoked violence of Athens, determined the Eleans to declare for the former republic; but of all the Spartan allies they were the moſt lukewarm and indifferent. In time of action their aſſiſtance was languid and ineffectual, and when the regular return of the Olympic ſolemnity ſuſpended the courſe of hoſtilities, they ſhewed little partiality or reſpect for their powerful confederates, whoſe warlike and ambitious ſpirit ſeemed incompatible with the enjoyment of their own contemplative tranquillity. This omiſſion of duty was followed by the actual tranſgreſſion of the Eleans. In conjunction with the Mantinæans and Argives they deſerted the alliance of Sparta; defended themſelves by arms againſt the uſurpations of that republic; and excluded its members from conſulting the oracle, and from-

partaking

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partaking of the games and ſacrifices celebrated at Olympia [45]. Theſe injuries paſſed with impunity until the ſucceſsful iſſue of the war of Peloponneſus diſpoſed the Spartans to feel with ſenſibility, and enabled them ſeverely to chaſtiſe every inſult that had been offered them during the leſs proſperous current of their fortune.

The Spartans invade Elis. Olymp. xciv. 2. A. C. 403.

While Pauſanias and Lyſander ſettled the affairs of Athens and of Aſia, Agis, the moſt warlike of their princes, levied a powerful army, to inflict a late, but terrible vengeance, on the Elians. That he might attack the enemy unprepared, he led his forces through the countries of Argolis and Achaia, entering the Elian territory by the way of Lariſſa, and intending to march by the ſhorteſt road to the devoted capital. But he had ſcarcely paſſed the river Lariſſus, which gives name to the town, and ſeparates the adjoining provinces of Elis and Achaia, when the invaders were admoniſhed, by repeated ſhocks of an earthquake, to abſtain from ravaging a country which enjoyed the immediate protection of Heaven. Into ſuch a menace, at leaſt, this terrible phænomenon was interpreted by the ſuperſtition of the Spartan king, who immediately repaſſed the river, and, returning home, diſbanded his army. But the hoſtility of the Spartans was reſtrained, not extinguiſhed. Having offered due ſupplications and ſacrifices to ſanctify their impious invaſion, the ephori, next year, commanded Agis again to levy troops, and to enter the Elian territory. No unfavourable ſign checked the progreſs of his arms. During two ſummers and autumns, the country was deſolated; the villages burned or demoliſhed; their inhabitants dragged into captivity; the ſacred edifices were deſpoiled of their moſt valued ornaments; the porticos, gymnaſia, and temples, which adorned the city of Jupiter, were many of them reduced to ruins.

The Spartans neither alone incurred the guilt, nor excluſively enjoyed the profits of this cruel devaſtation. The Elian invaſion furniſhed

[45] Thucydid. l. v.

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nished a rich harvest of plunder to the Arcadians and other communities of Peloponnesus, whose rapacious lust was enflamed by the virgin bloom of a country which had long been protected by religion against the ravages of war. When the principal property of the Elians was destroyed or plundered, the Spartans at length granted them a peace, on condition that they surrendered their fleet, acknowledged the independence of the inferior towns and villages, which were scattered along the delightful banks of the Peneus and the Alpheus, and modelled their internal government according to the plan prescribed by their conquerors[46].

The Spartans drive the Messenians from Greece. Olymp. xcv. 4. A. C. 401.

The war of Elis occupied, but did not engross, the attention of the Spartans; nor did the punishment of that unfortunate republic divert them from other projects of revenge. The Messenians were not their accidental and temporary, but their natural and inveterate, foes; and might justly expect to feel the unhappy consequences of their triumph. After the destruction of Messené, and the long wanderings and misery of its persecuted citizens, the town of Naupactus, situate on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulph, furnished a safe retreat to a feeble remnant of that ancient community; which, flourishing under the protection of Athens, spread along the western coast, and planted a considerable colony in the neighbouring island of Cephalenia. We have already described the memorable gratitude of the Messenians, who were the most active, zealous, and, according to their ability, the most useful, allies of Athens in the Peloponnesian war. But *their* assistance (and assistance far more powerful than theirs) proved ineffectual; and the time was now arrived when they were to suffer a severe punishment for their recent as well as ancient injuries. The resentment of Sparta drove them from Naupactus and Cephalenia. The greater part escaped to Sicily; above three thousand sailed to Cyrenaica, the only countries

[46] Xenophon Hellen. l. iii. c. 2. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 404.

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inhabited by the Hellenic race, which lay beyond the reach of the Lacedæmonian power[47].

Cauſes which withdrew Cyrenaica and Sicily from the ſphere of Grecian politics.

From the æra of this important migration, the names of Sicily and Cyrenaica will ſeldom occur in the preſent hiſtory; on which account it may not be improper briefly to explain the cauſes which withdrew from the general ſphere of Grecian politics a fruitful and extenſive coaſt, and an iſland not leſs fruitful and extenſive, and far more populous and powerful. The inſulated ſituation of thoſe remote provinces, while it rendered it extremely inconvenient for Greece to interfere in their affairs, peculiarly expoſed them to two evils, which rendered it ſtill more inconvenient for them to interfere in the affairs of Greece. Removed from the protection of their Peloponneſian anceſtors, both the Cyreneans and Sicilians often endured the oppreſſion of domeſtic tyrants, and often ſuffered the ravages of foreign barbarians.

Subſequent hiſtory of Cyrenaica.

The inhabitants of Cyrenaica alternately carried on war againſt the Libyans and Carthaginians[48]. They were actually oppreſſed by the tyrant Ariſton. Soon afterwards they recovered their civil liberty[49]; but were compelled frequently to ſtruggle for their national independence. Though often invaded, their country was never ſubdued by any barbarian enemy; and their liberties ſurvived the republics of their European brethren, ſince they reluctantly ſubmitted, for the firſt time, to the fortunate general of Alexander, who, in the diviſion of his maſter's conqueſts, obtained the fertile and wealthy kingdom of Egypt[50].

Of Sicily.

The revolutions of Sicily are far better known than thoſe of Cyrené, and ſtill more worthy to be remembered. During the latter years of the Peloponneſian war, the aſſiſtance given by Syracuſe to

[47] Diodor. l. xiv. p. 415.
[48] Ariſtot. Polit. Salluſt. de bell. Jugurth.
[49] Diodor. l. xiv. p. 415.
[50] Diodor. l. xix. p. 715. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 836.

the

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the Lacedæmonians became gradually more faint and imperceptible, and at length totally diſappeared. This was occaſioned by the neceſſity of defending the ſafety of the whole iſland, in which that of the capital was involved, againſt the formidable deſcents of the Carthaginians, whom the invitation of Segeſta and ſeveral inferior cities at variance with their powerful neighbours, the hopes of acquiring at once thoſe valuable commodities, the annual purchaſe of which drained Africa of ſuch immenſe treaſures, and, above all, the deſire of revenging the death of Hamilcar, and the diſhonour of the Carthaginian name in the unfortunate ſiege of Himera, encouraged to undertake and carry on various expeditions for the entire ſubjugation of Sicily.

which is long haraſſed by the Carthaginians; Olymp. xcii. 3. Olymp. xciv. 1. A. C. 410—404.

Hannibal, the grandſon of Hamilcar, was entruſted with the conduct of the war, which commenced the four hundred and tenth, and continued, with little intermiſſion, till the four hundred and fourth year before the Chriſtian æra. The domeſtic troops of Carthage were reinforced by their African allies. Conſiderable levies were made among the native Spaniards and Italians, who naturally envied the ſplendour, and dreaded the power of the Greeks, to whoſe conqueſts and colonies they ſaw no bounds. The united army exceeded an hundred thouſand men, and was conveyed to the ſouthern ſhore of Sicily in a proportionable number of tranſports and gallies[51].

whoſe conqueſts are interrupted by peſtilence.

The deſign of Hannibal, as far as it appears from his meaſures, was to conquer ſucceſſively the ſmaller and more defenceleſs towns, before he laid ſiege to Syracuſe, whoſe natural ſtrength, recently improved by art, bidding defiance to aſſault, could only be taken by blockade. The firſt campaign was rendered memorable by the conqueſt of Selinus and Himera; the ſecond by the demolition of Agrigentum; the third by the taking of Gela. The inferior cities

A. C. 409. A. C. 406. A. C. 405.

[51] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 43. & ſeqq.

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of Solas, Egeſta, Motya, Ancyra, Entelta, and Panormus, either invited the Carthaginian arms, or ſurrendered without reſiſtance. The invaders might have proceeded to the ſiege of Syracuſe, the main object of their expedition; but peſtilence followed the bloody havoc of war, and ſwept off, in undiſtinguiſhed ruin, the victors and the vanquiſhed. Not only the general, but the moſt numerous portion of his troops, had fallen a prey to this calamity; and Hamilcar, who ſucceeded to the command, contented himſelf with leaving garriſons in the towns which had been conquered, and returned to Africa with the enfeebled remains of his armament, which communicated the peſtilential infection to Carthage, where it long raged with deſtructive fury[52].

Exceſſive cruelty of the Carthaginians.

According to the genius of Grecian ſuperſtition, it was natural to aſcribe the ſufferings of the Carthaginians to the unexampled cruelty and impiety with which, in their ſucceſſive ravages, they had deformed the fair face of Sicily. It would be uſeleſs and diſguſtful to deſcribe the horrid ſcenes of bloodſhed and ſlaughter tranſacted in the ſeveral places which preſumed to reſiſt their power. Whatever atrocities could be invented by the unprincipled licence of the Italians, approved by the ſtern inſenſibility of the Spaniards, and inflicted by the implacable revenge of the Africans, were committed in the miſerable cities of Selinus, Himera, Gela, and Agrigentum. After the taking of Himera, Hannibal ſacrificed, in one day, three thouſand of its inhabitants to the manes of his grandfather, who, in the firſt Carthaginian invaſion, had periſhed before its walls; and the lot of theſe unhappy victims, dreadful as it was, might juſtly be an object of envy to the long-tormented natives of Gela and Selinus.

Ancient magnificence of Agrigentum.

Yet of all Sicilian cities, the fate of Agrigentum ſeemed the moſt worthy to be deplored, from the ſtriking contraſt of its fallen ſtate

[52] Diodor. l. xiii. c. 70. & ſeqq.

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with its recent ſplendour and proſperity. The natural beauties[53] of Agrigentum were ſecured by ſtrength, and adorned with elegance; and whoever conſidered, either the innumerable advantages of the city itſelf, or the gay cultivation of the ſurrounding territory, which abounded in every luxury of the ſea and land, was ready to pronounce the Agrigentines the moſt favoured inhabitants of the earth. The exuberant fertility of the ſoil, particularly the rich luxuriance of the vines and olives[54], exceeded every thing that is related of the happieſt climates, and furniſhed the materials of a lucrative commerce with the populous coaſt of Africa, which was very ſparingly provided in thoſe valuable plants. The extraordinary wealth of the Agrigentines was diſplayed in the magnificence of public edifices, and in the ſplendid enjoyment of private fortunes. They had begun, and almoſt completed, the celebrated temple of Jupiter, built in the grandeſt ſtyle of architecture employed by the Greeks on the greateſt and moſt ſolemn occaſions. Its walls were encompaſſed by pillars without, and adorned by pilaſters within; and its magnitude far exceeded the ordinary dimenſions of ancient temples, as it extended three hundred and forty feet in length, ſixty in breadth, and an hundred and twenty in height, without including the lofty and ſpacious dome. The grandeur of the doors and veſtibule correſponded with the ſimple majeſty of the whole edifice, whoſe ſculptured ornaments repreſented, with finiſhed elegance, and with a laborious accuracy that diſtinguiſhed each particular figure, the defeat of the Giants, and the taking of Troy; reſpectively the moſt illuſtrious exploits of Grecian gods, and Grecian heroes.

The temple of Jupiter.

This noble monument, conſecrated to piety and patriotiſm, might be contraſted, by a philoſophic mind, with others deſtined to a very different purpoſe. Without the walls of Agrigentum an artificial

Their luxury.

[53] The following particulars in the text concerning Agrigentum, we learn from Diodorus Siculus, p. 374—379. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. 8. Athenæus, l. i. c. 3.

[54] Diodorus celebrates the height of the vines, which we are not uſed to conſider as a proper ſubject of panegyric.

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pond, or rather lake, thirty feet deep and near a mile in circumference, was continually repleniſhed with a rare variety of the moſt delicate fiſhes, to furniſh a ſure ſupply to the ſumptuous extravagance of public entertainments. But nothing could rival the elegance and beauty of the tombs and ſepulchres erected by the Agrigentines, to perpetuate the fame of their courſers which had obtained the Olympic prize; and, if we believe the teſtimony of an eye-witneſs [55], to commemorate the quails and other delicate birds, which were cheriſhed with an affectionate and partial fondneſs by the effeminate youth of both ſexes. Such capricious and abſurd abuſes of opulence and the arts might be expected amidſt the mortifying diſcrimination of ranks, and the enormous ſuperabundance of private riches, which diſtinguiſhed the Agrigentines. The labour of numerous and active ſlaves cultivated agriculture and manufactures with extraordinary ſucceſs. From the profit of theſe ſervile hands many citizens attained, and exceeded, the meaſure not only of Grecian, but of modern, wealth. A ſhort time before the ſiege of the town, Hexenitus returned, in triumph, from Olympia, with three hundred chariots, each drawn by two milk-white horſes of Sicilian blood. Antiſthenes had eclipſed this magnificence in celebrating the marriage of his daughter. But every native of Agrigentum yielded the fame of ſplendour to the hoſpitable Gellias, whoſe palace could entertain and lodge five hundred gueſts, who had been clothed from his wardrobe, and whoſe cellars, conſiſting of three hundred ſpacious reſervoirs, cut in the ſolid rock, daily invited the joyous feſtivity of ſtrangers and citizens.

Exceſſive wealth of individuals.

Before the ſecond Carthaginian invaſion the Agrigentines, warned by the fate of Selinus and Himera, had prepared every thing moſt neceſſary for their own defence. Their magazines were ſtored with proviſions, their arſenals with arms. Elevated by the confidence of proſperity, they had courage to reſiſt the firſt impreſſions of their

Siege of Agrigentum.

[55] Timæus apud Diodor. l. xiii.

enemies;

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enemies; but, corrupted by the vices of wealth and luxury, they wanted fortitude to perſevere. Their allies in Sicily and Italy ſhewed not that degree of ardour which might have been expected in a war which ſo deeply concerned them all: yet, by the partial aſſiſtance of Syracuſe, Gela, and Camerina, as well as ſeveral Grecian allies in Italy, the Agrigentines ſtood the ſiege eight months, during which, the Carthaginians employed every reſource of ſtrength and ingenuity. At length the place was reduced to great difficulties by means of immenſe wooden machines, drawn on wheels, which enabled the beſiegers to fight on equal ground with thoſe who defended the walls. But before any breach was effected, the greater part of the inhabitants determined to abandon the city.

Unhappy fate of its inhabitants.

In the obſcurity of night they departed, with their wives and families, and many of them fortunately eſcaped to Gela, Syracuſe, and Leontium. Others, wanting courage for this dangerous reſolution, or unwilling to ſurvive the fate of their country, periſhed by their own hands. A third claſs, more timid, or more ſuperſtitious, ſhut themſelves up in the temples, expecting to be ſaved by the protection of the gods, or by the religious awe of the enemy. But the Barbarians no more reſpected what was ſacred, than what was profane. The conſecrated ſtatues, and altars, and offerings, were confounded with things the moſt vile, and plundered or deſtroyed in the promiſcuous ruin. One memorable act of deſpair may repreſent the general horror of this dreadful ſcene. With his numerous friends, and moſt valued treaſure, the humane and hoſpitable Gellias had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva; but when he underſtood the univerſal deſolation of his country, he ſet fire to that ſacred edifice, chooſing to periſh by the flames rather than by the rage of the Carthaginians [16].

Amidſt the tumults of war and faction Dionyſius riſes to eminence. Olymp. xciii. 1. A. C. 408.

Near fourſcore years before the demolition of Agrigentum, Sicily had acquired immortal glory, by defeating more numerous invaders; but,

[16] Diodorus, p. 379.

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but, at that time, the efforts of the whole iſland were united and animated by the virtues and abilities of Gelon; whereas, amidſt the actual dangers and trepidation of the Carthaginian war, the Sicilians were diſtracted by domeſtic factions. Syracuſe had baniſhed the only man whoſe conſummate wiſdom, and approved valour and fidelity, ſeemed worthy to direct the helm in the preſent tempeſtuous juncture. In the interval between the ſiege of Himera and that of Agrigentum, the patriotic Hermocrates had returned to Sicily; and, at the head of his numerous adherents, had attempted to gain admiſſion into the capital. But the attempt was immediately fatal to himſelf; and, in its conſequences, deſtructive of the public freedom. His partiſans, though diſcomfited and baniſhed, ſoon found a leader qualified to avenge their cauſe, and to puniſh the ingratitude of Syracuſe.

His character.

This was the celebrated Dionyſius, a youth of twenty-two years; of mean parentage, but unbounded ambition; deſtitute (if we believe hiſtorians) of almoſt every virtue, and poſſeſſed of every talent; and whoſe fortune it was to live and flouriſh amidſt thoſe perturbed circumſtances of foreign war and civil diſſention, which are favourable to the elevation of ſuperior minds. Though eſteemed and entruſted by Hermocrates, who could more eaſily diſcern the merit of his abilities, than diſcover the danger of his ambition, Dionyſius had gained friends in the oppoſite faction, by whoſe intereſt he was recalled from exile. His ſervices in the Carthaginian war raiſed him to eminence. He excelled in valour; he was unrivalled in eloquence; his ends were purſued with ſteady perſeverance; his means were varied with convenient flexibility: the appearance of patriotiſm rendered him popular, and he employed his popularity to reſtore his baniſhed friends.

Means by which he uſurped the government of Syracuſe. Olymp. xciii. 4. A. C. 405.

The gratitude of one party, and the admiration of both, enabled him to attain the command of the mercenaries, and the conduct of the war. But he was leſs ſolicitous to conquer the Carthaginians than

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than to enſlave his fellow-citizens, whoſe factious turbulence rendered them unworthy of liberty. By the affected dread of violence from his enemies, he obtained a guard for his perſon, which his artful generoſity eaſily attached to his intereſt; and the arms of his troops, the influence and wealth of Philiſtus, the hiſtorian of Sicily, who was honoured with the appellation of the ſecond Thucydides[57], above all, his own crafty and daring ambition enabled him, at the age of twenty-five, to uſurp the government of Syracuſe, which he held for thirty-eight years.

His ſucceſsful reign. Olymp. xciii. 4. A. C. 405. Olymp. ciii. 2. A. C. 367.

During his long and active reign he was generally engaged in war; ſometimes with the Carthaginians, ſometimes with his revolted ſubjects. Yet in both conteſts he finally prevailed, having reduced the Carthaginian power in Sicily, and appeaſed, or intimidated, domeſtic rebellion. His actual condition, however ſplendid, he regarded only as a preparation for higher grandeur. He beſieged and took Rhegium, the key of Italy: nor could the feeble confederacy of the Italian Greeks have prevented the conqueſt of that country, had not the renewed hoſtilities of the Carthaginians, and freſh diſcontents at home, interrupted the progreſs of his arms. This growing ſtorm he reſiſted as ſucceſsfully as before, and tranſmitted, to a degenerate ſon, the peaceful inheritance of the greateſt part of Sicily; after having ſtrengthened, with wonderful art, the fortifications of the capital; enlarged the ſize, and improved the form of the Syracuſan gallies; invented the military catapults, an engine of war which he employed, with great advantage, in the ſiege of Motya and Rhegium; and not only defended his native iſland againſt foreign invaſion, but rendered its power formidable to the neighbouring countries.

His literary ambition.

His poetical labours were the leaſt uniformly ſucceſsful of all his undertakings. His verſes, though rehearſed by the moſt ſkilful

[57] Cicero de Orator. l. xi.

rhapſodiſts

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rhapſodiſts of the age, were treated with ſignal contempt at the Olympic games. A ſecond time he renewed his pretenſion to literary fame in that illuſtrious aſſembly; but his ambaſſador was inſulted with the moſt humiliating indignities; and the orator Lyſias pronounced a diſcourſe, in which he maintained the impropriety of admitting the repreſentative of an impious tyrant to aſſiſt at a ſolemnity conſecrated to religion, virtue, and liberty[58]. The oration of Lyſias gives ground to ſuſpect that the plenitude of Dionyſius's power, rather than the defect of his poetry, expoſed him to the cenſure and deriſion of the Olympic ſpectators; and this ſuſpicion receives ſtrong confirmation by conſidering, that, in the laſt year of his reign, he deſerved and obtained the poetic crown at Athens; a city renowned for the impartiality of its literary deciſions[59].

A. C. 387.

Reaſons why the character of Dionyſius appeared ſo odious to ancient hiſtorians.

It is remarkable, that, with ſuch an active, vigorous, and comprehenſive mind; with ſuch a variety of talents, and ſuch an accumulation of glory, Dionyſius ſhould be univerſally held out and branded, as the moſt conſpicuous example of an odious and miſerable tyrant, the object of terror in his own, and of deteſtation in ſucceeding ages. Yet the uncorrupted evidence of hiſtory will prove, that the character of Dionyſius was not deciſively flagitious. His ſituation rendered it artificial; and he is acknowledged often to have aſſumed the ſemblance of virtue. Always crafty and cautious; but, by turns, and as it ſuited his intereſt, mild, affable, and condeſcending; or cruel, arrogant, and imperious: nor did the Syracuſans feel the rigour of his tyranny, until they had juſtly provoked it by an inſurrection, during which they treated his wife and children with the moſt barbarous and brutal fury. But there are two circumſtances in the character of Dionyſius which peculiarly excited the indignation of the moraliſts of Greece and Rome, and which the moderation or the ſoftneſs of modern times will be diſpoſed to conſider with

[58] Life of Lyſias, p. 117. Dionyſ. Halicar. de Demoſth.

[59] Iſocrat. Panegyr.

leſs

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leſs ſeverity. He had uſurped the government of a free republic; a crime neceſſarily heinous in the ſight of thoſe who held the aſſaſſination of a tyrant to be the moſt meritorious exertion of human virtue; and he profeſſed an open contempt for the religion of his country; a crime of which the bare ſuſpicion had brought to death the moſt amiable and reſpected of men. Yet the impiety of Dionyſius was only the child of his intereſt, and ſometimes the parent of his wit. He ſtripped a celebrated ſtatue of Jupiter of a golden robe, obſerving, that it was too heavy in ſummer, and too cold in winter. For a reaſon equally ingenious he deprived Æſculapius of his golden beard; aſſerting, that ſuch a venerable ornament ill became the ſon of the beardleſs Apollo. But if he deſpoiled the altars and ſtatues, he increaſed and improved the fleets and armies, of Syracuſe, which were ſucceſsfully employed againſt the public enemy. And to the general current of ſatire and declamation againſt this extraordinary man [60], may be oppoſed the opinion of Polybius and Scipio Africanus, the moſt illuſtrious characters of the moſt illuſtrious age of Rome: "That none ever concerted his ſchemes with more prudence, or executed them with more boldneſs, than Dionyſius the Elder."

His ſon, Dionyſius the Younger, exceeded his vices without poſſeſſing his abilities. The reign of this ſecond tyrant was diſtracted and inglorious. His kinſman Dion, the amiable diſciple of Plato, endeavoured to correct the diſorders of his ungoverned mind. But the taſk was too heavy for Dion, and even for Plato himſelf. The former, unable to reſtrain the exceſſes of the prince, undertook the defence of the people. His patriotiſm interrupted, but did not deſtroy, the tyranny of Dionyſius, which was finally aboliſhed, twenty-

Inglorious reign of Dionyſius the Younger. Olymp. CIV. 3. A. C. 362 — Olymp. CV. 1. A. C. 356.

[60] The authentic hiſtory of the reign of Dionyſius is copiouſly recorded by Diodorus Siculus, l. xiv & xv. To relate the numerous and improbable ſtories told of him by Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and other moraliſts, would be to tranſcribe what it is not eaſy to believe. The reader may conſult, particularly, Plut. excud. Pari. in Dion. pp. 738 & 83. De Garrul. p. 505. In Dion. p. 961; and various paſſages of Cicero de Officiis, & Tuſculan. Quæſt.

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two years after he firſt mounted the throne, by the magnanimity of Timoleon [61]. This revolution happened only two years before Corinth, the country of Timoleon, as well as the other republics of Greece, ſubmitted to the arms of Philip of Macedon; and, having loſt their own independence, became incapable of aſſerting the freedom of their colonies.

Sicily becomes a province of Rome. Olymp. cxlii. 1. A. C. 212.

New tyrants ſtarted up in Syracuſe, and almoſt in every city of Sicily, and held a precarious ſway under the alternate protection of the Carthaginians and Romans. The citizens of Syracuſe, mindful of their ancient fame, dethroned their uſurpers, and enjoyed conſiderable intervals of liberty. But at length the Romans gained poſſeſſion of the place; the perſevering valour of Marcellus, aſſiſted by the treachery of the garriſon, prevailing, after a ſiege of three years, over the bold efforts of mechanical power, directed by the inventive genius of Archimedes [62]. The reduction of the capital was immediately followed by the conqueſt of the adjoining territory; and Sicily came thus to be regarded as the eldeſt province of Rome, and the firſt country, without the limits of Italy, which had taught that victorious republic to taſte and enjoy the ſweets of foreign dominion [63].

[61] Corn. Nepos. Diodorus Sicul. Plut. Dion.

[62] Polyb. Excerpt. l. viii. Plut. in Marcell

[63] Livy, l. xxiv. & Cicero in Verrem in few words – Omnium exterarum gentium princeps Sicilia ad amicitiam fidemque, P. R. applicuit; primaque omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii eſt, provincia eſt appellata: prima docuit majores noſtros, quàm preclarum eſſet exteris gentibus imperitare.

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Death of Darius Nothus.—Cyrus diſputes the Succeſſion with his elder Brother Artaxerxes.—Character of Cyrus.—State of Lower Aſia under his Adminiſtration.—His Strength and Reſources.—His Expedition into Upper Aſia.—Deſcries the vaſt Army of his Brother.—Battle of Canaxa.—Death of Cyrus.—His Grecian Auxiliaries victorious.—Their Treaty with Tiſſaphernes.—Perfidious Aſſaſſination of the Grecian Generals.—Artaxerxes ſends to the Greeks to demand their Arms.—Conference on that Subject.

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Death of Darius Nothus. Olymp. xciv. 1. A. C. 404.

WHILE the operations of war conſpired with the revolutions of government, to detach the Grecian colonies in Italy, Sicily, and Cyrené, from the general intereſts and politics of the mother country, a ſeries of events, not leſs curious than important, connected, in the cloſeſt intimacy, the hiſtory of Greece with the annals of the Perſian empire. The ſame memorable year which terminated the deſtructive war of Peloponneſus brought to a concluſion the active and proſperous reign of Darius Nothus. He named as his ſucceſſor Artaxerxes, ſtyled Mnemon, from the ſtrength of his memory; and perſiſted in this choice, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the artful and ambitious Paryſatis, who employed her extenſive influence over the mind of an old and uxorious huſband, to obtain the kingdom for Cyrus, the younger brother of Artaxerxes, and the peculiar favourite of his mother. The rivalſhip

The ſucceſſion of Artaxerxes is diſputed by his younger brother Cyrus.

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of the young princes, both of whom were at court during the laſt illneſs of Darius, unhappily degenerated into enmity; and a circumſtance, which would be thought immaterial in the preſent age, increaſed the indignation of Cyrus. The birth of Artaxerxes had happened before the acceſſion of his father to the throne, but Cyrus was born the ſon of a king; a diſtinction which, however frivolous it may appear in modern times, had engaged Darius Hyſtaſpes to prefer Xerxes, the younger of his ſons, to his elder brother Artabazanes [1].

Cauſe of his reſentment againſt Artaxerxes.

The precedent eſtabliſhed by ſuch an illuſtrious monarch might have enforced the partial arguments of Paryſatis, and both might have been confirmed by the ſtrong claim of merit, ſince Cyrus early diſcovered ſuch talents and virtues, as fitted him to fill the moſt difficult, and to adorn the moſt exalted, ſtation. At the age of ſeventeen, he had obtained the government of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia; and the ſame mandate of Darius, which deſtroyed his hopes of ſucceſſion to the Perſian throne, rendered him hereditary ſatrap of thoſe valuable provinces. On the demiſe of that monarch, Cyrus prepared to return to Aſia Minor, attended by the ſame eſcort with which he had come to Suſa; a faithful body of three hundred heavy-armed Greeks, commanded by Xenias, an Arcadian. But when he prepared to leave court, a very criminal and unfortunate meaſure retarded his departure. The ſelfiſh and perfidious Tiſſaphernes, who expected to divide the ſpoils of the young prince, accuſed him of treaſon. He was apprehended by order of Artaxerxes; but the powerful protection of Paryſatis, who, though ſhe loved only one, was beloved, or at leaſt feared, by both of her ſons, defended his life, vindicated his honour, and reſtored him in ſafety to his government.

Circumſtances favourable to his ambition.

The danger that had threatened his perſon could not much affect the heroic fortitude of Cyrus; but the affront offered to his dignity

[1] Herodot. l. vii. c. ii.

ſunk

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ſunk deep into his heart; and from the moment that he recovered his freedom, he determined to revenge his injuries[2], or to periſh in the attempt. In the deſpotic countries of the Eaſt, as there is ſcarcely any intermediate gradation between the prince and people, and ſcarcely any alternative but that of dominion or ſervitude, a diſcontented or rebellious ſubject muſt either ſtifle his animoſity, ſubmit to die, or aſpire to reign[3]. The magnanimity of Cyrus naturally preferred the road of danger and glory; he prepared not only to puniſh the injuſtice, but to uſurp the throne of Artaxerxes, defended as it was by a million of armed men, and protected both by the power of ſuperſtition, and by the ſplendour of hereditary renown. This deſign would have been great, but romantic, if the young prince had not enjoyed very extraordinary reſources in the powers of his own mind, in the affectionate attachment of his Barbarian ſubjects, and, above all, in the fidelity and valour of his Lacedæmonian allies.

Character of Cyrus;

Whether we conſider what he ſaid, or what he did, the teſtimony of his contemporaries, or the more unerring teſtimony of his life and actions, Cyrus appears to have been born for the honour of human nature, and particularly for the honour of Aſia, which, though the richeſt and moſt populous quarter of the globe, has never, in any age, abounded in great characters. From the age of ſeven years, he had been trained, at the gate of the palace, to ſhoot with the bow, to manage the horſe, and to ſpeak truth; according to the diſcipline inſtituted by the great founder of the monarchy, and well adapted, in an age of ſimplicity, to form the princes and nobles of Perſia. But in the courſe of two centuries, the progreſs of refinement and luxury, the infectious example of a corrupt court, and the perfidious

contraſted with that of the Perſian nobles.

[2] Xenoph. Anabas. l. i. c. i. This was the origin of his reſentment, which Xenophon expreſſes with great delicacy; Ὁ δὲ κινδυνος ἦν καὶ ἀπιμισθίᾳ, καὶ ἐδόκει ἀνὴρ μηδὲν ἧττον εἶναι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, &c. He aſſerted independence, the firſt wiſh of every great mind.

[3] "Cyrus determined no longer," ſays Xenophon, "to depend on his brother: ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι βασιλεύειν καὶ ἐκείνου, "but, if poſſible, to reign in his ſtead."

leſſons

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leſſons of the world, had perverted, or rendered ineffectual, a very ſalutary ſyſtem of education; and the grandees of Perſia, whatever proficiency they made in their exerciſes, felt ſo little regard for veracity, that (as will abundantly appear in the ſequel) they ſeldom ſpoke but with a view to deceive, and rarely made a promiſe which they did not break, or took an oath which they did not violate. The behaviour of Cyrus was totally the reverſe. He equalled, and ſurpaſſed his companions in all exterior accompliſhments. But while his manly beauty, his bodily activity and addreſs, and the ſuperior courage, as well as ſkill, which he diſplayed in hunting, horſemanſhip, and every military exerciſe, commanded the admiration of the multitude; he himſelf ſeems not to have eſtimated ſuch ſuperficial advantages beyond their real worth. He regarded integrity of heart as the only ſolid baſis of a great character. His probity was uniform, his word ſacred, his friendſhip inviolable. In the giddy ſeaſon of youth, he yielded, with uncommon docility, to the admonitions of experience. Neither wealth, nor birth, nor rank, but age and virtue, were the objects of his reſpect: and his behaviour, equally meritorious and ſingular, was juſtly and univerſally admired.

State of Lower Aſia during his adminiſtration.

His ſubjects in Leſſer Aſia, in particular, were ſeized with the moſt pleaſing aſtoniſhment, when, inſtead of a greedy and voluptuous ſatrap, eager only to ſqueeze, to amaſs, and to enjoy, they beheld a prince who preferred the public intereſt to his own; who alleviated the weight of taxes, that he might encourage the operations of induſtry; whoſe own hands gave the uſeful example of rural labour[4]; whoſe deciſions united juſtice and mercy; and whoſe active vigilance introduced (what neither before nor ſince the government of Cyrus has been known in the Aſiatic peninſula) ſuch regularity of police, as rendered intercourſe ſafe, and property ſecure.

[4] Xenoph. ibid. Cic. in Senect. Plut. in Lyſand. have all celebrated this part of his character.

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His popular acts.

The virtues of juſtice and integrity, when accompanied with diligence and abilities, muſt procure ſuch a degree of reſpect for the adminiſtration, as will naturally be extended to the perſon, of a prince. But ſomething farther is required, not to obtain the public gratitude and eſteem, but to excite the affectionate ardour of ſelect and devoted friends; without the aſſiſtance of whom, it is impoſſible to accompliſh any great and memorable deſign. Cyrus excelled all his contemporaries in the art both of acquiring and of preſerving the moſt valuable friendſhips. His gratitude overpaid every favour; his liberality was large, yet diſcerning; and his donatives were always enhanced by the handſome and affectionate manner in which they were beſtowed. When he diſcovered a man really worthy of his confidence and eſteem, he was not ſatisfied with giving him a partial ſhare of his affections; he gave his heart entire: and it was his conſtant prayer to the gods, that he might live to requite and ſurpaſs the good offices of his friends, and the injuries of his enemies.

Amount of his Barbarian troops.

With ſuch ſentiments and character, Cyrus acquired the firm attachment of a few, and the willing obedience of all his Barbarian ſubjects, in the populous provinces which he commanded, whoſe united ſtrength exceeded an hundred thouſand fighting men; who, unwarlike as they were, yet excelled, both in bravery and in ſkill, the effeminate troops of Upper Aſia.

He chuſes confidence in the gratitude and valour of the Greeks.

They were probably indebted for this advantage to their intercourſe with the Greeks, whoſe diſciplined valour, far more than the numbers of his Barbarians, encouraged Cyrus to undertake an expedition for acquiring the empire of the Eaſt. By the moſt important ſervices he had deſerved the gratitude of the Lacedæmonian republic; which had been raiſed, chiefly by his aſſiſtance, to the head of Greece, and to the command of the ſea. In return for that favour, ſo ineſtimable in the ſight of an ambitious people, the Spartans readily complied with his requeſt, by ſending into Aſia eight hundred heavy-

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heavy-armed men, under the command of the intrepid Cheiriſophus; and they charged their admiral, Samius, who had ſucceeded Lyſander in the government of the Ionian coaſt, faithfully to cooperate with Cyrus, by employing his powerful fleet in whatever ſervice the Perſian prince might think proper to recommend[5]. Had they done nothing more than this, Cyrus might well have approved their uſeful gratitude; eſpecially as their alliance, ſecuring him on the ſide of Europe, enabled him, without danger, to drain his weſtern garriſons, and to augment the ſtrength of his army.

Amount of his Grecian troops.

But the friendſhip of the Spartans carried them ſtill farther. They allowed him to recruit his forces in every part of their dominions; and the generous munificence of Cyrus had acquired numerous partiſans well qualified to raiſe, and to command thoſe valuable levies. Clearchus the Spartan, Menon the Theſſalian, Proxenus the Bœotian, Agias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achæan, all alike devoted to the intereſt and glory of the Perſian prince, collected, chiefly from their reſpective republics, above ten thouſand heavy-armed men, and near three thouſand archers and targeteers.

Secrecy of his preparations.

Theſe preparations, which were carried on with ſilence and celerity, deceived the haughty indolence of the Perſians; but they could not eſcape the vigilance of Alcibiades, who then reſided at Grynium, a town of Phrygia, under the protection of Pharnabazus. Moved by reſentment againſt the Lacedæmonians, or ambitious of gaining merit with the great king, he deſired an eſcort from the ſatrap, that he might undertake with ſafety a journey to Suſa, in order to acquaint Artaxerxes with the hoſtile deſigns of his brother. Pharnabazus, who poſſeſſed not the merit, deſired the reward of the diſcovery; and therefore (as we formerly had occaſion to relate[6]) readily gratified the requeſt of Lyſander, by the deſtruction of Alcibiades.

[5] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii.

[6] See above, p. 83.

But

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Cyrus undertakes his expedition into Upper Asia. Olymp. xcv. 1. A. C. 400.

But neither the intelligence conveyed by the Persian governor, nor the repeated solicitations of Tissaphernes, nor the consciousness of his own injustice and cruelty, could rouse Artaxerxes from the profound security of his repose. Cyrus completed his levies without molestation, and almost without suspicion; and prepared, in the beginning of the year four hundred before Christ, to march from the Ionian coast into Upper Asia, at the head of an hundred thousand Barbarians, and above thirteen thousand Greeks. His journey towards Babylon, his defeat and death in the plain of Cynaxa, the retreat and dispersion of his followers, and the memorable return of the Greeks to their native country, have been related by the admired disciple of Socrates, (whom the friendship of Proxenus, the Bœotian, recommended to the service and esteem of Cyrus) with such descriptive beauty, with such profound knowledge of war and of human nature, and with such inimitable eloquence, as never were re-united in the work of any one man but that of Xenophon the Athenian. The retreat was principally conducted by Xenophon himself; which has enabled him to adorn his narrative with such an affecting variety of incidents and characters, as will always serve to prove that the force of truth and nature is far superior to the powers of the most fertile fancy. It would be an undertaking not only hardy, but presumptuous, to invade the province of such an accomplished writer, if the design of the present work did not oblige us to select the principal circumstances which illustrate the condition of the times, and connect the expedition of Cyrus with the subsequent history of Greece.

Xenophon's account of the expedition.

Having assembled his forces at Sardis, the Persian prince was carried, by the activity of his resentment or ambition, with the utmost celerity, towards Upper Asia. In ninety-three marches he travelled through the central provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia; traversed the mountains of Cilicia; passed unresisted through Syria; crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus; and, after penetrating the

Rapidity of his march.

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desert, entered the confines of Babylonia. In a journey of above twelve hundred miles, his numerous army experienced fewer difficulties than might naturally be expected. The fertile territory of Asia Minor supplying them abundantly with provisions, enabled them to proceed commonly at the rate of fifteen or sixteen miles a-day; and almost every second day brought them to a large and populous city. The dependent satraps or viceroys of Lycaonia and Cilicia were less solicitous to defend the throne of Artaxerxes, than anxious to protect their respective provinces from plunder and devastation. But the former experienced the severity of an invader whom he had the weakness to oppose, without the strength or courage to resist [7].

Cilicia defended by the beauty of Epyaxa.

Syennesis, governor of Cilicia, had reason to fear that his country might be plundered with equal rapacity. He endeavoured, therefore, to avail himself of the natural strength of a province whose southern boundaries are washed by the sea, and which is defended on other sides by the winding branches of Mount Taurus [8]. Towards the west is but one pass, called by Arrian the Gates of Cilicia [9]; sufficient to admit only one chariot at a time, and rendered dark and difficult by steep and almost inaccessible mountains. These were occupied by the troops of Syennesis, who, had he maintained his post, might have easily prevented the passage of an army. But the timid Cilician had not trusted in arms alone for the defence of his country. By the order, or at least with the permission of her husband, his queen, the beautiful Epyaxa, had met Cyrus at Cylenæ, on the frontiers of Phrygia; and, according to the custom of the East, presented her acknowledged liege-lord and superior with gold, silver, and other costly gifts. But the greatest gift was her youth and beauty, which she submitted, it is said, to the enamoured prince, who, after entertaining

[7] Xenoph. Anabas. l. i. p. 248.
[8] Xenoph. p. 248.
[9] Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. ii. p. 31.

taining her with the utmoſt magnificence and diſtinction[10], reſtored her to Cilicia by a near, but difficult road, which led acroſs the mountains. CHAP. XXV.

To the eſcort which accompanied her, Cyrus added a conſiderable body of Greeks, commanded by Menon the Theſſalian. The greater part arrived at Tarſus, the capital, before the army of Cyrus reached the gates of Cilicia; but two companies, amounting together to an hundred men, were miſſing, and ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed by the mountaineers, while they wandered in queſt of booty. Syenneſis was mortified at hearing that the enemy had already entered his province. But when he likewiſe received intelligence that the Peloponneſian fleet had ſailed round from Ionia, in order to co-operate with the army, the diſagreeable news totally diſconcerted the meaſures of his defence. He fled in precipitation, abandoning his tents and baggage to the invaders. Cyrus croſſed the mountains without oppoſition, and traverſed the beautiful irriguous plains of Cilicia, which were adorned with trees and vines, and abounded in ſeſame, panic, millet, wheat and barley. In four days he arrived at the large and rich city of Tarſus, which was plundered by the reſentment of the Greeks, for the loſs of their companions. The Greeks plunder Tarſus.

Cyrus immediately ſent for the governor, who had removed from his palace, and, attended by the greater part of the inhabitants, had taken refuge among the faſtneſſes in the neighbouring mountains. By the aſſurances of Epyaxa, her timorous[11] huſband was Cyrus exchanges preſents with Syenneſis of Cilicia.

[10] She requeſted Cyrus to ſhew her his troops. He complied; and attended her coach, in an open car. But the curioſity of Epyaxa had almoſt coſt her dear. "When the Barbarians were reviewed, the Greeks were ordered to their arms, and commanded to advance, as to a charge; after which, the ſoldiers, of their own accord, ran with ſhouts to their tents. The Barbarians were thrown into conſternation; Epyaxa quitted her coach; the Greeks returned laughing to their tents; and Cyrus rejoiced at ſeeing the terror with which the Greeks had inſpired the Barbarians." Xenoph. Anabaſ. l. i. p. 247.

[11] "Pride, as well as fear, ſeems to have actuated Syenneſis; [illegible] declared, that he had never formerly put himſelf in the power of a man in any reſpect ſuperior to himſelf; nor would he then go to Cyrus, till his wife perſuaded him," &c. A true picture of oriental manners, meanneſs varniſhed with pride!

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with much difficulty perſuaded, to put himſelf in the power of a ſuperior, to whom, as the price of his ſafety, he carried large ſums of money. Cyrus courteouſly accepted the welcome ſupply, which the demands of his troops rendered peculiarly ſeaſonable; and, in return, honoured Syenneſis with ſuch preſents as were deemed of great value by the kings of the Eaſt. They conſiſted in a Perſian robe, a horſe with a golden bit, a chain, bracelets, and ſcimitar of gold, the reſtoration of priſoners, and the exemption of Cicilia from farther plunder [12].

Mutiny in the Grecian camp.

During their luxurious reſidence at Tarſus, the Greeks were corrupted by proſperity. They diſdained to obey their commanders, and refuſed to continue their journey. The deſign of marching to Babylon, though it was not unknown to Clearchus, or to the Spartan ſenate, had been concealed from the ſoldiers, leſt their impatience or their fears might be alarmed by the proſpect of ſuch a long and dangerous undertaking. At Tarſus they firſt diſcovered their ſuſpicions of the deceit, which immediately broke out into licentious clamours. They inſulted the majeſty of Cyrus; they reproached the perfidy of their generals; and their anger was ready to vent itſelf in open ſedition,

Appeaſed by the addreſs of Clearchus.

when the ferment was appeaſed by the addreſs and prudence of Clearchus. While he privately aſſured Cyrus of his beſt endeavours to make the affair take a favourable turn, he openly embraced the cauſe of the ſoldiers, affected deeply to feel their grievances, and eagerly concurred with every meaſure that ſeemed proper to remove them. His eloquence and his tears diverted the deſign of immediate hoſtility. An aſſembly was ſummoned to deliberate on the actual poſture of affairs. Several, of their own accord, offered their opinion; others ſpoke as they had been directed by Clearchus. One counſellor, who was heard with applauſe, adviſed them to pack up their baggage, and to demand guides or ſhips from Cyrus, to facili-

[12] Xenophon. Anabaſ. p. 249.

tate

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tate their return. Another ſhewed the folly of this requeſt from a man whoſe meaſures they had traverſed, and whoſe purpoſe they had endeavoured to defeat [13]. They ſurely could not truſt in guides given them by an enemy; nor could it be expected that Cyrus ſhould part with his ſhips, which were evidently ſo neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his expedition. At length it was determined to ſend commiſſioners to treat with Cyrus, that he might either, by granting the demands of the Greeks, prevail on them to follow him, or be himſelf prevailed on to allow them to return home; and the difference was thus finally adjuſted, by promiſing each ſoldier a darick and a half, inſtead of a darick, of monthly pay [14].

Cyrus paſſes the Syrian gates.

When this ſtorm was happily appeaſed, the enemy left Tarſus, and marched five days through the fertile plains of Cilicia, till they arrived at Iſſus, the laſt town of the province; large, rich, and populous; and only fifteen miles diſtant from the frontier of Syria. This wealthy province was defended by two fortreſſes, called the Gates of Syria and Cilicia. They extended from the mountains to the ſea. The interval of three furlongs between them contained ſeveral paſſes, narrow and intricate, beſides the rapid Kerſas, which flowed in the middle, one hundred feet in breadth. It was on this occaſion that Cyrus experienced the full advantage of the Lacedæmonian aſſiſtance. A fleet of ſixty ſail, conducted by Pythagoras the Spartan, who had ſucceeded Samius in the naval command, pre-

[13] This paſſage is tranſlated as follows by Mr. Spelman: "After him another got up, ſhewing the folly of the man who adviſed to demand the ſhips, as if Cyrus would not reſume his expedition. He ſhewed alſo how weak a thing it was to apply for a guide to that perſon whoſe undertaking we had defeated." If Cyrus reſumed his expedition, it could not be ſaid that his undertaking was defeated; nor is this the proper meaning of the word λυμαίνεσθαι, which ſignifies to hurt or weaken. I am ſenſible that by an eaſy tranſition, it ſometimes ſignifies to corrupt, to deſtroy, to defeat; but in the paſſage before us, if a tranſlator ſhould chooſe to explain it by any of thoſe words, he muſt ſay, "whoſe undertaking we had begun, endeavoured, or purpoſed, to defeat; an explanation of ἐπεχείρησε, which is juſtified by the analogy of the Greek language, and which the ſenſe abſolutely requires." This is one of the few minute miſtakes which I have diſcovered in Mr. Spelman's moſt accurate tranſlation.

[14] Xenoph. ibid. p. 250, & ſeqq.

pared.

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pared to land the Greeks on the eaſtern ſide of the Gates, which muſt have expoſed the Syrian works to a double aſſault; but the cowardice of Abrocomas, who commanded the numerous forces of Syria and Phœnicia, rendered the execution of this meaſure unneceſſary. The deſign, alone, was ſufficient to terrify him. He abandoned his forts, and fled with precipitation before the approach of an enemy [15].

The army wade the Euphrates.

Cyrus thenceforth proceeded without meeting with any appearance of oppoſition, and, in fifteen days march, reached the banks of the Euphrates. At Thapſacus, which in ſome eaſtern languages ſignifies the ford [16], this noble river is above half a mile in breadth, but ſo ſhoaly that the navigation is reckoned dangerous even for boats which draw very little water. The ſhallowneſs increaſes in the autumnal ſeaſon, which happened to be the time that the army paſſed the Euphrates, which no where reached above the breaſt. This favourable circumſtance furniſhed an opportunity to the inhabitants of Thapſacus to flatter Cyrus, that the great river had viſibly ſubmitted to him as its future king [17]. Elevated by this auſpicious prediction, he purſued his journey through Meſopotamia, part of which was anciently comprehended under the name of Syria [18]. While he proceeded through this fertile country he did not forget that a laborious march of ſeventeen days, through a barren deſart, muſt conduct him to the cultivated plains of Babylon.

Traverſe the deſert, and enter Babylonia.

Having amply provided for this dangerous undertaking, he performed it with uncommon celerity, both in order to avoid riſking the want of proviſions, and, if poſſible, to take his enemy unprepared. For ſeveral days the army marched, without interruption, through the province of Babylonia; and, on the fifth, came to a deep and broad ditch, which had been recently dug to intercept, or

[15] Xenoph. p. 253.
[16] Foſter's Geographical Diſſertation on Xenophon's Retreat.
[17] Xenoph. p. 255.
[18] So it is called by Xenoph. ibid.

retard,

retard, their paſſage. But as this defence was left altogether unguarded, and the great king had taken no meaſures to protect the moſt valuable portion of his dominions, it was generally believed that he had laid aſide the deſign of venturing an engagement. The troops of Cyrus, therefore, who had hitherto maintained their ranks with circumſpection, no longer obſerved any order of march; their arms were carried in waggons, or on ſumpter horſes; and their general, in his car, rode in the van with few armed attendants. While they proceeded in this fearleſs contempt of the enemy, and approached the plain of Cynaxa, which is within a day's journey of Babylon[19], Patagyas, a Perſian, and confidential friend of Cyrus, came riding towards them, in full ſpeed, his horſe all in a foam, calling aloud ſucceſſively in his own language, and in Greek, that the king was at hand with a vaſt army[20].

Cyrus deſcries the immenſe army of his brother.

The experienced Greeks, who beſt knew the danger of being attacked in diſorder, were moſt ſenſibly alarmed by this ſudden ſurpriſe. Cyrus, leaping from his car, put on his corſlet, mounted his horſe, ſeized his javelin, commanded the troops to arm, and ordered every man to his poſt. His orders were readily obeyed; and the army advanced, ſeveral hours, in order of battle. It was now midday; yet no enemy appeared: but in the afternoon they perceived a duſt like a white cloud, which gradually thickened into darkneſs, and overſpread the plain. At length the brazen armour flaſhed; the motion, the ranks, and ſpears, were diſtinctly ſeen. In the front were innumerable chariots, armed with ſcythes in a downward, and in an oblique, direction. The cavalry, commanded by Tiſſaphernes, were diſtinguiſhed by white corſlets; the Perſians by wicker bucklers; the Egyptians by wooden ſhields reaching down to their feet.

[19] I have uſed an indeterminate expreſſion to denote the uncertain ſituation of thoſe places as deſcribed by Strabo, l. ii. & Plut. in Artaxerx. Mr. Spelman juſtly obſerves, that the error of Xenophon (unnoticed by any former tranſlator) who makes the diſtance between Babylon three thouſand and ſixty ſtadia, is ſo enormous, that it can only be owing to a miſtake of the tranſcriber.

[20] Xenoph. p. 263.

Theſe

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These formed the chief ſtrength of Artaxerxes; but the various multitude of nations, marching in ſeparate columns according to their reſpective countries, had ſcarcely any armour of defence, and could annoy the enemy only at a diſtance, with their ſlings, darts, and arrows [21].

Its number and diſpoſition.

While the hoſtile battalions approached, Cyrus, accompanied by Pigres the interpreter, and a few choſen attendants, all mounted on horſes of extraordinary ſwiftneſs, rode through the intermediate ſpace, obſerving the numbers and diſpoſition of the enemy. He had learned from deſerters, that the troops of the great king amounted to twelve hundred thouſand, divided into four equal bodies of men, reſpectively commanded by the four generals Tiſſaphernes, Gobrias, Arbaces, and Abracomas. The laſt, however, had not yet joined; nor did he reach Babylonia till five days after the battle. But, notwithſtanding this defect, the numbers of Artaxerxes were ſtill ſufficient to perform whatever numbers can accompliſh. According to the cuſtom of the Eaſt, the king, ſurrounded by a choſen body of cavalry, occupied the centre of the army, as the place of greateſt ſecurity, and moſt convenient for iſſuing his orders with promptitude and effect. But ſuch was the extent of ground covered by the various nations whom he commanded, that even his centre reached beyond the left wing of the army of Cyrus; who, therefore, called aloud to Clearchus to advance oppoſite to the king's guard, becauſe, if that ſhould be broken, the work would be done. But Clearchus was unwilling to withdraw the Greeks from the Euphrates, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded by the enemy; he therefore kept his poſt, aſſuring Cyrus of his utmoſt care to make all go well.

The battle of Cynaxa. Olymp. xcv. 1. A. C. 400.

The diſobedience of Clearchus, and the diſtruſt of Cyrus, threw away the fortune of the day, which involved the fate of Perſia, and

[21] Xenoph. p. 263, & ſeqq.

the

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the renown of Greece. For although, by ſkilful evolutions, Clearchus eluded the armed chariots and cavalry of the enemy; though the Greeks, by their countenance and ſhouts alone, put to flight the oppoſing crowd, who could not endure the ſight of their regular array, their burniſhed arms, or hear, without terror, the martial ſounds of their harmonious Pœans, intermixed with the clanging of their ſpears againſt their brazen bucklers; yet the great king, perceiving the rapid purſuit of the Greeks, and that nothing oppoſed him in front, commanded his men to wheel to the left, and advanced with celerity in order to attack the rear of the enemy. If this deſign had been carried into execution, it is probable that the Greeks, having prevailed on the firſt onſet, would immediately have faced about, and, animated by the joy of victory, and their native ardour, have repelled and routed the troops of Artaxerxes.

Raſh impetuoſity of Cyrus.

But the impatience of Cyrus defeated this favourable proſpect. He obſerved the movement of his brother, and eagerly rode to meet him, at the head of only ſix hundred horſe. Such was the rapid violence of his aſſault, that the advanced guards of the king were thrown into diſorder, and their leader Artagerſes fell by the hand of Cyrus, who, with all his great qualities, had not learned to diſtinguiſh between the duties of a ſoldier and a general. By a ſeaſonable retreat he might ſtill, perhaps, have ſaved his life, and gained a crown. But his eye darting along the ranks, met that of his brother. He ruſhed forward, with a blind inſtinctive fury, crying out, "I ſee the man!" and, penetrating the thick globe of attendants, aimed his javelin at the king, pierced his corſlet, and wounded his breaſt. His eagerneſs to deſtroy the enemy prevented proper attention to ſave himſelf. From an uncertain hand he received a ſevere wound in the face, which, however, only increaſed the fury with which he aſſaulted his brother. Various and inconſiſtent accounts were given of the death of Cyrus, even by thoſe who aſſiſted in this memorable engagement. The crowd of hiſtorians thought it incum-

His death

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bent on them to make him die like the hero of a tragedy, after many viciſſitudes of fortune, and many variations of miſery. Dinon and Cteſias[22], the longer to ſuſpend the curioſity of their readers, kill him as with a blunted weapon; but Xenophon is contented with ſaying, that he fell in the tumultuary conteſt of his attendants with the guards of Artaxerxes, who zealouſly defended their reſpective maſters; and that eight of his moſt confidential friends lay dead upon him, thus ſealing with their blood their inviolable affection and fidelity[23].

The Perſian troops plunder the camp of Cyrus.

Such was the cataſtrophe of this audacious and fatal enterpriſe; after which the troops of Artaxerxes advanced, in the ardor of ſucceſs, and proceeded, without encountering any reſiſtance, to the hoſtile camp; Ariæus leading off the forces of Leſſer Aſia, dejected and diſmayed by the loſs of their prince and general. Among the valuable plunder in the tents of Cyrus, the Barbarians found two Grecian women, his favourite miſtreſſes, the elder of Phocæa, the younger of Miletus. The former, whoſe wit and accompliſhments heightened the charms of her beauty, received and deſerved the name of Aſpaſia, from the celebrated miſtreſs of Pericles, whoſe talents ſhe rivalled, and whoſe character ſhe too faithfully reſembled. The young Mileſian likewiſe fell into the hands of the enemy; but while careleſsly guarded by the Barbarians, intent on more uſeful plunder, eſcaped unobſerved, and arrived naked in the quarter of the Greeks, where a ſmall guard had been left to defend the baggage.

The Greeks, victorious in their quarter of the field, purſue the enemy.

Meanwhile Clearchus, at the head of the Grecian phalanx, purſuing the fugitives, had been carried above the diſtance of three miles from Artaxerxes. But when he heard that the Barbarians were in his tent; and perceived, that, tired with plunder, they advanced to attack his rear, he faced about in order to receive them.

[22] Apud Plutarch. in Artaxerx.

[23] Xenoph. p. 266.

The

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The time was ſpent, till ſun-ſet, in various diſpoſitions made by the cavalry of Artaxerxes; but neither the ſoldiers, nor their commanders, had courage to come within the reach of the Grecian ſpear. They fled in ſcattered diſorder, wherever the Grecians advanced; who, wearied with marching againſt an enemy that ſeemed incapable to fight, at length determined to return to their camp; wondering that neither Cyrus himſelf appeared, nor any of his meſſengers[24]. They arrived in the beginning of the night; but found their tents in diſorder, their baggage plundered, their proviſions deſtroyed or ſpent. They chiefly regretted the loſs of four hundred carriages filled with wine and flour, which had been provided by the foreſight of Cyrus, as a reſource in time of want. Even theſe were rifled by the king's troops; and the Greeks, whom the ſudden appearance of the enemy had not allowed to dine, were obliged to paſs the night without ſupper; their bodies exhauſted by the fatigue of a laborious day, and their minds perplexed by the uncertain fate of their allies[25].

Behaviour of the Greeks when informed of Cyrus's death.

At the approach of light, they prepared to move their camp, when the meſſengers of Ariæus arrived, acquainting them with the death of Cyrus. The new commander, they ſaid, had aſſembled the troops of Leſſer Aſia in their former encampment, about twelve miles from the field of battle; where he intended to continue that day, that the Greeks might have time to join him; but if they delayed, he would next day proceed, without them, towards Ionia, with the utmoſt expedition. When the Greeks recovered from the conſternation into which they were thrown by theſe unexpected and melancholy tidings, Clearchus replied, "Would to God Cyrus were alive! but

[24] In relating this battle, I have followed the advice of Plutarch in Artaxerxes, who ſays, "that Xenophon has deſcribed it with ſuch perſpicuity, elegance, and force, as ſets the action before the eyes of his reader, and makes him aſſiſt with emotion at every incident, not as paſt, but as preſent. A man of ſenſe, therefore, will deſpair to rival Xenophon; and, inſtead of relating the action in detail, will ſelect ſuch circumſtances only as are moſt worthy of notice."

[25] Xenoph. p. 279. & ſeqq.

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since he is dead, let Ariæus know, that we have conquered the king; that his troops have every-where fled before us; and that, now, no enemy appears to resist our arms. You may, therefore, assure Ariæus, that if he will come hither, we will place him on the Persian throne, which is the just reward of our victory." With this proposal the messengers departed, and Clearchus led his troops to the field of battle, to collect provisions, which were prepared by using for fuel the wooden bucklers, shields, and arrows, of the Barbarians[26].

Their answer to the heralds of Artaxerxes, who demanded their armour.

Next morning heralds arrived from Artaxerxes, who entertained a very different opinion from that expressed by Clearchus, concerning the issue of the battle. Among these respected ministers was Philinus, a fugitive Greek, a man esteemed by Tissaphernes, both as a skilful captain, and as an able negociator. When the chiefs were assembled, Philinus, speaking for his colleagues, declared it to be the will of the great king, who had defeated and killed Cyrus, "That the Greeks, who had now become the slaves of the conqueror, should furrender their arms." The demand was heard with universal indignation. One desired him to tell the king "to come and take them;" another, "that it was better to die, than to deliver up their arms." Xenophon spoke to the following purpose: "We have nothing, as you see, O Philinus! but our arms, and our valour. While we keep possession of the one, we can avail ourselves of the other; but, if we deliver up our arms, we also surrender our persons. Do not, therefore, expect that we shall throw away the only advantages which we still enjoy; on the contrary, be assured, that, relying on our arms and our valour, we will dispute with you those advantages which you possess." Clearchus enforced the sentiments of Xenophon, which were confirmed by the army; and Philinus, after a fruitless attempt to discover the immediate designs of the Greeks, returned with his colleagues, to the Persian camp[27].

[26] Xenoph. p. 272. [27] Ibid. p. 273.

Meanwhile,

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Their plan of retreat concerted with Ariæus.

Meanwhile, Ariæus replied to the honourable embaſſy which had been ſent him, "That there were many Perſians of greater conſideration than himſelf, who would never permit him to be their king; he repeated his deſire that the Greeks ſhould join him; but, if they declined to come, perſiſted in his reſolution of returning with all haſte to Ionia." This propoſal was approved by the propitious indications of the victims: the army marched in order of battle to the encampment of Ariæus; who, with the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his captains, entered into treaty with the Grecian commanders, binding themſelves by mutual oaths to perform to each other the duties of faithful and affectionate allies. Having ratified this engagement by a ſolemn ſacrifice, they proceeded to deliberate concerning their intended journey. It was determined, that inſtead of traverſing the deſolated country by which they had arrived at the field of battle, they ſhould direct their courſe towards the north, by which means they would avoid the deſert, acquire proviſions in greater plenty, and croſs the great rivers, which commonly diminiſh near their ſource, with leſs difficulty and danger. They reſolved alſo to perform their firſt marches with all poſſible expedition, in order to anticipate the king's approach; ſince with a ſmall force he would not dare to follow, and with a great army he would not be able to overtake, them[28].

They accept a truce from Artaxerxes.

This plan of retreat propoſed by Ariæus, had the diſhonourable appearance of flight; but fortune proved a more glorious conductor. Such was the effect of the Grecian courage and firmneſs on the counſels of Artaxerxes, that he, who had ſo lately commanded the ſoldiers to ſurrender their arms, ſent heralds to them the day following to treat of a truce. This memorable agreement, the conſequences of which were ſo calamitous, yet ſo honourable to the Greeks, was concluded by the intervention of Tiſſaphernes; who engaged, on the part of his maſter, to furniſh them with a

[28] Xenoph. p. 276.

market,

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market, to cauſe them to be treated as friends in the countries through which they marched, and to conduct them without guile into Greece. For the Greeks, on the other hand, Clearchus and the generals ſwore, that they ſhould abſtain from ravaging the king's territories; that they ſhould ſupply themſelves with meat and drink only, when, by any accident, the market was not provided; but when it was, that they ſhould purchaſe whatever they wanted for a reaſonable price[29].

Treachery of Tiſſaphernes and Ariæus.

When this buſineſs was tranſacted, Tiſſaphernes returned to the king, promiſing to come back as ſoon as poſſible. But, on various pretences, he delayed twenty days; during which the Perſians had an opportunity to practiſe with Ariæus. By the dread of puniſhment, if he perſiſted in rebellion; by the promiſe of pardon, if he returned to his allegiance; and, above all, by the warm ſolicitation of his kinſmen and friends, that unſteady Barbarian was totally detached from the intereſt of his Grecian allies. His conduct gave juſt ground to ſuſpect this diſpoſition, which became fully evident after the return of Tiſſaphernes. From that moment Ariæus no longer encamped with the Greeks, but preferred the neighbourhood of that perfidious ſatrap. Yet, for three weeks, no open hoſtility was committed; the armies, fearing, and feared by each other, purſued the ſame line of march; Tiſſaphernes led the way; and, according to agreement, furniſhed the Greeks with a market; but treacherouſly increaſed the difficulty of their journey, by conducting them by many windings through the canals and marſhes between the Tigris and Euphrates. When they had croſſed the former river, they continued to march northward along its eaſtern banks, always encamping at the diſtance of two or three miles from the Barbarians. Yet this precaution was unable to prevent the parties ſent out to provide wood or forage from quarrelling with each other.

[29] Xenoph. p. 281. & ſeqq.

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Sometimes they came to blows; and theſe partial encounters were likely to produce the worſt conſequences, by inflaming the latent, but general animoſity, which it had been ſo difficult to ſtifle or conceal [30].

Perfidious ſeizure of the Grecian generals.

At length they arrived at the fatal ſcene, where the river Zabatus, flowing weſtward from the mountains of Media, pours its tributary waters into the broad ſtream of the Tigris. The Grecian generals, and particularly Clearchus, who had long ſeen and lamented the unfortunate jealouſies prevailing among thoſe who had ſworn mutual fidelity, propoſed a mutual conference between the commanders, in order amicably to explain and remove every ground of hatred and complaint. Tiſſaphernes and Ariæus, as well as their colleague Orontes, eagerly deſired a conference, though their motives were very different from thoſe which actuated Clearchus. A meaſure ſo agreeable to both parties was, without difficulty, carried into execution; and the Greeks, on this occaſion alone, forſook that prudence and caution, which, both before and after, uniformly governed their conduct. Five generals, and twenty captains, repaired to the tent of Tiſſaphernes; only two hundred ſoldiers followed them, under pretence of going to market. Clearchus, with his colleagues, Menon, Proxenus, Agias, and Socrates, were conducted into the ſatrap's apartment; the reſt, whether captains or ſoldiers, were not allowed to enter. This ſeparation occaſioned fear and diſtruſt. The appearance of armed Barbarians increaſed the terror. A gloomy ſilence prevailed; when, on a given ſignal, thoſe within the tent were apprehended, and thoſe without cut to pieces. At the ſame time the Perſian cavalry ſcoured the plain, deſtroying whomever they encountered. The Greeks were aſtoniſhed at this mad excurcurſion, which they beheld from their camp; until Nicarchus, an Arcadian, came, miſerably mangled, and informed them of the dreadful tragedy that had been acted [31].

[30] Xenoph. p. 282.

[31] Ibid. p. 286. & ſeq.

Upon

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Artaxerxes ſends to the Greeks to demand their arms.

Upon this intelligence they ran to their arms, expecting an immediate aſſault. But the cowardly Barbarians, not daring to engage in open and honourable war, endeavoured to accompliſh their deſigns by the ſame impious treachery with which they had begun them. Inſtead of advancing in a body to attack the Grecian camp, they ſent Ariæus, Arteazus, and Mithridates, perſons whoſe great credit with Cyrus might prevent their intentions from being ſuſpected by the enemy. They were attended by three hundred Perſians, clad in complete armour. When they drew near to the Greeks, a herald called out, "That, if any of the generals or captains were preſent, they ſhould advance, in order to be made acquainted with the king's pleaſure." Cheiriſophus the Lacedæmonian, who, next to Clearchus, had hitherto maintained the greateſt influence over the army, happened to be abſent with a party of foragers. But the remaining generals, Cleanor the Orchomenian, and Sophonetus the Stymphalian, proceeded with caution from the camp, accompanied by Xenophon the Athenian, who (though only a volunteer) followed the commanders, that he might learn what was become of his friend Proxenus[12].

Conference on that ſubject.

When they came within hearing of the Barbarians, Ariæus ſaid, "Clearchus, O Greeks! having violated his oath, and the articles of peace, is puniſhed with juſt death; but Proxenus and Menon, who gave information of his crimes, are rewarded with the king's favour. Of you the king demands your arms, which, he ſays, are now his property, becauſe they belonged to Cyrus, who was his ſlave." Cleanor the Orchomenian, ſpeaking in the name of the reſt, replied to this demand with the utmoſt indignation, reproaching the perfidy of Ariæus, who had betrayed the friends and benefactors of his maſter Cyrus; and who co-operated with the enemy of that maſter, the deceitful and impious Tiſſaphernes. The Perſian endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, by repeating his accuſation of Clearchus. Upon which Xenophon obſerved, "That

[12] Xenoph. p. 288. & ſeqq.

Clearchus,

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Clearchus, if guilty of perjury, had been juſtly puniſhed; but where are Proxenus and Menon, who are *your* benefactors, and *our* commanders? Let them, at leaſt, be ſent to us, ſince it is evident that their friendſhip for both parties will make them adviſe which is beſt for both." This reaſonable requeſt it was impoſſible to elude; and the Barbarians, after long conferring together, departed without attempting an anſwer[33]. Their mean duplicity in this interview ſufficiently indicated the unhappy treatment of the Grecian commanders, who were kept in cloſe captivity, and afterwards ſent to Artaxerxes, by whoſe order they were put to death.

[33] Xenoph. p. 289.

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Conſternation of the Greeks.—Manly Advice of Xenophon.—Their Retreat.—Difficulties attending it.—Surmounted by their Skill and Perſeverance.—Their Sufferings among the Carduchian Mountains.—They traverſe Armenia.—Firſt behold the Sea from Mount Thecbes.—Defeat the Colchians.—Deſcription of the ſouthern Shore of the Euxine.—Tranſactions with the Greek Colonies there.—The Greeks arrive at Byzantium.—Enter into the Service of Seuthes.—His Hiſtory.—Conjunct Expeditions of the Greeks and Thracians.—The Greeks return to the Service of their Country.

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Conſternation of the Greeks.

THE perfidious aſſaſſination of their commanders converted the alarm and terror, that had hitherto reigned in the Grecian camp, into conſternation and deſpair. This dreadful cataſtrophe completed the afflictions of men diſtant above twelve hundred miles from their native land; ſurrounded by craggy mountains, deep and rapid rivers; by famine, war, and the treachery of their allies, ſtill more formidable than the reſentment of their enemies. The ſoldiers reflected, that it was dangerous to depart, yet more dangerous to remain; proviſions could be acquired only by the point of the ſword; every country was hoſtile; although they conquered one enemy, another would be ſtill ready to receive them; they

they wanted cavalry to purſue the Barbarians, or to elude their purſuit; victory itſelf would be fruitleſs; defeat, certain ruin.

Manly advice of Xenophon;

Amidſt theſe melancholy reflections they had ſpent the greater part of the night; when Xenophon, the Athenian, inſpired, as he acknowledges, by a favourable dream, and animated, as his conduct proves, by the native vigour of a virtuous mind, rouſed and emboldened by adverſity, undertook, amidſt the general dejection and diſmay, the care of his own and of the public ſafety. Having aſſembled the captains belonging to the diviſion of his beloved Proxenus, he faithfully repreſented to them their ſituation, which, dangerous as it was, ought not to ſink brave men to deſpair. Even in the worſt circumſtances, fortitude, and fortitude alone, could afford relief. They had been deceived, but not conquered, by the Barbarians; whoſe perfidious violation of faith, friendſhip, and hoſpitality, rendered them odious and contemptible to men and gods; the gods, who were the umpires of the conteſt, and whoſe aſſiſtance could make the cauſe of juſtice and valour prevail, over every ſuperiority of ſtrength and numbers[1].

who, together with Cheiriſophus, the Spartan, is named to the chief command.

The manly piety of Xenophon was communicated, by a generous ſympathy, to the breaſts of his hearers; who, diſperſing through the various quarters of the camp, ſummoned together the principal officers in the army. To them Xenophon addreſſed a ſimilar diſcourſe, encouraging them by every argument that religion, philoſophy, experience, and particularly their own experience, and that of the Grecian hiſtory, could afford, to expect ſucceſs from their own bravery, and the favour of Heaven, and to diſdain the offers of accommodation (if ſuch ſhould be made) from their impious foes, whoſe inſidious friendſhip had always proved more hurtful than their open enmity. The hearty approbation of the Spartan Cheiriſophus added weight and authority to the perſuaſive eloquence of the Athenian; who farther exhorted them to ſubſtitute commanders

[1] Xenoph. p. 295.

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in the room of thoſe whom they had loſt; to diſentangle themſelves from every ſuperfluous incumbrance that might obſtruct the progreſs of their march, and to advance with all expedition towards the ſources of the Tigris and Euphrates, in the form of a hollow ſquare, having the baggage and thoſe who attended it in the middle, and preſenting the valour of their battalions on every ſide to the enemy. Theſe reſolutions were unanimouſly approved by the council, after which they were referred to the aſſembled troops, by whom they were readily confirmed, and carried into immediate execution[2]. Timaſion, Xanthicles, Cleanor, Philyſias, ſucceeded to the late commanders; Xenophon ſupplied the place of Proxenus; and ſo ably was the aſcendant of Spartan and Athenian virtue maintained by him and Cheiriſophus, that the names of their unequal colleagues will ſeldom occur in the following narrative of their retreat.

The Greeks haraſſed in their retreat by the Perſian archers and cavalry.

The greater part of the day had been employed in theſe neceſſary meaſures; and in the afternoon, the troops having paſſed the Zabatus, purſued their march in the diſpoſition recommended by Xenophon. But they had not proceeded far, before their rear was haraſſed by the Perſian archers and cavalry, which afforded them a very inauſpicious preſage of the hardſhips to which they muſt be continually expoſed in eighteen days journey along the level frontiers of Media. It was difficult to repel theſe light ſkirmiſhers, and impoſſible to attack them without being expoſed to conſiderable loſs; becauſe a detachment of heavy-armed men, or even of targeteers, could not overtake them in a ſhort ſpace, nor could they continue the purſuit without being cut off from the reſt of the army. Xenophon, with more valour than prudence, tried the unfortunate experiment; but was obliged to retreat fighting, and brought back his men wounded, diſheartened, and diſgraced[3].

[2] Xenoph. p. 299.

[3] Id. p. 305. & ſeqq.

But

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They equip their ſumpter horſes for war, and furniſh the Rhodians with ſlings.

But this unfortunate event neither diſheartened nor diſgraced the commander. He ingenuouſly acknowledged his error, which, pernicious as it was, had taught the Greeks their wants. They wanted cavalry and light-armed troops; the former of which might be obtained by equipping for war the baggage-horſes which had been taken from the enemy; and the latter might be ſupplied by the Rhodians (well ſkilled in the ſling), of whom there were great numbers in the army. This advice was approved; a company of fifty horſemen was ſoon raiſed, the men vying with each other to obtain the honour of this diſtinguiſhed ſervice; and two hundred Rhodians were drawn from the ranks, who furniſhed themſelves with ſlings and leaden balls, which they threw twice as far as the ſtones employed by the Barbarians. The horſemen wore buff coats and corſlets; they were commanded by Lycius the Athenian [4].

Their ſucceſs in conſequence of theſe meaſures.

The utility of theſe preparations was diſcovered as ſoon as the enemy renewed their aſſaults, with a thouſand horſe, and four thouſand ſlingers and archers. The newly raiſed troops advanced with boldneſs and celerity, being aſſured that their unequal attack would be ſuſtained by the targeteers and heavy-armed men. But the Perſians, not waiting to receive them, fled in ſcattered diſorder; the Greeks purſued, took many priſoners, made great ſlaughter, and mangled the bodies of the ſlain, in order to terrify, by ſuch a dreadful ſpectacle of revenge, their cowardly and perfidious enemies [5].

New difficulties with which they had to ſtruggle.

After this advantage, the army continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, and the weſtern boundaries of Media, meeting with many rich and populous villages, from which they were ſupplied with proviſions; and admiring, as they paſſed along, the immenſe walls, the lofty and durable pyramids, the ſpacious but deſerted cities, which teſtified the ancient greatneſs of that flouriſh-

[4] Xenoph. p. 307.

[5] Ibid. p. 308.

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ing kingdom, before the Medes reluctantly ſubmitted to the oppreſſive government of Perſia. The Barbarians ſtill endeavoured to annoy them, but with very little ſucceſs, unleſs when they paſſed a bridge, or any narrow defile. On ſuch occaſions, the ſquare form, in which they had hitherto marched, was found doubly inconvenient[6]. In order to traverſe ſuch a paſſage, the ſoldiers were obliged to cloſe the wings, and to crowd into a narrow ſpace, which diſordered the ranks, and made them obſtruct each other. When they had croſſed the bridge or defile, they were again obliged to run with all haſte, in order to extend the wings, and reſume their ranks, which occaſioned a void in the centre, and much diſheartened the men, thus expoſed to the ſudden attack of the purſuers.

Surmounted by their military ſkill.

To obviate both inconveniencies, the Greeks ſeparated from the army ſix companies, each conſiſting of an hundred men. Theſe were ſubdvided into ſmaller bodies, of fifty and twenty-five, each diviſion of the company, as well as the whole, commanded by proper officers. When it became neceſſary to cloſe the wings, in order to paſs a defile, theſe troops ſtaid behind, thus diſburdening the army of a ſuperfluous maſs, and thereby enabling them to proceed without confuſion in their ranks. After the paſſage was effected, the army might again extend the wings, and aſſume the ſame looſe arrangement as before, without expoſing the centre to danger; becauſe the vacuity left there was immediately ſupplied by the detached companies; the opening, if ſmall, being filled up by the ſix diviſions of an hundred men each; if larger, by the twelve diviſions of fifty; and if very large, by the twenty-four diviſions of twenty-five[7]; as the ſame number of men, in proportion to the number of columns into which they were divided, would occupy a wider extent of ground[8].

With

[6] Xenoph. p. 310.

[7] Ibid. idem.

[8] I have explained this matter minutely, becauſe the words of Xenophon are miſtaken by great military writers. Major Mauvillon, a ſkilful engineer and excellent ſcholar, propoſes a tranſpoſition of the words of Xenophon, that the greater gaps may be filled

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The Greeks approach the country of the Carduchians.

With this uſeful precaution the Greeks performed a ſucceſsful march to the mountains of the Carduchians, where the enemy's cavalry could no longer annoy them. But here they found new difficulties, far more formidable than thoſe with which they had hitherto been obliged to contend. The Tigris, on their left, was ſo deep and rapid, that the paſſage appeared abſolutely impracticable. Before them roſe the high and craggy mountains, which overſhadowed the river, inhabited by a warlike race of men, whoſe barous independence had always defied the hoſtilities[9] of Perſia, as that of their ſucceſſors, the modern Curdes, does the arms of the Turk, to whom they are but nominally ſubject[10]. While the Greeks doubted what courſe to purſue, a certain Rhodian undertook to deliver them from their perplexity, provided they gave him a talent, to reward his labour. I ſhall want, beſides, continued he, two thouſand leather bags, which may be obtained by flaying the ſheep, goats, oxen, and aſſes, which the country affords in ſuch numbers as we ſee around us. The ſkins may be blown, tied at the ends, and faſtened together by the girts belonging to the ſumpter horſes, then covered with faſcines, and laſtly with earth. I ſhall uſe large ſtones inſtead of anchors; every bag will bear two men, whom the faſcines and earth will prevent from ſlipping, and whom, with very little labour on their part, the rapidity of the current will waft acroſs the river[11].

Ingenious contrivance of a Rhodian for paſſing the Tigris.

This ingenious contrivance was commended, but not carried into execution; the Grecians having learned from ſome priſoners recently taken, that the road through the country of the Carduchians would ſoon conduct them to the ſpacious and plentiful province of Ar-

The ſufferings of the Greeks among the mountains of the Carduchians.

filled up by the greater diviſions. He juſtly obſerves, that no tranſlator or commentator has taken notice of the difficulty that naturally preſents itſelf on reading the paſſage, which, however, I hope is ſufficiently perſpicuous in the text. See l'Eſſai ſur l'Influence de la Poudre à Canon, &c. a work which, I believe, no military man can read without receiving from it inſtruction and entertainment.

[9] Xenoph. p. 315.

[10] Rauwolf's Travels.

[11] Xenoph. p. 314.

Media.

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menia. Thither they fearleſsly penetrated, regardleſs of the report, that under a former reign, a Perſian army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men had been cut off by thoſe fierce barbarians, whoſe manners were more rude and inhoſpitable than the mountains which they inhabited. At the approach of the Greeks, the Carduchians retired to their faſtneſſes, leaving the villages in the plain at the mercy of the invaders. The troops were reſtrained from injury; but their inoffenſive behaviour, and kind invitations to peace, were regarded with contempt by the common enemies of the Greeks, of the Perſians, and of human kind. They ſeized every opportunity to obſtruct the march of the army; and though unprepared for a cloſe engagement, uſed with extraordinary effect their bows, three cubits long, which they bent by preſſing the lower part with their left foot. The arrows were near as long as the bows; and their irreſiſtible points pierced the firmeſt ſhields and corſlets. The Greeks employed their ſkill in tactics, and their valour, to elude, or to repel, the aſſault of theſe dangerous foes, from whom they ſuffered more in ſeven days than they had done in as many weeks from the braveſt troops of Artaxerxes [12]. At length they arrived at the river Centrites, two hundred feet broad, which forms the ſouthern boundary of Armenia, having juſt reaſon to rejoice that they had eſcaped the weapons of the Carduchians, whoſe poſterity, the Parthians [13], with the ſame arms and addreſs, became formidable to Rome, when Rome was formidable to the world [14].

They traverſe Armenia.

The month of January was employed in traverſing the fruitful plains of Armenia [15], which are beautifully diverſified by hills of eaſy aſcent. Teribazus, the Perſian governor of the province, entered into an agreement with the generals, that if they abſtained from ho-

[12] Xenoph. p. 218—226.

[13] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 515.

[14] Plut. in Craſſo & Marc. Anton.

[15] There the Greeks found παντα τα επιτηδια, οσα ην αγαθα, ιπρια, σιτον, οινους παλαιους ευωδεις, αραφιδας, οσπρια παντοδαπα; "All kinds of neceſſaries, and even luxuries, victims, corn, old fragrant wines, dried grapes, and all ſorts of pulſe."

ſtilities,

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ſtilities, he would not obſtruct their march, but furniſh them plentifully with proviſions. But this league was perfidiouſly violated. The Greeks had recourſe to arms; purſued Teribazus; aſſaulted and plundered his camp[16]. Next day they were expoſed to a more dangerous conteſt, in which neither ſkill nor valour could avail. The ſnow fell in ſuch quantities during the night, as completely covered the men with their arms. Their bodies were benumbed and parched with the piercing coldneſs of the north wind. Many ſlaves and ſumpter horſes periſhed, with about thirty ſoldiers. The reſt could ſcarcely be perſuaded by Xenophon to put themſelves in motion, which was known to be the only remedy for their diſtreſs; and as the ſeverity of the weather ſtill continued during the remainder of their march through Armenia, ſeveral ſoldiers loſt their ſight by the glare of the ſnow, and their toes and fingers by the intenſeneſs of the cold[17]. The eyes were beſt defended by wearing ſomething black before them; the feet were preſerved by conſtant motion in the day, and by ſtripping bare in the night.

In danger of periſhing by the intenſe cold of that country.

From Armenia they proceeded to the country of the Taochians, who, alarmed by the approach of an unknown enemy, had abandoned the vallies, and taken refuge on the mountains, with their wives, children, and cattle. Hither alſo they had conveyed all their proviſions; ſo that the Greeks were obliged to attack theſe faſtneſſes, otherwiſe the army muſt have been ſtarved. The Barbarians boldly defended them, by letting fly innumerable volleys of ſtones down the precipices. But this artillery was at length exhauſted; the Greeks became maſters of the heights; and a dreadful ſcene followed. The women firſt threw their children down the rock, and then themſelves. The men imitated this frantic example of deſpair; ſo that the aſſailants made few priſoners, but took a conſiderable quantity of ſheep, oxen, and aſſes[18].

Proceed through the territories of the Taochians.

[16] Xenoph. p. 328. [17] Ibid. p. 329. & ſeqq. [18] Ibid. p. 330.

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The fierce and fearleſs character of the Chalybeans.

From thence the army proceeded with uncommon celerity through the bleak and rocky country of the Chalybeans; marching, in ſeven days, about an hundred and fifty miles. The Chalybeans were the fierceſt nation in all thoſe parts. They wore, for their defence, linen corſlets, greaves, and helmets; they carried a ſhort falchion at their girdles; and attacked with pikes fifteen cubits long. Inſtead of diſcovering any ſymptoms of flight or fear, they ſang, danced, and rejoiced, at the approach of an enemy. They boldly defended their villages, not declining even a cloſe engagement with the Greeks; who could ſupply themſelves with nothing from this inhoſpitable and warlike country, but, in their dangerous march through it, ſubſiſted entirely on the cattle lately taken from the Taochians [19].

The Greeks arrive at mount Theches, from which they behold the ſea.

The river Harpaſus, four hundred feet broad, ſeparated the territories of the Chalybeans and Scythinians. From the latter the Greeks met with little reſiſtance, in a march of thirteen days, which brought them to the lofty mount Theches, a place held in particular devotion by the inhabitants of the neighbouring territory. The vanguard had no ſooner aſcended this ſacred mountain, than the army were alarmed by loud ſhouts, which continued to redouble with increaſing violence. It was imagined that ſome new form of danger had appeared, or that ſome new enemy was ready to aſſail them. The rear advanced with all poſſible expedition to the aſſiſtance of their companions; but having arrived within hearing, were ſeized with the moſt pleaſing aſtoniſhment, when their ears were ſaluted from every quarter with the repetition, "The ſea! the ſea!" the ſight of which, a ſight ſo long wiſhed in vain, at firſt filled them with tranſports of tumultuous joy, and afterwards recalled more diſtinctly the remembrance of their parents, their friends, their country, and every object of their moſt tender concern [20]. The ſoldiers, with tears in their eyes, embraced each

[19] Xenoph. p. 338.

[20] Ibid. p. 339.

other,

other, and embraced their commanders; and then, as by a hidden conſent of ſympathy (for it was never known by whoſe orders), heaped up a mount of ſtones, which they covered with barbaric arms, as a trophy of their memorable journey through ſo many fierce and hoſtile nations.

They paſs through the country of the Macronians.

The diſtant proſpect of the Euxine made them forget that they had not yet attained the end of their labours. A ſpace, indeed, of leſs than ſixty miles intervened; but it was covered by the trackleſs foreſts of the Macronians, and by the abrupt and intricate windings of the Colchian mountains. A fortunate circumſtance enabled them without difficulty to ſurmount the firſt of thoſe obſtacles. Among the Grecian targeteers was a man who underſtood the language of the Barbarians. He had been carried to Athens in his youth, where he had ſerved as a ſlave. At the ſight of the Macronians, he recogniſed his long-forgotten countrymen; and having addreſſed them in terms of friendſhip and reſpect, engaged them to exchange preſents, and to enter into alliance with the Greeks [21], whom they plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, and having cut down the trees that interrupted their paſſage, conducted them in three days to the weſtern frontier of Colchos.

Enter Colchos.

This country, ſo famous in the fables of antiquity [22], was inhabited by an ancient colony of Egyptians, who long preſerved pure from any foreign admixture, not only their original language, but the ſingular manners, and the more ſingular rites and ceremonies, of their mother-country [23]. Though diſtinguiſhed in other reſpects from the neighbouring nations, whom they deteſted, and to whom they ſeem deteſtable, they agreed with them in their jealouſy of the Greeks, whoſe flouriſhing colonies along the ſouthern ſhores of the Euxine threatened the ſafety of their dominions. They aſſembled therefore from all quarters, occupied the heights, and prepared to

[21] Xenoph. p. 340. [22] See Vol. I. p. 14, & ſeqq. [23] Herodot. l. xi. c. civ.

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diſpute the paſſage with obſtinacy. Their numbers, their diſcipline, their arms, but, ſtill more, their ſituation, rendered them formidable. If the Greeks advanced in a phalanx, or full line, their ranks would be broken by the inequalities of the ground, the centre would be diſordered, and the ſuperior numbers of the enemy would outreach either wing [24]. Theſe inconveniencies might partly be remedied by making ſuch parts of the line, as had an eaſy aſcent, wait for the ſlow and difficult progreſs of their companions through more abrupt and inacceſſible mountains; and, by extending the phalanx in length, and leaving very few men in file, their front might be rendered equal to that of the Colchians. But the firſt of theſe operations would have too long expoſed the army to the darts and arrows of the Barbarians, and the ſecond would have ſo much enfeebled the line, as muſt have rendered it liable to be penetrated. Amidſt this choice of difficulties, Xenophon propoſed, and the propoſal was readily approved by his colleagues, that the heavy-armed men ſhould be divided into companies of an hundred each, and that each diviſion ſhould be thrown into a ſeparate column. The wide intervals between the columns might thus enable the ſmaller army to extend on the right and left beyond the enemy's line; each company or diviſion might aſcend the mountain wherever they found it moſt convenient; the braveſt men might be led firſt to the charge; the depth of the columns [25] could not poſſibly be penetrated; nor could the enemy fall into the intervals between them, without being cut off by the diviſions on either ſide, which might be arranged in ſuch a manner as to relieve, encourage, and ſupport each other.

[24] Idem, p. 341.

[25] The λοχος ορθιος, is defined by Arrian to be a body of men, with the files longer than the ranks; that is, with more men in depth than in front. The φαλαγξ, without any epithet, means the contrary. But the φαλαγξ ορθια is an army, as the ſame author tells us, οταν επι κερως πορευωνται, that is, having more men in depth than in front, and employing, for ſome extraordinary reaſon, what is naturally the line of march as an order of battle.

This

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Defeat the Colchians.

This judicious diſpoſition was attended with the expected ſucceſs. The heavy-armed men formed eighty companies; the targeteers and archers, divided into three bodies, each of about ſix hundred men, flanked the army on the right and left. Their third diviſion, conſiſting chiefly of Arcadians, occupied a diſtinguiſhed place in the centre. Thus diſpoſed for battle, the wings of the Grecian army, and particularly the targeteers and archers, who were moſt capable of expedition, advanced with celerity to the attack. The enemy, who ſaw them approach, and who perceived that on either hand, they outreached their line, filed to the right and left in order to receive them. By this movement they left a void in their centre, towards which the Arcadian targeteers, ſupported by the neareſt columns, advanced with rapidity, and ſoon gained the ſummit. They could thus fight on equal terms with the Barbarians, who, thinking they had loſt all when they loſt the advantage of the ground, no longer offered reſiſtance, but fled on every ſide with diſordered trepidation, leaving the Greeks maſters of the field of battle, as well as of the numerous villages in that neighbourhood [26], and within two days march of the Euxine ſea, without any other enemy to oppoſe their long diſputed paſſage thither.

Deſcription of the ſouthern ſhore of the Euxine.

The ſouthern ſhore of the Euxine, which actually preſents one uniform ſcene of effeminate indolence and ſullen tyranny, anciently contained many barbarous but warlike tribes, totally independent on each other, and ſcarcely acknowledging any dependance on the king of Perſia. That part which extends towards the eaſt and the borders of Mount Caucaſus, and which afterwards formed the kingdom of the great Mithridates, was inhabited by the Colchians, Drillians, Myſonæcians, and Tybarenians; the middle diviſion was poſſeſſed by the Paphlagonians, who gloried in the irreſiſtible proweſs of their numerous cavalry; and the weſtern parts, extending two hundred miles from Heraclea to the Thracian Boſphorus, were occupied by

[26] Xenophon, p. 312.

the

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the inhoſpitable Bithynians; a colony of Thrace, who excelled and delighted in war, which, like their anceſtors in Europe, they carried on with a ſavage fury [27].

The Greek colony of Sinopé.

Amidſt the formidable hoſtility of thoſe numerous nations aroſe, at wide intervals, ſeveral Grecian cities, which enlivened the barbaric gloom, and diſplayed the peculiar glory of their arts and arms. Sinopé, the mother and the queen of thoſe cities, was advantageouſly ſituated on a narrow iſthmus which joined its territory, conſiſting in a ſmall but fertile peninſula [28], to the province of Paphlagonia. The foundation of Sinopé, remounted to the higheſt antiquity, and was aſcribed to Antolycus, one of the Argonauts [29]. The city was afterwards increaſed by a powerful acceſſion of Mileſians. It poſſeſſed convenient harbours on either ſide of the iſthmus. The peninſula was ſurrounded by ſharp rocks, which rendered it inacceſſible to an enemy; and the ſea abounded with the Tunny fiſh, which flow in ſhoals from the Palus Mæotis, where they are ſuppoſed to be bred [30], to the Euxine and Propontis.

The Sinopians found new colonies on that coaſt.

Such multiplied advantages rendered the Sinopians populous and powerful. They diffuſed their colonies to the eaſt and weſt. It is not improbable that they founded Heraclea [31], on the frontier of Bithynia; and it is certain that they built Cotyora in the territory of the Tybarenians, Ceraſus in that of the Myſonæcians, and Trapezus in that of the Drillians.

The Greeks are hoſpitably received at Trebizond, one of theſe colonies.

Trapezus, or Trebiſond, was the firſt friendly city at which the Grecians arrived, after ſpending more than a twelvemonth in almoſt

[27] See Dionyſius Periegetes, and Arrian's Periplus.

[28] Tournefort, v. iii. p. 46, ſays it is about ſix miles in circumference.

[29] See the account of the Argonautic expedition, vol. i. p. 14. & ſeqq. Strabo, l. xii. p. 546, who gives us this information, ſays farther, that Lucullus, when he took the town, carried away the ſtatue of Antolycus,

[30] Tournefort, Voyage au Levant.

[31] Strabo, l. xii. p. 542, calls Heraclea a colony of the Mileſians, by whom we may underſtand the Sinopians, who were themſelves a colony of that people. Xenophon, however, called Heraclea a colony of Megareans. Xenoph. Anabaſ. p. 358.

continual

continual travelling and war. The numerous inhabitants of this flouriſhing ſea-port, which has now decayed into the much neglected harbour of Platana[32], received them with open arms, generouſly ſupplied their wants, and treated them with all that endearing yet reſpectful hoſpitality of kinſmen, who commiſcrated their ſufferings, and admired their virtue. The Grecians, on their part, diſplayed a very juſt and becoming ſenſe of the evils which they had eſcaped, and of their actual ſecurity. In the fervour of religious gratitude they paid the ſolemn vows and ſacrifices which they had promiſed to Jupiter the preſerver, and the other gods and heroes, whoſe bountiful protection had hitherto conducted them through ſo many known, and ſo many concealed dangers. They afterwards celebrated, with much pomp and feſtivity, the gymnaſtic games and exerciſes; an entertainment equally agreeable to themſelves, to the citizens of Trebizond, and to the divinities whom they both adored. When theſe eſſential duties, for ſuch the Greeks deemed them, had been performed with univerſal ſatisfaction, the ſoldiers, who were unwilling to be burdenſome to their Trebizontian friends, found ſufficient employment in providing for their own ſubſiſtence, and that of their numerous attendants. For ſeveral days they ravaged the neighbouring villages of the Colchians and Drillians; and while they cruelly haraſſed the enemies, they carefully reſpected the allies, of Trebizond. Their repeated devaſtations at length deſolated the country immediately around them, ſo that the foraging parties could no longer ſet out and return on the ſame day; nor could they penetrate deep into the territory, without being endangered by the nocturnal aſſaults of the Barbarians. Theſe circumſtances rendered it neceſſary for them to think of leaving Trebizond; on which account an aſſembly was convened to fix the day of their departure, and to regulate the mode and plan of their future journey[33].

[32] Tournefort. l. xvii. This place, however, is ſtill large but depopulated; containing more woods and gardens than houſes, and thoſe only of one ſtory; yet the town retains the form of an oblong ſquare, the modern walls being built on the ruins of the ancient, the ſhape of which occaſioned the name of Trapezus, from the Greek word ſignifying a table. Tournefort, ibid.

[33] Xenoph. 343. & ſeqq.

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Cheiriſophus ſails to the Helleſpont to demand tranſports from the Spartan admiral.

In this important deliberation the ſoldiers very generally embraced the opinion of Antileon of Thuria, who told them that, for his part, he was already tired with packing up his baggage, marching, running, mounting guard, and fighting, and now wiſhed, after all his labours, to perform the remainder of the journey like Ulyſſes, and, ſtretched out at his eaſe, to be carried aſleep [34] into Greece. That this pleaſing propoſal might be put in execution, Cheiriſophus failed to the Helleſpont, hoping to obtain ſhips from Anaxibius, who commanded the Spartan fleet in that ſea. But in caſe ſuch a requeſt could not be conveniently granted, the ſoldiers determined to demand a few ſhips of war from the inhabitants of Trebizond, with which they intended to put to ſea, and to capture whatever merchantmen they could meet with in the Euxine, in order to employ them as tranſports [35].

Meanwhile the Greeks capture the merchantmen in the Euxine;

in which they tranſport their ſick, &c. to Cerazus.

Several weeks elapſed without bringing any news of Cheiriſophus, or promiſing any hope of aſſiſtance from the Spartan admiral. Meanwhile the Grecian pirates, for they deſerve no better name, infeſted the Euxine ſea. Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, with a degree of perfidy worthy of his commiſſion, betrayed his companions, and ſailed off with the galley which he commanded [36]. But Polycrates, the Athenian, behaved with an ardour and fidelity which even robbers ſometimes diſplay in their tranſactions with each other; and his ſucceſsful diligence ſoon collected ſuch a number of veſſels as ſerved to tranſport to Cerafus the aged, the infirm, the women and baggage; while the ſtrength of the army, conſiſting of men

[34] Thus was Ulyſſes tranſported by the Phœnicians, who placed him ſleeping on the ſhore of Ithaca:

Καὶ τὸν μὲν ῥ' ἔνθ' αὐτοῦ &c. Odyſſ. xiii. 133.

The beautiful images which the poet, in the ſame book, gives of the pleaſures of reſt, after immoderate labour, played about the mind of Antileon.

Ἐν δὲ οἱ ὄνειρον ἔπεμπε Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἰοειδὴ
Τῷ, τε Διὶ, ἄλλοι, θ' οἵτε μάχην αἰχμητὰ ἴασιν. v. 80.

And again, "The ſhip cut the waves with a rapidity, which the flight of the ſwifteſt hawk could not accompany, carrying a man

Ὅ ῥα μιν μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον ἦεν
Ἀνδρὶ τε φρονέοντι, πολύστροφα τε πεπιθέσθαι
Ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν.

[35] Xenoph. p. 345.

[36] Idem, ibid.

below

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below forty years of age, reached the ſame place in three days march [37].

Tranſactions of the Greeks at that place.

The colony of Ceraſus, or Cerazunt, was delightfully ſituated near the ſea, among hills of eaſy aſcent, covered in every age [38] with whole woods of cherry-trees, from which, in all probability, the place derived its name [39]. From thence the voluptuous Lucullus, in the ſix hundred and eightieth year of Rome, firſt brought into Italy this delicious fruit, which ancient naturaliſts ſcarcely believed capable of thriving in an Italian ſky; but which actually adorns the bleakeſt and moſt northern regions of our own iſland. At Ceraſus the Greeks remained ten days, diſpoſing of their booty, ſupplying their wants, and reviewing the army, which ſtill amounted to eight thouſand ſix hundred men, the reſt having periſhed by fatigue, war, cold, and ſickneſs [40].

They traverſe the territories of the Moſynæcians;

After this neceſſary delay, the leſs active portion again embarked, while the vigorous youth purſued their journey through the romantic country of the Moſynæcians; a barbarous, yet powerful tribe, who received their ſingular denomination from the wooden houſes, or rather towers, which they inhabited [41]; and which, either by chance or deſign, were ſcattered in ſuch a manner among the hills and vallies, that, at the diſtance of eight miles, the villages could hear and alarm each other [42]. The army next proceeded through the dark and narrow diſtrict of the Chalybians, who ſubſiſted by the working of iron; and whoſe toilſome labours, rugged mountains, and more rugged manners [43], muſt have formed a ſtriking contraſt with the ſmiling plains, the paſtoral life [44], the innocent and hoſpi-

Chalybians;

[37] Xenoph. p. 349.

[38] Tournefort.

[39] Κερασος, ceraſus, ceriſe, cherry. For a ſimilar reaſon Tadmor, in the deſert, was called Palmyra, *à palmis*, the palm tree. Tournefort mentions it as the opinion of St. Jerom, that the place gave name to the fruit. The difference is not material.

[40] Xenoph. p. 349.

[41] Μοσσυνοικοι.

[42] Xenoph. p. 351.

[43] Idem, p. 354.

[44] Dionyſius Periegetes qualifies them by the epithet πολυμηλους, abounding in ſheep.

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and Tyberenians.

table character of their Tyberenian neighbours; who treated the Greeks with every mark of friendſhip and reſpect, and conducted them, with attentive civility, to the city of Cotyora.

Diſſentions in the camp, ſoon after their arrival in Cotyora.

It might be expected, that the army, having reached the country of their friends and kinſmen, ſhould have been diſpoſed peaceably to enjoy the fruits of their paſt labours and dangers. If they were unwilling to expoſe themſelves to freſh hoſtilities from the warlike inhabitants of Paphlagonia and Bithynia, they might have waited the arrival of ſhips from Sinopé and Heraclea, or from the Spartan admiral in the Helleſpont, who would either retain them in his own ſervice, or tranſport them to the Cherſoneſus, to Byzantium, and to other cities and territories, which, being lately conquered by Sparta, required the vigilant protection of brave and numerous garriſons. But it is more eaſy for men to repel the aſſaults of external violence, than to elude the effects of their own ungovernable paſſions. The Greeks were involved in real danger, in proportion as they attained apparent ſecurity. During the long courſe of their laborious journey, the terror of unknown Barbarians hanging over them, preſerved their diſcipline and their union. But the air of a Grecian colony at once diſſolved both. They, who in the remote regions of the Eaſt had acted with one ſoul, and regarded each other as brethren, again felt the unhappy influence of their provincial diſtinctions. The army was divided by ſeparate intereſts, as well as by partial attachments. Thoſe who had acquired wealth, deſired to return home to enjoy it. Thoſe who were deſtitute of fortune, longed to plunder friends and foes, Greeks and Barbarians. The commanders deſpiſed and deceived the troops; the troops clamoured againſt, and inſulted the commanders. Both were really in the wrong; and both ſuſpected and accuſed each other of imaginary crimes, of which none were guilty.

Xenophon's great views defeated by

Xenophon, who, with wonderful addreſs, has juſtified himſelf from every reproach[45] that can reflect either on his underſtanding or his

[45] Xenoph. p. 367.

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the mean jealouſy of his enemies.

heart, does not deny an imputation to which he was expoſed by diſcovering (ſomewhat, perhaps, unſeaſonably) the juſt and extenſive views of a philoſopher. When he ſurveyed the ſouthern ſhores of the Euxine, covered in ancient times, as well as they are at preſent, with tall and majeſtic foreſt trees, admirably adapted to ſhip-building; when he conſidered the convenience of the harbours, and the productions of the neighbouring territory, conſiſting in flax, iron, and every commodity moſt neceſſary in raiſing a naval power, he was ambitious of eſtabliſhing a new ſettlement, which the numbers, the valour, and the activity of his followers, muſt ſoon render ſuperior to the other Grecian colonies on the Euxine, or perhaps in any part of Aſia. But this noble deſign, which might have proved ſo uſeful and honourable to the army, was blaſted by the mean jealouſy of his enemies. Xenophon was reproached with forming projects equally romantic and dangerous; and accuſed of an intention to keep the ſoldiers from home, that they might continue dependent on himſelf, and that he might increaſe his own fame and fortune at the riſk of the public ſafety[46].

Suffering of the Greeks in their march through Bithynia.

The mutinous and diſtracted ſpirit of the troops rendered all their future meaſures weak and wavering. The terror which they inſpired, and their wants, which it was neceſſary to ſupply, made them very unwelcome gueſts at Cotyora, Sinopé, and Heraclea, at which places they continued ſeveral months, under pretence of waiting for tranſports, but meanwhile plundering the neighbouring country, laying the cities under contribution, and threatening them with burdens that exceeded their faculties. The inhabitants of Heraclea, while they affected to conſider thoſe unreaſonable demands, removed their effects from the villages, ſhut the gates of their city, and placed armed men on the walls. Cheiriſophus had by this time returned with veſſels from Anaxibius, the Spartan admiral, but not ſufficiently

[46] Xenoph. p. 359 & ſeqq.

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numerous to tranſport ſo great an army. The ſoldiers thus diſappointed of their hopes, and diſcontented with their commanders, and with each other, raſhly undertook, in ſeparate bodies, the dangerous journey through Bithynia, a country extending two hundred miles from Heraclea to Byzantium, and totally inhabited, or rather waſted, by the Thynians, a Thracian tribe, the moſt cruel and inhoſpitable of the human race. In this expedition they loſt above a thouſand men; and the deſtruction muſt have been much greater, had not the generous activity of Xenophon ſeaſonably led his own diviſion to the aſſiſtance of thoſe who had deſerted his ſtandard. Cheiriſophus was ſoon afterwards killed by a medicine which he had taken in a fever.

After the death of Cheiriſophus, are conducted by Xenophon to Byzantium.

The ſole command devolved on Xenophon; not by appointment, but by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the troops to his ſuperior mind. He at length taught them to defeat the irregular fury of the Thynians; and, after taking many ſlaves, and much uſeful booty, conducted them in ſafety to Chryſopolis[47], which is now known by the name of Scutari, and conſidered as the Aſiatic ſuburb of Conſtantinople.

The mutinous ſpirit of the troops breaks out afreſh at Byzantium.

The neighbourhood of a Grecian colony ſeemed infectious to the temper of the troops. At Byzantium their mutinous ſpirits were again thrown into fermentation. Cleander, the governor of that city, who had come to meet them, narrowly eſcaped death during the fury of a military ſedition. Their behaviour rendered them the objects of terror to all the inhabitants of thoſe parts. The Lacedæmonians dreaded the aſſiſtance of ſuch dangerous allies; and the ſatrap, Pharnabazus, alarmed for the ſafety of his province, practiſed with Anaxibius, who commanded in the Helleſpont, to allure them, by fair promiſes, into Europe. Gained by the bribes of the Perſian, not only Anaxibius, but his ſucceſſor Ariſtarchus, made propoſals of advantage to the army, which he had not any intention to fulfil.

[47] Xenoph. p. 277. & ſeqq.

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The troops, enraged at this diſappointment, and ſtill more at the treachery of the Spartan commanders, would have attacked and plundered Byzantium, had they not been reſtrained by the wiſdom and authority of Xenophon, who, ſtruggling like a ſkilful pilot againſt the violence of a tempeſt, prevented the execution of a meaſure which muſt have expoſed them to immediate danger, and covered them with eternal infamy[48].

Xenophon diſſuades them from plundering that place.

With tears and prayers, he conjured them "not to tarniſh, by the deſtruction of a Grecian city, the glory of a campaign ſignaliſed by ſo many illuſtrious victories over the Barbarians. What hopes of ſafety could they entertain, if, after unſucceſsfully attempting to dethrone the king of Perſia, they ſhould provoke the reſentment of Sparta? Deſtitute as they were of friends, of money, of ſubſiſtence; and reduced by their miſconduct to a handful of men, could they expect to inſult with impunity the two greateſt powers in the world? The experience of late years ought to correct their folly. They had ſeen that even Athens, in the zenith of her greatneſs, poſſeſſed of four hundred gallies, an annual revenue of a thouſand talents, and ten times that ſum in her treaſury; Athens, who commanded all the iſlands, and occupied many cities both in Aſia and Europe, among which was Byzantium itſelf, the preſent object of their frantic ambition, had yielded to the arms of Sparta, whoſe authority was actually acknowledged in every part of Greece. What madneſs, then, for men in their friendleſs condition, a mixed aſſemblage of different nations, to attack the dominions of a people whoſe valour was irreſiſtible, and from whoſe vengeance it was impoſſible for them to fly, without flying from their country, and taking refuge with thoſe hoſtile Barbarians, from whom, for near two years paſt, they had met with nothing but cruelty, injuſtice, perſecution, and treachery?"

[48] Xenoph. p. 399. & ſeqq.

The

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The Greeks invited into the ſervice of Seuthes;

The judicious repreſentations of Xenophon ſaved Byzantium; but it is probable that neither the weight of argument, nor the power of eloquence, would have long reſtrained the diſcontented and needy troops from attempting other enterpriſes of a ſimilar nature, if an opportunity had not fortunately preſented itſelf of employing their dangerous activity in the ſervice of Seuthes, a bold and ſucceſsful adventurer of Lower Thrace. Mæſades, the father of Seuthes, reigned over the Melandeptans, the Thynians, and the Thranipſans, who inhabited the European ſhores of the Propontis and Euxine ſea. The licentious turbulence of his ſubjects compelled him to fly from his dominions. He took refuge with Medocus, king of the Odryſians, the moſt powerful tribe in Upper Thrace, with whoſe family his own had long been connected by the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. Medocus kindly received, and generouſly entertained, the father; and, after his deceaſe, continued the ſame protection and bounty to his ſon, Seuthes. But the independent ſpirit of the young prince diſdained, as he expreſſes it, to live like a dog at another man's table. He deſired horſes and ſoldiers from Medocus, that he might acquire ſubſiſtence for himſelf. His requeſt was granted; his incurſions were ſucceſsful; the terror of his name filled all the maritime parts of Thrace; and there was reaſon to believe that if he could join the Grecian forces to his own, he might eaſily regain poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions[49].

his hiſtory.

Their agreement with that prince.

For this purpoſe he ſent to Xenophon Medoſades, a Thracian, who, underſtanding the Greek language, uſually ſerved him as ambaſſador. The terms of the treaty were ſoon agreed on. Seuthes promiſed each ſoldier a Cyzicene (about eighteen ſhillings ſterling), the captains two Cyzicenes, and the generals four, of monthly pay. The money, it was obſerved, would be clear gain, as they might ſubſiſt by plundering the country; yet ſuch of the booty as was not

[49] Xenoph. p. 393. & ſeqq.

of

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of a perishable nature, Seuthes reserved for himself, that by selling it in the maritime towns, he might provide for the pay of his new auxiliaries [50].

The Grecian commanders entertained in the camp of Seuthes.

Having communicated their designs to the army, the Grecian commanders followed Medosades to the camp of Seuthes, which was distant about six miles from the coast of Perinthus, a city of considerable note in the nighbourhood of Byzantium. They arrived after sun-set, but found the Barbarians awake and watchful. Seuthes himself was posted in a strong tower; horses ready bridled stood at the gate; large fires blazed at a distance, while the camp itself was concealed in darkness; precautions, however singular, yet necessary against the Thynians, who were deemed, of all men, the most dangerous enemies in the night. The Greeks were permitted to enter. Seuthes received them with rustic hospitality; before entering on business, challenged them to drink in large horns full of wine; then confirmed the promises of his ambassador; and still farther allured Xenophon by the hopes of receiving, besides the stipulated pay, lands and cattle, and an advantageous establishment on the sea-shore.

The army joins his standard.

Next day the Grecian army joined the camp of their new master. The commanders were again entertained with a copious feast, in which Seuthes displayed all his magnificence. After supper, the buffoons and dancers were introduced, the cup went briskly round, and the whole assembly were dissolved in merriment. But Seuthes knew how far to indulge, and when to restrain, the joys of festivity. Without allowing his revels to disturb the stillness of night, he rose with a martial shout, imitating a man who avoided a javelin; and then addressing the Grecian captains without any sign of intoxication, desired them to have their men ready to march in a few hours, that the enemy, who were as yet unacquainted with the powerful

[50] Xenoph. p. 393. & seqq.

reinforcement

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reinforcement which he had received, might be taken unprepared, and conquered by ſurpriſe[51].

Conjunct expeditions of the Greeks and Thracians.

The camp was in motion at midnight; it was the middle of winter, and the ground was in many parts covered with a deep ſnow. But the Thracians, clothed in ſkins of foxes, were well prepared for ſuch nocturnal expeditions. The Greeks ſuffered much[52] by the cold; but the rapidity of their march, animated by the certain proſpect of ſucceſs, made them forget their ſufferings. Wherever they arrived, the villages were attacked and plundered, the houſes were burned, many captives and cattle were taken, and the ravages of that bloody night ſufficiently repreſent the uniform ſcene of cruelty, by which, in the courſe of a few weeks, Seuthes compelled into ſubmiſſion the inhabitants of that fertile and populous

By the aſſiſtance of the Greeks, Seuthes recovers his hereditary dominions.

ſlip of land that lies between the Euxine and Propontis. But the poſſeſſion of this territory, which formed the moſt valuable portion of his hereditary dominions, could not ſatisfy his ambition. He turned his arms northwards, and over-ran the country about Salmydeſſus, a maritime city ſituate at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, which flows from the ſouthern branch of mount Hæmus into a ſpacious bay of the Euxine. There the allied army repeated the ſame deſtructive havoc which they had already made in the ſouth; and avenged, by their cruel incurſions, the cauſe of violated hoſpitality; for the Barbarians of thoſe parts were ſo much accuſtomed to plunder the veſſels which were often ſhipwrecked on their ſhoaly coaſt, that they had diſtinguiſhed it by pillars, in the nature of land-marks, to prevent inteſtine quarrels, by aſcertaining the property of the ſpoil[53].

[51] Xenoph. p. 406, & ſeqq.

[52] Ἦν δὲ χιὼν πολλὴ, καὶ ψυχὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐφέρετο ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ὑπηνίκα ἐσκευάζοντο, καὶ οἶνος ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις· καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ καὶ ῥῖνας ἀπέκοπτον καὶ ὦτα. There was much ſnow, and the cold ſo intenſe, that the water froze as they were carrying it to ſupper, and the wine in the veſſels. Many of the Greeks alſo loſt their ears and noſes. Xenoph. p. 408.

[53] Ibid. idem.

In

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His ſignal ingratitude.

In the ſpace of two months after his junction with the Greeks, Seuthes extended his poſſeſſions ſeveral days march from the ſea; his numerous, but unſkilful enemies, fighting ſingly, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; each vanquiſhed tribe encreaſed the ſtrength of his army; the Odryſians, allured by the hopes of plunder, flocked to his ſtandard, and the growing proſperity of his fortune, no longer requiring the ſupport, diſpoſed him to neglect the ſervices, of his Grecian auxiliaries [54]. The ungrateful levity of the Barbarian was encouraged by the perfidious counſels of his favourite Heraclides of Maronea, one of thoſe fugitive Greeks, who having merited puniſhment at home for their wickedneſs, obtained diſtinction abroad by their talents; men ſullied with every vice, prepared alike to die or to deceive, and who having provoked the reſentment of their own countrymen by their intrigues and their audacity, often acquired the eſteem of foreigners by their valour and eloquence, their ſkill in war, and dexterity in negotiation. Heraclides ſtrongly exhorted his maſter to defraud the Greeks of their pay, and to deliver himſelf from their troubleſome importunities, by diſmiſſing them from his ſervice. But the fears, rather than the delicacy of Seuthes, prevented him from complying with this advice; he loſt his honour without ſaving his money; and the Grecian generals had an early opportunity to reproach his perfidy and ingratitude, being ſoon called to engage in a more honourable war [55], kindled by the reſentment of Artaxerxes againſt the preſumption of the Spartans, who had ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported the unfortunate rebellion of Cyrus.

The Greeks return to the ſervice of their country.

[54] Xenoph. p. 414, & ſeqq.

[55] Ibid. p. 427.

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Tiſſaphernes makes War on the Greeks, by Order of Artaxerxes.—Attacks the Æolian Cities.—Expedition of Thimbron.—He is ſucceeded by Dercyllidas.—His Treaty with Tiſſaphernes.—Ageſilaus King of Sparta.—Cinadon's Conſpiracy.—Ageſilaus Commander of the Grecian Forces in Aſia.—His Succeſs.—Tiſſaphernes ſucceeded by Tithrauſtes.—Great Views of Ageſilaus.—War rekindled in Greece.—League againſt Sparta.—Campaign of Lyſander in Bœotia.—His Death.

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Tiſſaphernes prepares to make war on the Lacedæmonian allies in Aſia, by order of Artaxerxes. Olymp. xcv. 2. A. C. 399.

IT does honour rather to the modeſty than to the judgment of Xenophon, that he has excluded, from his general hiſtory of Grecian affairs, the account of an expedition, in which he himſelf acted ſo diſtinguiſhed a part, and which immediately occaſioned very important tranſactions both in Aſia and in Europe. After the downfal of Athenian greatneſs, the Spartans were naturally expoſed to the jealouſy and reſentment of Perſia, by their dominion in Greece, by their conqueſts on the coaſt of Aſia, by the pre-eminence of their naval power, and eſpecially by their open participation in the rebellious deſigns of Cyrus. The former circumſtances rendered their republic the rival of the king of Perſia; but their co-operation with an ambitious rebel rendered them the perſonal enemies of Artaxerxes. His reſolution to chaſtiſe their audacity was communicated to Tiſſaphernes, who, after haraſſing the retreat of the Greeks to the

foot

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foot of the Carduchian mountains, beyond which he had not courage to follow them, returned with a powerful army towards Lower Aſia, to reſume the government of Caria, his hereditary province, as well as to take poſſeſſion of the rich ſpoils of Cyrus, beſtowed on him by the gratitude of his maſter, in return for his recent and ſignal ſervices againſt that dangerous pretender to the throne.

Attacks the Æolian cities.

Honoured with this magnificent preſent, Tiſſaphernes was farther entruſted with executing the vengeance of the great king againſt the Spartans. Without any formal declaration of war, which the late hoſtilities in the Eaſt ſeemed to render unneceſſary, he attacked the Æolian cities; the ſatrap Pharnabazus readily entered into his views, and concurred with all his meaſures. The Lacedæmonian garriſon, ſupported by the townſmen, defended themſelves with their uſual courage, earneſtly ſoliciting, however, a reinforcement from home, which might enable them to reſiſt and to ſurmount ſuch an unexpected danger[1].

The Spartans ſend Thimbron with an army to their aſſiſtance;

On this important occaſion, the Spartan ſenate and aſſembly were not wanting to the aſſiſtance of their garriſons, or to the hopes of their Æolian allies. They immediately levied a body of five thouſand Peleponneſian troops, and demanded a conſiderable ſupply from the Athenians. The latter ſent them three hundred horſemen, who having ſerved under the thirty tyrants, were cheerfully ſacrificed to this dangerous duty by the partiſans of the new democracy. The command of the joint forces was entruſted to the Spartan Thimbron, who had orders[2], as ſoon as he arrived in Æolis, to take into pay the Greeks who had engaged in the expedition of Cyrus, and who were actually employed in the diſhonourable ſervice of an ungrateful Barbarian. The mean and perfidious behaviour of Seuthes, who, in his new character of prince, ſtill retained his original manners of a Thracian robber, rendered the propoſal of joining Thim-

which is reinforced by the Greeks who had returned from Upper Aſia.

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 480. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. p. 416.

[2] Xenophon. Helen. p. 550. Diodor. p. 416.

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brom extremely agreeable to Xenophon, who conducted to the Lacedæmonian ſtandard ſix thouſand men, the venerable remains of an army exhauſted and ennobled by unexampled toils and dangers [3].

Thimbron opens the campaign with ſucceſs; Olymp. xcv. 3. A. C. 398.

Having received this powerful reinforcement, Thimbron opened the campaign againſt the lieutenant of Artaxerxes, at the diſtance of two years after Cyrus had marched from Epheſus to diſpute the crown of Perſia. The firſt impreſſions of the Grecian arms were attended with conſiderable ſucceſs. Thimbron took, or regained, the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, Haliſarnia, Myrina, Cymé, and Grynium. But the walls of Lariſſa, a ſtrong city in the Troade, defied his aſſault; the vigilant garriſon baffled all his contrivances for depriving them of freſh water; and, aſſiſted by the inhabitants of the place, made a vigorous ſally, repelled the beſiegers, and burned or demoliſhed their works.

fails in the ſiege of Lariſſa;

recalled and diſgraced;

Nothing but continual action, and an uninterrupted career of victory, could reſtrain the licentious paſſions of the troops, compoſed of a motley aſſemblage from ſo many different, and often hoſtile communities. Their ſeditious ſpirit rendered them formidable to each other, and to the Greeks of Aſia. Their rapacity ſpared not the territories of the Lacedæmonian allies, who loudly complained to the ſenate, aſcribing the violence of the troops to the weakneſs of the general. In conſequence of this repreſentation, Thimbron was recalled and diſgraced [4], and the command, for which he ſeemed ſo ill qualified, was beſtowed on Dercyllidas, a man fertile in reſources, who could often vary his conduct without changing his principles; who knew when to relax, and when to enforce the diſcipline of the camp, and who, to the talents of an able general, added the reputation of being the beſt engineer of his times. By a judicious direction of the machines of war which he invented, or improved, Dercyllidas overcame the obſtinacy of Lariſſa; and in the

is ſucceeded by Dercyllidas;

who admiſters with equal ability the affairs of war and peace.

[3] Xenoph. Anabaſ. l. vii. p. 427.

[4] Xenoph. p. 481.

ſpace

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ſpace of eight days, reduced eight other cities in the province of Pharnabazus. The rapidity of his conqueſts recommended him to the Spartan ſenate, and his moderate uſe of victory endeared him to the Aſiatic colonies. He leſſened their taxes, encouraged their induſtry, heard their complaints with candour, and decided their differences with the moſt impartial juſtice. Diſdaining the cruel example of his predeceſſors, he impoſed not any arbitrary exactions on the peaceful citizens and huſbandmen; and left the maintenance of his troops ſhould prove burdenſome to the allies and ſubjects of Sparta, he fixed his winter quarters in Bithynia, where the valour of Xenophon and his followers had lately ſpread the terror of the Grecian name.

Commiſſioners ſent from Sparta to prorogue his authority. Olymp. xcv. 4. A. C. 497.

Early in the ſpring, commiſſioners were ſent from Sparta to inſpect the affairs of Aſia, and to prorogue, for another year, the authority of Dercyllidas, provided their obſervations and inquiries confirmed the very favourable accounts that had been given of his adminiſtration. On their arrival at Lampſacus, where the army was then aſſembled, they viſited the camp, and aſſured the ſoldiers, that the magiſtrates of the republic as much approved their conduct in the laſt, as they had condemned it in the preceding, year. A captain, expreſſing the ſenſe of the multitude, replied, that the different behaviour of the troops, now and formerly, was yet leſs different than the characters of Thimbron and Dercyllidas. This teſtimony of military approbation was not more flattering to the general, than ſatisfactory to the commiſſioners; who afterwards, at his requeſt, viſited the neighbouring towns of Æolis and Ionia, and found them in a condition extremely happy and flouriſhing [5].

Dercyllidas fortifies the Cherſoneſus.

Before taking leave of Dercyllidas they acquainted him, that the inhabitants of the Thracian Cherſoneſus had lately ſent to Sparta an embaſſy, requeſting aſſiſtance againſt the fierce Barbarians who in-

[5] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 487.

habited

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habited the adjoining territory; and that, ſhould circumſtances permit him to afford protection to thoſe induſtrious and diſtreſſed Greeks, he would perform a ſignal ſervice to the ſtate. The inactivity of Tiſſaphernes, who, notwithſtanding the powerful army which he had conducted from Upper Aſia, ſtill expected further reinforcements from the Eaſt, encouraged the Grecian general to undertake this uſeful and meritorious enterpriſe. The Cherſoneſus was one of the moſt fertile [6] and beſt cultivated ſpots in the ancient world. In an extent of fifty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth, it contained eleven rich and flouriſhing cities, and ſeveral commodious harbours. The fields producing the moſt valuable grains, were interſperſed and adorned with delightful plantations and orchards, as well as with lawns and meadows, ſtored with all ſorts of uſeful cattle. Had this beautiful country enjoyed an inſular form, its happineſs would have been complete; but a neck of land, thirty-ſeven furlongs in breadth, joined it to the territories of the fierceſt tribes in Thrace. The troops of Dercyllidas could eaſily have repelled their inroads. They might have puniſhed their cruelty by deſtroying their miſerable villages in the open country; but the Barbarians would have found a ſecure refuge in their woods and mountains, and whenever the army was withdrawn, would have again poured down on the helpleſs Cherſoneſus with their native fury, heightened by revenge. Dercyllidas afforded a more uſeful aſſiſtance to thoſe unhappy Greeks; and employed in their defence, not the courage, but the labour, of his ſoldiers. With inceſſant toil, begun in the ſpring, and continued almoſt to the autumn, they formed a ſtrong wall acroſs the iſthmus; the ſpace was marked out, and the labour diſtinctly apportioned to the ſeparate communities from which the army had been levied; and the ſpur of emulation was ſharpened by the incitement of gain, the general in perſon ſuperintending the work, and beſtowing re-

[6] Παμφορωτατην και αριστην. Xenoph. p. 488.

wards (laviſhly furniſhed by the wealthy Cherſonites) on the moſt diligent and deſerving[7].

Enters into treaty with Tiſſapher-nes.

Dercyllidas had ſcarcely returned from this employment, juſtly ennobled by its utility, when the combined forces of Pharnabazus and Tiſſaphernes appeared in the neighbourhood of Epheſus. The general collected his whole ſtrength in order to give them battle; the European ſoldiers diſplayed a noble ardour for action; but the inhabitants of the Aſiatic coaſt, who had flocked to his ſtandard, were intimidated by the ſight of an enemy whoſe numbers far exceeded their own. This panic might have proved fatal, had not the troops of Tiſſaphernes felt the terror which they inſpired. They recollected the bravery of the ten thouſand who had accompanied Cyrus; they perceived that the forces with whom they now had to contend exceeded that number; but they did not reflect that the army of Dercyllidas was ſwelled by the degenerate Greeks of Æolis and Ionia, whoſe minds had been enfeebled and degraded by a long ſeries of oppreſſion. The cowardice of the Perſians engaged Tiſſaphernes, much againſt the inclination of Pharnabazus, to propoſe a conference; the cowardice of the Ionians engaged Dercyllidas to accept the propoſal. Hoſtilities were thus ſuſpended; mutual hoſtages were given; overtures of peace were made; and meſſengers were diſpatched for inſtructions to the Spartan council, and to the court of Perſia.

The Perſians ſecretly prepare to renew the war.

The deſign of Tiſſaphernes, however, was only to gain time by amuſing the enemy. The moſt ſolemn oaths and engagements had long loſt their power over his perfidious mind. He treacherouſly watched an opportunity to renew the war, waiting with impatience for the promiſed reinforcements from the Eaſt, and eſpecially for the equipment of a fleet, which Artaxerxes was preparing, with ſilence and celerity, in the ports of Phœnicia. Theſe ſecret preparations were communicated to the Spartan magiſtrates by the patriot-

[7] Xenoph. p. 488.

iſm

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iſm of Herodas, a Syracuſan, who, animated by the love of Greece, betrayed his Phœnician maſter. The Spartans were alarmed with the danger, indignant at the treachery of Tiſſaphernes, and perhaps diſpleaſed with the too eaſy credulity of their general. But the death of king Agis had given them, in the perſon of their firſt magiſtrate, a commander who equalled Dercyllidas in merit, and who has far ſurpaſſed him in renown.

Ageſilaus declared king of Sparta.

The deſtructive expedition againſt the Eleans was the laſt exploit of the long and warlike reign of Agis. On his death-bed he acknowledged for his ſon Leotychides, whoſe legitimacy, the levity or the guilt of his mother Timæa had expoſed to juſt ſuſpicion. But this late avowal of a ſucceſſor, whom he had ſo long diſowned, did not ſatisfy the partiſans of Ageſilaus, who was the brother of Agis on the ſide of his father Archidamus, but younger by many years, being born of a different mother, and failing Leotychides, the neareſt heir to the throne. Under a diminutive and ignoble form, Ageſilaus concealed a vigorous and fervid mind, a manly elevation of character, a generous ambition of ſoul. Theſe reſpectable qualities, adorned by the milder virtues of modeſty, candour, condeſcenſion, and unlimited complaiſance for his friends, early attracted the notice, and merited the eſteem, of the firſt names of Sparta; and of none more than Lyſander, who, as his perſonal hopes of grandeur were blaſted by the univerſal jealouſy and reſentment that had been juſtly excited in Sparta againſt his oſtentatious abuſe of power, confined all his projects of ambition to the aggrandiſement of his favourite. That eloquence and addreſs [8], which would have been ineffectual if em-

[8] The partiſans of Leotychides, in pleading his cauſe before the aſſembly, alleged an oracle that exhorted the Spartans to beware of a lame reign. This pointed at Ageſilaus, who limped in walking. But Lyſander, by one of thoſe ready and unexpected turns, which often decide the reſolutions of numerous aſſemblies, directed the battery of the oracle againſt Leotychides, aſſerting, that it was the lameneſs of the title only which Apollo muſt have had in view, ſince it was a matter indifferent to the gods whether the Spartan kings walked gracefully; but a matter of high importance whether they deſcended from Hercules, the ſon of Jupiter, or Alcibiades, an Athenian profligate and exile. Com. Plut. in Ageſil. & Lyſand. & Xenoph. Ageſil. Panegyr. & Hellen. l. iii. p. 493.

ployed

ployed for himſelf, ſucceeded in behalf of another; and by the influence and intrigues of Lyſander, ſtill more than by the ſtrong claims of juſtice and of merit, Ageſilaus was declared ſucceſſor to the vacant throne; and, at the diſtance of about two years, commander in chief of the Greek forces in Aſia; an office leſs ſplendid in name than that of king of Sparta, but carrying with it more ſolid weight and authority.

Cinadon's conſpiracy,

In the interval of theſe ſucceſſive honours, he approved his attentive vigilance in the ſervice of the republic, of which the ſafety, and even the exiſtence was endangered by a daring and bloody conſpiracy. A youth named Cinadon, diſtinguiſhed above his companions by extraordinary ſtrength and agility, was not leſs conſpicuous for undaunted courage and ambition. Deſcended of an obſcure family, Cinadon felt and regretted the mortifying partiality of the government under which he lived. His pride was deeply wounded with the reflection, that whatever abilities his youth might promiſe, and his manhood mature, the unfortunate circumſtances of his birth muſt for ever exclude him from the principal dignities of the ſtate, which circulated among a few Spartan families, without the poſſibility of extending beyond that very limited ſphere. The warmth of his character, and the impetuoſity of his paſſions, prompted him to ſeek juſtice and revenge: nor was his blind and headlong ferocity alarmed by the means, however atrocious, that muſt lead to this favourite end. He communicated the horrid deſign to men of his own, and of an inferior condition, exaggerating their cruel treatment by a ſtern ariſtocracy, which he contraſted with the mild equality of the neighbouring communities; and perhaps aſſerting, that if they muſt ſubmit to a maſter, it would be better to have one than many; that even the ſubjects of a monarchy enjoyed greater equality and liberty than the members of the Spartan republic, ſince the former all equally participated in thoſe preferments and honours, to which not only the ſlaves, the Helots,

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and freedmen, but the whole body of the Lacedæmonian people, were forbidden to aſpire. After this general repreſentation, he neglected not, what was more effectual and important, to arraign the arrogance and cruelty of particular ſenators, and to inflame the reſentment of individuals againſt their private and domeſtic foes; nor did he forget to encourage them all with the certain proſpect of ſucceſs, by contraſting their own ſtrength and numbers with the weakneſs of an enemy, who might be taken unarmed, and cut off by ſurpriſe [o].

is diſcovered when ripe for execution.

The time for action approached, and the author of the conſpiracy commanded his aſſociates to ſtay at home, that they might be ready at a call. Ageſilaus, meanwhile, performed the accuſtomed vows and ſacrifices for the ſafety of the republic; the appearance of the entrails announced ſome dreadful and concealed danger; a ſecond victim was ſlain, and the ſigns were ſtill more unfavourable; but after examining the third ſacrifice, the prieſt exclaimed, "We ſeem, O Ageſilaus! to be in the midſt of our enemies." Soon afterwards, a perſon, whoſe name has not been thought worthy of record, denounced Cinadon to the magiſtrates, as guilty of a treaſonable deſign, of which he had endeavoured to render himſelf an accomplice. When the informer was deſired to explain his declaration more fully, he told them, that Cinadon having conducted him to the great ſquare of the city, which being deſtined for the public aſſembly and the market, was the uſual place of rendezvous, deſired him to count the number of Spartans whom he ſaw in that ſpacious reſort. That he counted the king, the ephori, the ſenators, and about forty others, and then aſked Cinadon, for what purpoſe he had required him to take that ſeemingly uſeleſs trouble? Becauſe, replied the conſpirator, I reckon the Spartans to be enemies, and all the reſt, whoſe great numbers you behold in the market-place, to be friends. Nor does this proportion apply to Sparta only;

[o] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 493, & ſeqq.

in

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in the farms and villages adjacent to the city, we ſhall in each houſe and family have one enemy, the maſter, but all the ſervants will be our friends. Cinadon then acquainted him with the object and cauſe of the conſpiracy, which had been formed by men of probity and fortitude, and which was ſoon to be communicated to the ſlaves, peaſants, and the whole body of Lacedæmonian people, whoſe animoſity againſt the Spartans was too violent to be concealed. That the greateſt part of the conſpirators, being trained for war, had arms in their hands; that the ſhops of the armourers, the tools of thoſe artificers who wrought in metal, wood, and ſtone, and even the inſtruments of agriculture, might furniſh ſuch weapons to the reſt, as would fully anſwer the purpoſe againſt unarmed men.

Activity and prudence of the Spartan magiſtrates.

This alarming intelligence rouſed the activity, without ſhaking the firmneſs, of the Spartan magiſtrates. It would have been imprudent to ſeize Cinadon in the capital, as they were unacquainted with the extent of his reſources, and the number of his aſſociates. On pretence of the public ſervice, they contrived to ſend him to Aulon, (for in ſimilar expeditions they had often employed his ready arm and enterpriſing valour), that he might ſeize, in that licentious city, and bring within the reach of juſtice, ſeveral daring violators of the Spartan laws, among whom was a very beautiful woman, who corrupted the manners of young and old [10]. The ſenate prepared waggons for conveying the priſoners, and furniſhed every thing neceſſary for the journey. A body of choſen horſemen was appointed to accompany Cinadon, who ſet out without ſuſpecting that this long train of preparation was deſtined againſt himſelf alone. But no ſooner had he reached a proper diſtance from the city, than he was ſeized as a traitor, and compelled, by the terror of immediate death, to denounce his accomplices. Their names were ſent to the

Cinadon and his accomplices ſeized and puniſhed.

[10] Αγαγων δ' εκεινον την γυναικα ἡ καλλιστη μιν ελεγετο αυτοθι ειναι, λυμαινεσθαι δ' εκαστη της αφικνουμενους Λακεδαιμονιων και πειθουσης, και πωτικης. Xenoph. p. 494.

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senate, who instantly secured their persons. Cinadon, Tisamenus, a priest, and the other leaders of the conspiracy, were scourged through the city, gored with instruments of torture, and finally relieved by death.

Agesilaus takes the command of the Greek forces in Asia. Olymp. xcvi. 1. A. C. 396.

The rash enterprise of Cinadon still filled the Spartans with alarm, when intelligence was conveyed of the formidable preparations of Artaxerxes, against whom the persuasive influence of Lysander encouraged them to employ the great and solid, but as yet unknown abilities, of their young and warlike prince. Since the reign of Agamemnon, Agesilaus was the first Grecian king who led the united forces of his country to make war in Asia; and his expedition, though not less important than the exploits of the sons of Atreus and Achilles, is much inferior in renown; because the panegyric of Xenophon, warm and splendid as it is, even beyond the usual colour of his compositions, must yet, like all the works of man, be for ever eclipsed by the lustre of the Iliad. But the conquests of Agesilaus, however different in fame, yet surpassed in misfortune, the war of Troy. Both were pernicious to the interests of Greece; but of the two, the victories of Agesilaus proved the most fatal, not indeed in their immediate, but in their remote consequences.

Disgraces Lysander, who alone rivalled his authority.

In the spring of the year three hundred and ninety-six before Christ, he left Sparta, with three thousand Lacedæmonian freedmen, and a body of foreign troops, amounting to six thousand, chiefly collected from the confederate cities of Peloponnesus. Since the irregular and unjustifiable conduct of Agis, in his unfortunate expedition against Argos, the Spartan kings were usually attended in the field by a council of ten senators, whose concurrence was held necessary in all public measures. Agesilaus demanded a council, not of ten, but of thirty Spartans: a refined stroke of policy, which strongly indicates that artful dexterity with which, during a long administration, he uniformly promoted the views of his interest and ambition. By augmenting the number of the council, he diminished its importance.

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importance. Each member, as he poſſeſſed leſs weight and influence, felt himſelf leſs concerned in the honour of the body; and the whole were more eaſily ſwayed and governed by the king. Lyſander alone, whoſe name in Aſia was illuſtrious or terrible, rivalled for a while the power of Ageſilaus. But the colleagues of Lyſander were the firſt to diſpute his pretenſions, and to controul his authority. Ageſilaus availed himſelf of their envy, and liſtened too eaſily to the dictates of ſelfiſhneſs, in humbling the arrogance of a rival who had been the chief author of his own greatneſs. By thwarting the meaſures of Lyſander, by denying his requeſts, by employing him in offices unbecoming his dignity [11], he rendered him contemptible in the eyes of thoſe by whom he had been ſo long feared. This ungenerous treatment of a benefactor, as well as the aſpiring pride of the benefactor himſelf, which could excite ſuch black ingratitude in an otherwiſe virtuous breaſt, doubly prove the inſtability of friendſhip between ambitious minds. After a diſgraceful rupture, which ended in an affected reconciliation, Lyſander was ſent by Ageſilaus and his council to command the Lacedæmonian ſquadron in the Helleſpont, an inactive and ſubordinate ſervice, in which he could not expect an opportunity to perform any thing worthy of his ancient fame. He returned, therefore, in a few months to Sparta, covered with diſgrace, enraged by diſappointment, and vowing implacable revenge againſt the cruel ingratitude of his friend, which he felt more deeply than the injuſtice of all his enemies together.

Treachery of Tiſſaphernes.

Ageſilaus fixed his head-quarters at Epheſus, a place recommended by its centrical ſituation, as the moſt convenient rendezvous for the recruits which flocked to his ſtandard from every part of the coaſt; at the ſame time that ſuch a ſtation enabled him to conceal from the enemy which of their provinces was the intended object of his

[11] Lyſander was known in the Eaſt as a conqueror; Ageſilaus made him a commiſſary. Vid. Plut. in Ageſil. & Lyſand. & Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 497.

invaſion.

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invaſion. Thither Tiſſaphernes ſent an embaſſy, demanding the reaſon of ſuch mighty preparations. Ageſilaus replied, "That the Greeks in Aſia might enjoy the ſame liberty with their brethren in Europe." The meſſengers of Tiſſaphernes had orders to declare, that the king was inclined to acknowledge the ancient freedom and independence of the Grecian colonies; that the report of his hoſtile intentions againſt either them or the mother-country was totally void of foundation; and that, in conſequence of the recent tranſactions between Tiſſaphernes and Dercyllidas, ambaſſadors might ſhortly be expected from Suſa, impowered to ratify a firm and laſting peace between Artaxerxes and the Greeks. Until this deſirable work ſhould be completed, Tiſſaphernes earneſtly deſired a continuation of the truce, which, on his ſide, he was ready to ſeal by whatever formalities Ageſilaus thought proper to require. The Spartan king frankly avowed his ſuſpicions of treachery; yet being unwilling to embroil his country in an unneceſſary war, he diſpatched Dercyllidas, with two members of the Spartan council, to renew his late engagements with Tiſſaphernes. The perfidious ſatrap ſwore and deceived for the laſt time. No ſooner had he received the long-expected auxiliaries from the Eaſt, than he commanded Ageſilaus to leave Epheſus, and to evacuate the coaſt of Aſia; if he delayed to comply, the weight of the Perſian arms would enforce obedience. The prudent, or pious Spartan, while his friends were alarmed with this unexpected declaration, aſſumed an unuſual gaiety of countenance, obſerving, that he rejoiced to commence the war under ſuch favourable auſpices, ſince the treachery of Tiſſaphernes muſt render the gods his enemies.

Innocent ſtratagem of Ageſilaus;

Meanwhile he prepared to encounter the inſidious arts of the ſatrap, with equal, but more innocent addreſs. It was induſtriouſly given out, that he intended to march into the province of Caria, the favourite reſidence of Tiſſaphernes, which was adorned by his voluptuous parks and palaces, and ſtrengthened by a fortreſs, the repoſitory

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poſitory of his treaſures. The intervening cities were ordered to mend the roads, to furniſh a market, and to prepare every thing moſt neceſſary to facilitate the march of the Grecian army. Tiſſaphernes, not doubting that Caria was the intended ſcene of war, eſpecially as the mountainous nature of that province rendered it improper for horſe, in which the Greeks were very poorly provided, encamped with his own numerous cavalry in the plains of the Meander, in order to intercept the paſſage of the enemy. But Ageſilaus having poſted a ſufficient garriſon in Epheſus, left that city, and turning to the north, advanced by rapid marches into Phrygia, the rich plunder of which rewarded the active diligence of his ſoldiers. The ſelfiſh ſatrap was unwilling to relieve the province of Pharnabazus, by weakening the defence of his own; and accordingly remained inactive on the fruitful banks of the Meander, whoſe winding ſtream ſkirts the northern frontier of Caria, ſtill ſuſpecting an invaſion of the Greeks from Epheſus and the neighbouring ſeaports. During the greateſt part of the ſummer Ageſilaus ravaged Phrygia; the Barbarians were ſhamefully defeated in ſeveral rencounters; at length they ceaſed to reſiſt his arms; nor attempted even to haraſs his retreat, when, having gratified the juſt reſentment of his country, he returned, loaded with ſpoil, to winter in Epheſus [11].

He defeats the Perſians, and plunders Phrygia.

In the Phrygian expedition, Ageſilaus ſhared, and ſurpaſſed, the toils of the meaneſt ſoldier, from whom he refuſed to be diſtinguiſhed by his dreſs, his food, or his accommodations, by day or night. The inactive ſeaſon of the year was moſt diligently and uſefully employed. Epheſus and the neighbouring towns glowed with the ardour of military preparation. The Phrygian wealth was employed to urge the hand of induſtry. Shields, ſpears, ſwords, and helmets, filled every ſhop, and every magazine. The inhabitants of

Employment of the Greeks during their winter quarters in Phrygia.

[11] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 498. & ſeqq.

the

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the country were allured by great rewards to form their beſt horſes to the diſcipline of the field; and the wealthy citizens were exempted from the ſervice of the enſuing campaign, upon condition only that they furniſhed a horſeman, properly equipped, to perform their vicarious duty. The veteran ſoldiers, as well as the new levies, were daily exerciſed within the walls of Epheſus, in thoſe martial amuſements which repreſented a faithful image, and which formed the beſt ſchool, of war. Ageſilaus often condeſcended to diſpute the prize of valour or dexterity; his popular manners endeared him to the troops; the ſuperiority of his talents commanded their willing obedience; they vied with each other in loyalty to their prince; they vied in gratitude to the gods with their prince himſelf, who, as often as he obtained the crown of victory, dedicated the honourable reward in the admired temple of Epheſian Diana. "What then (adds a ſoldier, a philoſopher, and a man of piety) might not be expected from troops who delighted in the exerciſe of war, reſpected their general, and revered the gods[13]?"

Ageſilaus prepares for the enſuing campaign. Olymp. xcvi. 2. A. C. 395.

The expectation of Xenophon, who beheld the intereſting ſcenes at Epheſus, which he has inimitably deſcribed, was fully gratified by the ſucceſs of the enſuing campaign. Agreeably to the annual revolution of offices in the Lacedæmonian republic, a commiſſion of thirty Spartans was ſent early in the ſpring to ſupply the place of Lyſander and his colleagues. Among the members of this new council Ageſilaus diſtributed the various departments of military command. The ſuperior abilities of Herippidas were entruſted with the veteran army who had ſerved under Cyrus. Xenocles was appointed to conduct the cavalry. Mygdo commanded the Aſiatic levies; Scythes, the Lacedæmonian freedmen; for himſelf, as his peculiar care, the general reſerved the faithful and warlike body of Peloponneſian allies, choſen from the flower and vigour of many flouriſhing republics. With a view to encourage his ſoldiers

[13] Xenoph. panegyr. Ageſil.

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before taking the field, he ordered the Phrygian priſoners to be brought forth, ſtripped, and expoſed to ſale. The Greeks viewed with contempt the delicate whiteneſs of their ſkins, their flaccid muſcles, their awkward motions, their ſhapeleſs forms, their unwieldy corpulence, and the effeminate ſoftneſs of their whole perſons. Such an enemy they conſidered as nothing ſuperior to an army of women [14].

Attacks the center of the Perſian dominions in Lower Aſia.

Ageſilaus had declared, that he would be no longer ſatisfied with ravaging the extremities, but was determined to attack the center, of the Perſian dominions. Tiſſaphernes, fearful of being deceived by a ſecond feint, again conducted his ſquadrons to the banks of the Meander, and reinforced with the flower of his infantry the garriſons of Caria, which (as the contrary had been induſtriouſly reported) he concluded to be the main object of approaching hoſtilities. But the Spartan was too able a general to repeat the ſame game. On this occaſion, therefore, he carried into execution the deſign which had been made public, marched towards the royal city of Sardis, and ravaged the adjoining territory without oppoſition. He had acquired much valuable booty, and ſhaken the fidelity of the Lydians, before any enemy appeared to reſiſt his progreſs. That reſiſtance, which was made too late, proved ineffectual. After ſeveral ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, he defeated the Perſians in a general engagement on the banks of the Pactolus, ſurrounded and took their camp, in which, beſide other riches, he found ſeventy talents of ſilver. He likewiſe expected to have taken the unrelenting enemy of the Greeks, the perfidious Tiſſaphernes; but that crafty traitor, ſuſpecting the event of the battle, had thrown himſelf, with a conſiderable body of troops, within the ſtrong walls of Sardis, where his cowardice continued to reſide, diſplaying the inglorious pride of pomp and luxury, while the provinces of Artaxerxes fell a prey to

Death of Tiſſaphernes.

[14] Xenoph. p. 500.

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the hoſtile invader. The time of his puniſhment, however, was now arrived. His whole life had been diſgraceful to himſelf; but its laſt ſcene had diſgraced the arms of his maſter, who cancelled, by one ſtroke of royal ingratitude, the merit of innumerable perfidies and cruelties committed for his ſervice. Tithrauſtes was ſent from court to take off the head of the obnoxious ſatrap; who, being allured to a conference, was caught by his own arts[15], and met with a juſt fate; although the author of his death was, perhaps, the only man in Perſia or in Greece with whom Tiſſaphernes had any claim of merit.

He is ſucceeded by Tithrauſtes, who purſues the ſame line of conduct.

Tithrauſtes, who had come from Babylon eſcorted by a powerful body of cavalry, poſſeſſed the mandate of the great king for aſſuming the government of Lower Aſia, and the conduct of the war. Having removed the only rival who had intereſt or ability to diſpute this extenſive and honourable commiſſion, his next care was to ſend an embaſſy to Ageſilaus, which, inſtead of indicating the character of a great general (for ſuch Tithrauſtes was eſteemed in the Eaſt) betrayed the mean and temporiſing genius of his worthleſs predeceſſor. The ambaſſadors were inſtructed to declare, "That Tiſſaphernes, the author of thoſe troubles which embroiled Greece and Perſia, had ſuffered a juſt death; and that the king, who had been too long deceived by his artifices, was now ready to acknowledge the independence of the Grecian colonies, on condition that Ageſilaus withdrew his troops from Aſia." The Spartan honeſtly replied, "That the alternative of war or peace depended, not on himſelf, but on the reſolution of the aſſembly and ſenate; nor could he remove his forces from the Eaſt without the expreſs command of his republic." The artful ſatrap perceiving that it was impoſſible for him to interrupt, determined at leaſt to divert, the courſe of hoſtilities. None knew better than Tithrauſtes the uſe of money as an

[15] Polyænus, l. vii. The fact is mentioned with few circumſtances in Diodorus, and with none in Xenophon, p. 501.

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inſtrument of negociation. He condeſcended to purchaſe from Ageſilaus, by a very large ſum, the tranquillity of Lydia; and as it ſeemed a matter of indifference to the Spartan king whichever part of the Perſian dominions felt the weight of his invaſion, he evacuated that province, and again entered Phrygia.

Ageſilaus entruſted with the command of the Grecian fleet. Olymp. xcvi. 3. A. C. 394.

While he purſued his march northwards, he was overtaken in Ionia by a welcome meſſenger from home, who delivered him a letter, teſtifying the grateful admiration of his countrymen, prolonging the term of his military command, and entruſting him with the numerous fleet, which had ſailed two years before, to counteract the deſigns of the enemy[16]. This fleet, conſiſting of ninety gallies, was actually commanded by Pharax, who, during the glorious career of Ageſilaus's victories, had ſilently performed very uſeful and meritorious ſervice. The naval preparations of Artaxerxes, which, as above-mentioned, firſt excited the alarm in Greece, were ſtill carried on with activity. Various ſquadrons were equipped in the harbours of Phœnicia, Cilicia, and other maritime provinces, of which the combined ſtrength far exceeded the fleet of Greece. But the vigilant diligence of Pharax prevented their union. His ſhips were victualled by Nephres, the rebellious viceroy of Egypt; with whom, in the name of Sparta, he had contracted an alliance. The ports of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Greek cities in the Carian Cherſoneſus, were open to his cruiſers. Availing himſelf of thoſe important advantages, he ſteered with rapidity along the hoſtile ſhores; and ſeaſonably dividing or combining his fleet, effectually reſtrained the enemy from making their projected deſcents on Peloponneſus, and even deterred them from ſailing the Aſiatic ſeas[17]. Ageſilaus, unmindful of this eſſential ſervice, which had prevented any diverſion of the Greek forces in the Eaſt, deprived Pharax of the command, and ſubſtituted in his ſtead

Which he commits to Piſander.

[16] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 501.

[17] Iſocrat. Panegyr. He does not give the name of the admiral, which we find in Xenophon's Gr. Hiſt

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Piſander, a near relation of his own, who poſſeſſed indeed the ambitious valour, and manly firmneſs of the Spartan character, but neither the experience, nor the abilities, ſufficient to qualify him for this weighty truſt.

Ageſilaus entertains hopes of conquering the Perſian empire;

The firſt effects of this fatal error were eclipſed by a momentary blaze of glory. Ageſilaus entered Phrygia; attacked, conquered, and purſued Pharnabazus; who, flying from poſt to poſt, was ſucceſſively driven from every part of his valuable province[18]. The fame of the Grecian victories ſtruck terror into the neighbouring countries. Cotys[19], or Corylas, the proud tyrant of Paphlagonia, who diſdained the friendſhip of the great king[20], ſent humbly to requeſt that the native valour of his numerous and invincible cavalry might be aſſociated with the Spartan arms[21]. The inferior ſatraps, and eſpecially their oppreſſed ſubjects, courted the protection of Ageſilaus, expecting that the unknown dominion of Greece would be lighter than the yoke of Perſia, of which they had long felt and regretted the ſeverity. The deceitful Ariæus, who had ſhared the guilt, without ſharing the puniſhment of Cyrus, could never be heartily reconciled to a maſter againſt whom he had once rebelled. His actual wealth, and ancient honours, gave him a powerful influence over the numerous Barbarians who had followed the ſtandard of Cyrus and his own; and whoſe diſcontented ſpirits might eaſily be inflamed into a ſecond revolt[22]. The commotion was general in Leſſer Aſia; and, as Egypt had already rebelled, Ageſilaus, at the head of about twenty thouſand Greeks, and innumerable Barbarian allies, might entertain a very rational expectation to ſhake the throne of Artaxerxes; eſpecially as the experience of his friend and admirer, Xenophon, who was ſtill the companion of his arms, muſt have powerfully encouraged him to that glorious deſign[23].

[18] Xenophon compares him to the Scythian Nomades.

[19] He is called Cotys in Xenoph. Gr. Hiſt. Plutarch, and Diodorus; and Corylas in Xenoph. Anabaſ. l. v. p. 370.

[20] Xenoph. ibid.

[21] Plut. in Ageſil.

[22] Idem, ibid. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 429.

[23] Diodor. ibid. & Xenoph. Ageſil. Panegyr. & Plut. in Ageſil.

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which are blafted by unexpected intelligence from Greece.

But an undertaking of which the ſucceſs, however ſplendid, could not probably have been followed by any ſolid advantages, becauſe the diminutive territory and population of Sparta formed a baſis far too feeble to ſupport ſuch a weight of conqueſt, was blaſted, in the bloom of hope, by intelligence equally unexpected and diſtreſsful. Tithrauſtes, who knew the power of gold over the Grecian councils, determined, with the approbation of the king his maſter, to give full play to this main-ſpring of politics. The Cretan and Ægean ſeas were careleſsly guarded by the unſuſpecting confidence of the new admiral. Tithrauſtes perceived the neglect; and diſpatched, without any fear of capture, various emiſſaries into Greece, well qualified by bribes and addreſs, to practiſe with the diſcontented and factious demagogues, the natural enemies of Sparta, of ariſtocratic government, and of the public tranquillity[24].

Means by which the Perſians kindle a war in that country.

The principal inſtrument of theſe ſecret negociations was Timocrates of Rhodes, a man of an intriguing and audacious ſpirit, who carried with him no leſs a ſum than fifty talents (above nine thouſand pounds ſterling), which he diſtributed, with laviſh promiſes of future bounty, to Cyclon of Argos, to Timolaus and Polyanthes of Corinth, to Androclides Ismenias and Galaxadorus of Thebes; names for the moſt part obſcure in the annals of war, but important in the hiſtory of domeſtic faction. The tyranny of Sparta was the perpetual theme of theſe venal hirelings, not only in their reſpective communities, but in every quarter of Greece, to which they were ſucceſſively carried with a mercenary diligence. They painted in the ſtrongeſt colours the injuſtice, the cruelty, and the immeaſurable ambition of that haughty republic, who had made ſoldiers of her ſlaves, that ſhe might make ſlaves of her allies. The deſtructive and impious devaſtation of the ſacred territory of Elis was arraigned with every term of reproach. The ſame calamities, it was pro-

[24] Xenoph. p. 513. & ſeqq.

phecied,

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phesied, must soon overwhelm the neighbouring countries, unless they prepared (while it was yet time to prepare) for a vigorous defence; since Sparta pursued her conquests in Asia with no other view but to lull the security, and rivet the chains, of Greece[25].

Motives by which the enemies of Sparta were actuated.

Strong as these invectives may appear, and interested as they certainly were, they did not exceed the truth; and, what is of more importance, they were addressed to men well disposed to believe them. Since the subversion of the Athenian power, the imperious government of Sparta had rendered her almost alike odious to her old, and to her new, confederates. The former, and particularly the Corinthians, Arcadians, and Achæans, complained with the warmth which justice gives, that, after sharing the toils and dangers of the Peloponnesian war, they had been cruelly deprived of the fruits of victory. The latter, and especially such communities as had revolted from Athens, lamented that their blood and treasure had been spent in vain. They had fought for freedom and independence; but their valour had been rewarded by a more intolerable servitude. Argos had long been the enemy, and Thebes aspired to become the rival, of Sparta. Above all, the Athenians, animated by the patriotism of Thrasybulus, their deliverer from the Spartan yoke, longed to employ the first moments of returning vigour in the pursuit of glory and revenge.

Circumstances which encouraged their hostility.

The corruption of those morbid humours, which must have soon fermented of themselves, was accelerated by the mercenary emissaries of Tithraustes. The occasion, too, seemed favourable for assaulting the domestic strength of a republic, whose arms were ambitiously employed in extending her distant conquests. The conduct of the Thebans had already announced this design. They not only refused assistance to Agesilaus towards carrying on his eastern campaign, but treated him without respect or decency, while he crossed their

[25] Xenoph. p. 514.

dominions;

dominions; and, were not ambition blind, he muſt have perceived and reſented their hoſtility, and have delayed to undertake his expedition againſt Aſia, till he had extinguiſhed the ſeeds of war in Greece.

Their caution in beginning the war.

But, notwithſtanding the concurring cauſes which haſtened a rupture, ſuch was the terror of the Spartan name, encreaſed by the recent glory of Ageſilaus, that none of her numerous enemies had courage openly to take arms, and to avow their juſt animoſity. After various, but ſecret conferences, held in the principal cities, it was determined to wound that republic through her allies, the Phocians, who were diſtinguiſhed, amidſt the very general diſcontent, by their unſhaken attachment and fidelity. The Locri Ozolæ, a fierce and inſolent people [26], who lived in the neighbourhood of Phocis, were eaſily perſuaded to levy contributions from a diſtrict on their eaſtern frontier, to which they had not the ſmalleſt claim, and of which the dominion had been long a matter of diſpute between the Phocians and Thebans. Both theſe ſtates ſeem to have been injured, and exactly in the ſame degree, by this aggreſſion; but the Phocians, who were the enemies of the Locri, took arms to revenge, while the Thebans, who were their friends, prepared to abet their injuſtice. They expected, and their expectation was gratified, that the Spartans would quickly interfere in a quarrel that affected the moſt important intereſts of their Phocian allies; a meaſure which tended preciſely to that iſſue which prudence and policy required, ſince the Thebans would be compelled to arm in their own defence, and muſt appear to all the neutral ſtates of Greece, and even to their Lacedæmonian enemies, to be undeſignedly dragged into a war, not from an inclination to commit, but from the neceſſity to repel, injuries [27].

Campaign of Lyſander in Bœotia.

The iraſcible pride of Sparta, ever prone to chaſtiſe the ſmalleſt offences with unbounded ſeverity, conſpired with the moſt ſanguine

[26] Thucydid. l. i. p. 4. & p. 47.

[27] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. ad fin. Diodor. xiv. 82. Plutarch. in Lyſand. p. 448. & ſeqq.

hopes

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hopes of Thebes and her allies. Inſtead of condeſcending to remonſtrate, inſtead of demanding ſatisfaction, inſtead of ordering the Thebans to evacuate the territory of Phocis, and to abſtain from future injury, the Spartans flew to arms, and marched to invade Bœotia. On the firſt rumour of hoſtilities, the activity of Lyſander had been employed to aſſemble their northern confederates, the Malians, Heracleans, with thoſe who inhabited the villages of Doris and Mount Oeta. He penetrated into the Theban territory, gained Lebadea by force, Orchomenus by addreſs, and prepared to aſſault the walls of Haliartus, which, next to Thebes, was the ſtrongeſt of the Bœotian cities. The difficulty of this enterpriſe made him diſpatch a meſſenger to haſten the arrival of Pauſanias, the Spartan king, who had led forth ſix thouſand Peloponneſians, to co-operate with this experienced commander. The unfortunate meſſenger was taken by the ſcouts of the Thebans, and with him a letter, in which Lyſander had ſignified his purpoſe, and appointed the time of rendezvous with Pauſanias, that they might ſurpriſe Haliartus with their combined forces [28].

The Thebans march in the night to the defence of Haliartus.

At the ſame time that this uſeful intelligence was brought to Thebes, there arrived in that city a powerful reinforcement of Athenian troops, who, though their own capital was unwalled and defenceleſs, had been perſuaded by Thraſybulus to brave the reſentment of Sparta. To theſe generous auxiliaries the Thebans committed their city, their wives, their children, and every object of their moſt tender concern; while the warlike youth, and almoſt all thoſe of a military age, aſſembled in complete armour, ſet out in the dead of night, and performing a journey of fifteen miles with ſilence and celerity, reached, while it was yet dark, the gates of Haliartus. Their unexpected arrival ſtruck a pleaſing terror into their friends, who were affected ſtill more deeply, when they underſtood the cauſe of this nocturnal expedition. The Thebans

[28] Xenoph. Hellen. p. 503, & ſeqq.

diſpelled

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diſpelled their fear, and animated their hope, expecting not only to ſave Haliartus, but to obtain a ſignal advantage over the unſuſpecting confidence of the aſſailants.

Stratagem by which they defeat the aſſailants.

For this purpoſe, they ſent a ſtrong detachment to lie in ambuſh without the walls. The reſt, reinforced by the townſmen, formed themſelves in battle array, and ſtood to their arms, behind the gates. Lyſander arrived in the morning; but Pauſanias, who had not received his meſſage, ſtill continued in the neighbourhood of Platæa. The ſoldiers, fluſhed by recent victory, diſdained to depend on the tardy motions of their auxiliaries. They requeſted Lyſander to lead them againſt the place; a meaſure to which he was otherwiſe much inclined, being eager to ſnatch the glory to himſelf, without dividing it with Pauſanias, his rival and enemy.

Battle of Haliartus, and death of Lyſander.

He approached the town, and boldly began the attack, perceiving the walls and battlements to be unguarded. But before any breach was made, the different gates at once flew open, while the Thebans and Haliartians ruſhed forth with one conſent, and with irreſiſtible fury. Lyſander, with a prieſt who attended him, was ſlain on the firſt onſet. His men began to rally, but the Thebans, poſted in ambuſh without the city, occaſioned a new terror. The enemy every where gave way; above a thouſand fell in the field of battle, the reſt were routed, put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter [29].

The firſt intelligence of this fatal diſaſter brought Pauſanias to the ſcene of action, that he might examine the full extent of the calamity. It would have been fruitleſs to attempt the ſiege of Haliartus; but it was neceſſary to carry off the bodies of the ſlain. Pauſanias held a council of war, to determine whether this pious duty ſhould be effected by force, or whether he might condeſcend to ſolicit the humanity of the victors. Force ſeemed dangerous, as the

[29] Xenoph. l. iii. p. 505, & ſeqq. Plutarch. in Lyſand.

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principal deſtruction had happened immediately under the walls of the place, which it would be impoſſible to approach without ſuffering extremely from the miſſile weapons of the enemy, and without being expoſed to a ſecond attack, perhaps more bloody than the firſt. It was therefore unanimouſly reſolved to ſend a Spartan herald to Haliartus, requeſting leave to bury the dead. The demand was granted, on condition that the Peloponneſian army ſhould immediately evacuate Bœotia. Pauſanias complied, and returned to Sparta. His want of ſucceſs, rather than his demerit, ſubjected him to trial and condemnation. He eſcaped capital puniſhment by flying to Tegea, where he ſoon afterwards ſickened and died. His ſon Ageſipolis aſſumed the Spartan ſceptre, which, at that juncture, required the direction of more experienced hands [30].

[30] Id. ibid.

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Recal of Ageſilaus from the Eaſt.—He invades Bœotia.—Views of Evagoras King of Cyprus.—His Friendſhip with Conon.—The latter entruſted with the Perſian Fleet.—He defeats the Lacedæmonians.—Battle of Coronæa.—The Corinthian War.—Conon rebuilds the Walls and Harbours of Athens.—Conqueſts of Conon and Thraſybulus.—Peace of Antalcidas.

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The league formed againſt Sparta obliges that republic to recal Ageſilaus from the Eaſt. Olymp. xcvi. 3. A. C. 394.

THE defeat at Haliartus, which exaſperated, without humbling, the Spartans, confirmed the courage of their enemies, and haſtened the defection of their allies. The league was openly ratified and avowed by the republics of Thebes, Argos, Athens, and Corinth. The ſpirit of revolt ſeized Eubœa, pervaded the provinces of Acarnania, Leucas, Ambracia, the rich cities of Chalcis, and the warlike principalities of Theſſaly [1]. The whole fabric of the Spartan power, raiſed and cemented by a war of twenty-ſeven years, was ſhaken to the foundation; their victorious leaders were no more; nor did any reſource remain, but that of recalling Ageſilaus from his Aſiatic victories, that the fortune and valour of this accompliſhed general might ſuſtain the falling ruins of his country. He received the fatal ſcytalé [2], intimating his recal, at the important criſis of his fortune. He had completed his preparations for marching into Upper Aſia, and his heart already beat with the ardour of promiſed conqueſt and glory [3].

[1] Diodor. l. xiv. p. 443. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 507.

[2] See Vol. I. c. xii. p. 411.

[3] Plutarch. in Ageſil. & Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 513.

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He communicates his recal to the troops.

Having aſſembled the confederates, he communicated the revered order of the republic, with which he expreſſed his reſolution immediately to comply. The generous troops, having aſſociated their own honour with the renown of the general, teſtified their grief and their reluctance by tears and entreaties. But Ageſilaus remained firm in his purpoſe, to obey the command of Sparta, to ſet bounds to his triumphs in the Eaſt, and to turn the direction of his arms towards a leſs promiſing field, to which he was ſummoned by the danger of his country [4]. Before croſſing the Helleſpont, he detached four thouſand veteran ſoldiers, to ſtrengthen the Aſiatic garriſons; ſeveral of which he viſited in perſon, every where aſſuring his friends, that it was his moſt earneſt wiſh to rejoin them in Aſia, whenever the troubles of Greece ſhould permit his abſence.

Their deſire to follow him prudently encouraged by Ageſilaus.

The greater part of the army, and particularly the new levies of Ionians and Æolians, who had paſſed their apprenticeſhip in arms under his fortunate ſtandard, declared, with tears of affection, that they never would abandon their beloved general. Ageſilaus encouraged this diſpoſition, which was extremely favourable to his views; and leſt it might be nothing but a ſally of temporary enthuſiaſm, artfully ſecured its permanence, by propoſing the diſtribution of valuable rewards, in the Thracian Cherſoneſus, to ſuch officers as brought the beſt companies of foot or cavalry for the ſervice of his intended expedition. He was able to perform his promiſes with a generous magnificence; ſince, after defraying the neceſſary expences of the war, he carried from Aſia above a thouſand talents, or an hundred and ninety-three thouſand pounds ſterling [5].

His return to Greece.

When the whole forces were aſſembled in the Cherſoneſus, they probably amounted to about ten thouſand men. Their neareſt rout

[4] Xenoph. Hellen. & Panegyr. Ageſil. & Plutarch. in Ageſil. beſtow ſeemingly immoderate praiſes on this reſolution, but it is to be conſidered, that in the tumultuary governments of Greece, it was not uncommon to behold a ſucceſsful general, proud of the zeal and ſtrength of his followers, ſet at defiance the feeble authority of his republic.

[5] Id. Ibid. & Diodor. p. 441.

into

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into Greece lay through the ſame countries that had been traverſed near a century before by Xerxes; but the activity of Ageſilaus accompliſhed in a month what, to eaſtern effeminacy, had been the journey of a laborious year. In the long interval of time between theſe celebrated expeditions, the Barbarians of Thrace and Macedon, through whoſe countries it was neceſſary to march, ſeem not to have made much improvement in the arts of war or peace. They were ſtill undiſciplined and diſunited; and their deſultory arms were alike incapable of oppoſing the Spartan and the Perſian. Ageſilaus deſcended without reſiſtance into the plains of Theſſaly, where his progreſs was ſtopped for a moment by the numerous cavalry of that country, whoſe petty princes had acceded to the alliance formed againſt the ambition of Sparta. By a judicious diſpoſition of his forces, and by evolutions equally ſkilful and rapid, he ſpeedily ſurmounted this obſtacle. To the charge of the Theſſalian cavalry, he oppoſed the weight of his heavy-armed men, by whom the enemy were routed and put to flight. Then, with his own horſemen, who would have proved an unequal match for the unbroken vigour of the Theſſalians, he purſued them with great ſlaughter, took many priſoners, and erected a trophy of his victory, between the mountains Prantes and Narthacium[6], which form the weſtern boundary of the extenſive plain of Coronæa.

He defeats the Theſſalian cavalry.

Inſtead of continuing his journey through the hoſtile country of Locris, whoſe weakneſs he diſdained to chaſtiſe, he marched through the friendly territories of Doris and Phocis, that he might turn the ſhock of the war againſt the daring and rebellious Thebans. He found them in arms with their powerful allies, rather provoked, than diſcouraged, by a bloody but undeciſive battle, which, ſoon after the diſaſter at Haliartus, had been fought againſt the Lacedæmonians at Epiecia, a ſmall town on the common frontier of Corinth and Sicyon. The confederate army was ſtill about twenty thouſand

Invade Bœotia.

[6] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 517.

ſtrong;

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ſtrong; the forces of Ageſilaus fully equalled that number, as he had received conſiderable ſupplies from Sparta and Phocis; and, as the ſecondary cities, particularly Orchomenus of Bœotia, and Epidaurus of Argolis, had joined his arms, prompted by their uſual envy, and reſentment againſt their reſpective capitals. The hoſtile battalions approached; thoſe of Ageſilaus marching, in good order, from the banks of the Cephiſſus, while the Thebans impetuouſly deſcended from the mountains of Helicon. Before they arrived at the ſcene of action, in the Bœotian plain of Coronæa [7], a city thirty miles diſtant from Thebes, the ſuperſtition of both armies was alarmed by an eclipſe of the ſun; and the wiſdom of Ageſilaus was alarmed, far more juſtly, by moſt unexpected intelligence from the Eaſt [8].

Evagoras recovers his hereditary dominion in Cyprus.

Since his unfortunate partiality had intruſted the Lacedæmonian fleet to the obſtinacy and inexperience of his kinſman Piſander, the Perſian, or rather Phœnician ſquadrons, had been committed to the direction of a far more able commander. After the deciſive engagement at Ægos Potamos, which was followed by the taking of Athens, and the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war, Conon, the Athenian admiral, eſcaped with a few gallies into the harbour of Salamis, the capital of the iſle of Cyprus. That city, and a conſiderable part of the iſland, was then ſubject to Evagoras, a man whom the voice of panegyric repreſents as governing, with conſummate wiſdom [9], a kingdom, which he had acquired by heroic valour. This admired prince boaſted a deſcent from Teucer, who, returning from the ſiege of Troy eight hundred years before the reign of Evagoras, had founded the firſt Grecian colony on the Cyprian ſhore. During that long ſpace of time, Salamis had undergone various re-

[7] The places diſtinguiſhed by that name are deſcribed by Strabo, p. 407. 410, 411, and 431.

[8] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 518. Plut. in Ageſil.

[9] Iſocrates's panegyric of Evagoras may be entitled the picture of a great king: the character is only too perfect.

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volutions. Evagoras was born, and educated, under the reign of an uſurper, who fell by the dagger of an aſſaſſin, who in his turn aſſumed the crown. Evagoras fled to Cilicia, obtained the protection of the ſatrap of that province, returned to Salamis with a handful of men, ſurpriſed and dethroned the new tyrant, to whom he was not bound by any tie of allegiance.

His attachment to Athens, and friendſhip for Conon the Athenian.

From the moment that he began to reign, he diſcovered the moſt partial fondneſs for Athens, in whoſe language, arts, and inſtitutions, his youth had been liberally inſtructed; and which afterwards formed the ſtudy and delight of his manhood, the amuſement and conſolation of his declining age. But, unfortunately for the ſenſibility and affectionate gratitude of Evagoras towards a country to which he owed his education and his happineſs, he lived at a period when, before the ſituation of his principality enabled him to afford any effectual aſſiſtance to Athens, he beheld that proud republic deprived of the ſplendour and dominion which ſhe had enjoyed above ſeventy years. He lamented her misfortunes with a filial tenderneſs, and received with the kindeſt hoſpitality her oppreſſed and afflicted citizens. The virtuous and enterpriſing Conon deſerved his affection and eſteem, and ſoon acquired the unlimited confidence of a mind congenial to his own. They acted with the happieſt concert for the ſecurity and aggrandiſement of the little kingdom, alluring new inhabitants from Greece, increaſing their arts and induſtry, extending navigation and commerce; and, in a ſhort time, Salamis was able to fit out a conſiderable naval power, and to ſubdue and incorporate with her own ſubjects ſeveral of the neighbouring communities. The great king, who had long been conſidered as lord paramount of Cyprus, interfered not in the domeſtic concerns of the iſland, provided he received from thence his ſmall cuſtomary tribute. The flouriſhing ſtate of Evagoras's affairs might enable him to pay, and to exceed, the ſtipulated ſum; though it is probable that he early meditated, what he afterwards attempted to accompliſh,

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accompliſh, the deliverance of his country from this mark of bondage.

Evagoras and Conon determine to retrieve the fortune of that republic.

But a deſign which actually engaged him more deeply, and to which he was ſtrongly incited by the ardent ſolicitations of Conon, was the reſtoration of Athens (which he conſidered as his adoptive country and parent) to that ſtate of glory and pre-eminence from which ſhe had miſerably fallen. The virtuous and patriotic friends (for as ſuch contemporaries deſcribe them) are repreſented as pilots and mariners watching the tides and currents, and catching every propitious gale that might facilitate the execution of this hazardous enterpriſe. The victories of Ageſilaus in the Eaſt, which threatened to ſhake the throne of Artaxerxes, furniſhed an opportunity too favourable to eſcape their vigilance. Conon had been already recommended to the great king by Evagoras; and the recommendation had been enforced by Pharnabazus, who knew and admired his merit. The experienced ſkill of the illuſtrious Athenian, and of his countrymen Hieronymus and Nicodemus, had aſſiſted in equipping the Barbarian ſquadrons in the Cilician and Phœnician harbours. But the abilities of Pharax, the Spartan admiral, and the cowardice or negligence of the Perſian commanders, hitherto rendered uſeleſs a fleet of near three hundred ſail, which was ill manned, and which often wanted money.

Conon entruſted with the command of the Perſian fleet.

The activity of Conon undertook to remedy theſe evils. He left Cilicia, travelled to Thapſacus, embarked in the Euphrates; and, as his veſſel was moved by the combined impulſe of winds, oars, and ſtream, he deſcended with rapidity along the winding channel to Babylon [10]. The only obſtacle to his intended conference with Artaxerxes was, his unwillingneſs to degrade the Athenian character by depreſſing the body, bending the knee, and paying the uſual marks of reſpectful ſubmiſſion, which were readily granted by Barbarians to the monarch of the Eaſt; but which the Greeks refuſed to

[10] Diodorus, l. xiv. p. 442.

man,

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man, and reſerved for the majeſty of the gods. This difficulty, however, was at length overcome by thoſe whoſe mutual intereſt ſtrongly ſolicited an interview. Conon repreſented to the trembling monarch, who was ſtill agitated by the terror of Ageſilaus's victories, the neceſſity of oppoſing the Spartans vigorouſly by ſea. Their fleet alone had acquired, and maintained, the command of the Aſiatic coaſt. A ſingle defeat at ſea would excite their allies to revolt, and drive their armies from Aſia. But to obtain this advantage, the great king muſt employ an admiral worthy to command, and men willing to obey. In looking for the firſt, the valour of Pharnabazus could not eſcape his notice. The ſecond might be purchaſed by money. And ſhould Artaxerxes entruſt him with the requiſite ſum, he pledged his life that he would ſoon collect ſuch a number of ſailors (chiefly from the Grecian coaſts and iſlands) as would enable him to defeat the fleet of Sparta, and to compel that republic to abandon her Eaſtern conqueſts. The propoſal pleaſed Artaxerxes, the money was raiſed, and Conon returned to Cilicia to accompliſh his undertaking.

He defeats the Spartans, and takes fifty gallies. Olymp. xcvi. 3. A. C. 394.

From various ſea-ports of Aſia, from the ſmaller Greek cities, the reluctant ſubjects of Sparta, from ſeveral maritime towns whoſe inhabitants were ready to ſerve any maſter for pay, but chiefly from the powerful iſlands of Rhodes and Cyprus, he ſoon collected a naval force exceeding his moſt ſanguine hopes; and which might have enabled him (independent of the Barbarian ſquadrons commanded by Pharnabazus) to contend on nearly equal terms with Piſander. With their combined ſtrength, Conon and Pharnabazus ſailed weſtward in queſt of the hoſtile fleet, perſuaded that the raſh confidence of the Spartan admiral would not decline battle with a ſuperior enemy. As the united armament turned the northern point of Rhodes, they perceived the Lacedæmonian ſquadron, amounting to near an hundred gallies, in the capacious bay which is formed between the projections of the Dorian ſhore, and the ſmall

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iſlands called Sporades, from the careleſs irregularity with which they ſeem to have been ſcattered by the hand of nature[11]. The unexpected approach of ſuch a formidable fleet did not ſhake the ſullen obſtinacy of Piſander. He commanded (as it had been foreſeen) his men to prepare for battle. They bore up againſt the enemy, but on a nearer ſurvey were alarmed and terrified with the exceſſive diſproportion of numbers. The greater part turned their prows, and retired towards the friendly ſhore of Cnidus. Piſander advanced in the admiral galley, and died fighting bravely in defence of the Spartan honour, vainly endeavouring to maintain, by the vigour of his arm, what had been betrayed by the weakneſs of his counſels. The victors purſued; and after deſtroying great numbers of the enemy, took and carried off fifty gallies; a capture ſufficient to decide the fate of any Grecian republic[12].

The battle of Coronæa. Olymp. xcvi. 3. A. C. 394.

It was the intelligence of this battle, of which he anticipated the conſequences, in the loſs of the Spartan dominions from Cnidus to Byzantium, that juſtly alarmed and afflicted the patriotic breaſt of Ageſilaus. He aſſembled the troops, honeſtly confeſſed the death of Piſander, but artfully declared, that, though the admiral was ſlain, his fleet had obtained a complete victory, for which it became himſelf and them to pay the uſual tribute of thanks and ſacrifices to the protecting gods. He then crowned himſelf with a chaplet of flowers, and ſet the example of performing this pious duty. The devout ſtratagem was attended with a very ſalutary effect; for in a

[11] Virgil expreſſes, in few words, the geography deſcribed in the text.

——Et crebris legimus freta conſita terris.
Virg. Æneid. iii. v. 129.

[12] Polybius ſeems to conſider the battle of Cnidus as the æra at which the Spartans loſt the command of the ſea, which they had acquired by their victory at Ægos-Potamos. He ſays, their dominion laſted twelve years. This number, however, is too large for the interval between thoſe battles, as appears from the text. Other writers ſay, that the Lacedæmonian *empire*, which the Greeks ſpeak of as ſynonymous with the command of the ſea, laſted thirty years, reckoning from the battle of Ægos-Potamos to the defeat at Leuctra. But this number again is too ſmall for the interval between thoſe events; a remarkable proof of the careleſſneſs of Greek writers in matters of chronology. See Hocrat. de Pace, & Caſaub. ad Polyb. vol. iii. p. 97—99. edit. Gronov.

ſkirmiſh

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ſkirmiſh between the advanced guards, immediately preceding the battle, the Lacedæmonian troops, animated by their imagined victory in the Eaſt, defeated and repelled the enemy. Meanwhile the main bodies of either army advanced into the plain of Coronæa, at firſt in awful ſilence, but having approached within a furlong of each other, the Thebans raiſed an univerſal ſhout, and ran furiouſly to the charge. Their impetuoſity bore down every thing before them; but the troops, immediately commanded by Ageſilaus, repelled the left wing of the enemy, chiefly conſiſting of Argives and Athenians. Already thoſe who ſurrounded his perſon ſaluted him as conqueror, and adorned him with the crown of victory; when it was told, that the Thebans had broke and totally routed the Orchomenians, and were advancing to ſeize the baggage. Ageſilaus, by a rapid evolution, prepared to intercept them, in order to fruſtrate this deſign. The Thebans perceived this movement, wheeled about, and marched in an oppoſite direction, that they might join, and rally their allies, who fled towards the mountains of Helicon. In the rencounter which followed, Xenophon is diſpoſed to admire rather the valour, than the prudence, of the Spartan king. Inſtead of allowing the Thebans to paſs, that he might attack their rear and flanks, he boldly oppoſed their progreſs, and aſſailed their front. The ſhock was terrible; their ſhields meeting, claſhed; they fought, ſlew, and were ſlain[13]. No voice was heard, yet none was ſilent; the field reſounded with the noiſe of rage and battle; and this was the moſt deſperate and bloody ſcene of an action, itſelf the moſt deſperate and bloody of any in that age. At length, the firmneſs of the Thebans effected their long-attempted paſſage to Helicon; but could not encourage their allies to renew the engagement. The Spartans thus remained maſters of the field, the ſight of which ſeem-

[13] Και χρονον μεν ηδομεν παρα, η μαν ηδ. σιγη· ϕωνη δε τις, οι τυπτον, οιαν ορνις τε και μαχη παρεχεται. Xenoph. Ageſilaus, c. xii. Such paſſages, inimitable in any other language, ſhew the ſuperiority of the Greek.

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to have deeply affected a ſpectator whoſe mind was habituated to ſuch objects of horror. It was covered with ſteel and blood, with the bodies of friends and foes heaped promiſcuouſly together, with transfixed bucklers and broken lances, ſome ſtrowed on the ground, others deeply adhering in the mortal wounds which they had inflicted, and others ſtill graſped by the cold and inſenſible hands of the combatants who had lately fought with ſuch impetuous ardour[14].

Ageſilaus himſelf had received ſeveral wounds from various kinds of weapons; yet did he reſtrain his reſentment in the moment of victory. When informed that about fourſcore of the enemy had taken refuge in a neighbouring temple of Minerva, he religiouſly reſpected the right of ſanctuary, ordered his ſoldiers to abſtain from hurting them, and even appointed a body of horſe to conduct them to a place of ſecurity. The next day was employed by the victors in erecting a trophy on the ſcene of this important action; while the enemy acknowledged their defeat, by requeſting the bodies of the ſlain. Notwithſtanding his fatigue and wounds, Ageſilaus then travelled to Phocis, that he might dedicate the tenth of his Aſiatic ſpoil (amounting to above an hundred talents) in the temple of Delphian Apollo. Having returned towards the Peloponneſus, he diſbanded his eaſtern troops, moſt of whom were deſirous to reviſit their reſpective cities; his Peloponneſian, and even Lacedæmonian forces, inclined alſo to return home, that they might reap the fruits of harveſt[15]; and the general, probably to avoid a journey painful to his wounds, ſailed to Sparta, and joined in the celebration of the Hyacinthian feſtival.

The Corinthian war. Olymp. xcvi. 3. A. C. 394—Olymp. xcviii. 2. A. C. 387.

The ſea-fight off Cnidus, and the battle of Coronæa, were the moſt important and deciſive actions in the Bœotian or Corinthian war,

[14] Xenoph. Ageſil. c. xii.

[15] The ſolar eclipſe, mentioned above in the text, fixes the battle of Coronæa to the fourteenth of Auguſt.

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war, which laſted eight years. The contending republics ſeem at once to have put forth their ſting; and to have retained only their reſentment after they had loſt their power. Petty hoſtilities indeed were carried on by mutual inroads and ravages in the ſpring and autumn; the Lacedæmonians iſſuing from Sicyon, and the Thebans from Corinth. The inhabitants of the latter city had eagerly promoted the alliance againſt Sparta; but when their country was made the ſeat of war, they began to repent of this raſh meaſure. The noble and wealthy part of the community, who had moſt to fear, as they had moſt to loſe, talked of a ſeparate peace; and, as they were abetted by a majority of the people, their dependents or clients, they intended to ſummon an aſſembly which might confirm this laudable reſolution. But the partiſans of Timolaus and Polyanthes, who, though the mercenaries of a Barbarian ſlave, were the patrons of Corinthian liberty, anticipated a deſign ſo unfavourable to their intereſts, by committing one of the moſt horrid maſſacres recorded in hiſtory. They choſe the Eucleian feſtival[16], a circumſtance which ſeemed to blacken the atrocity of a crime which nothing could aggravate. Many of the citizens were then enjoying themſelves in the market-place, or aſſembled at the dramatic entertainments. The aſſault was rapid and general. The Corinthians were aſſaſſinated in the circles of converſation, ſome in the public walks, moſt in the theatre; the judges on the bench, the prieſts at the altar; nor did thoſe monſters ceaſe from deſtroying, till they had cut off whomever they deemed moſt willing, or moſt able, to oppoſe their meaſures. The great body of the people, who perceived that even the temples, and adored images of the gods (whoſe knees they graſped), afforded not any protection to the victims of this impious fury, prepared to fly from their country; when they were reſtrained, firſt, by the lamentable cries of their wives and children, and then by the

Maſſacre in Corinth.

[16] Xenophon, with the ſuperſtitious inſenſibility of his age, dwells on the enormous impiety of this choice.

declaration

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declaration of the aſſaſſins, that they intended nothing farther than to deliver the city from traitors, the partiſans of Sparta and ſlavery. This abominable maſſacre infected Corinth with the plague of ſedition, which ſilently lurked, or openly raged, in that unfortunate republic, during the ſix following years. The Spartans and Argives aſſiſted their reſpective factions; Corinth was alternately ſubject to the one and the other, but always to a foreign power; and of the two Corinthian harbours, which were conſidered as an important part of the capital, the Lechæum was long garriſoned by the Spartans, while the Cenchreæ remained in poſſeſſion of the Argives.

The Spartans ſucceſsful by land, and the Athenians by ſea.

After the battles of Cnidus and Coronæa, there was not any general engagement by land or ſea; and it is worthy of obſervation, that the partial actions, which happened on either element, generally followed the bias of thoſe important victories. Succeſs for the moſt part attended the ſailors of Athens, and the ſoldiers of Sparta; though the naval exploits of Teleutias, the kinſman of Ageſilaus, who ſurpriſed the Piræus with twelve gallies, took many merchantmen, deſtroyed ſeveral ſhips of war, and ſcoured the coaſt of Attica, formed an exception extremely honourable to that commander; and the military advantages of Iphicrates, the Athenian, though unimportant in their conſequences, announced thoſe great talents for war, which afterwards rendered him ſo illuſtrious. But, in general, Ageſilaus and the Spartans maintained their ſuperiority in the field; while Conon, Thraſybulus, and Chabrias proved ſucceſsful againſt Thimbron, Anaxibius, and the other naval commanders of the enemy[1].

Conqueſts of Conon.

In the actual ſtate of Greece, the reſpective ſucceſſes of the contending powers were not accompanied by proportional advantages. The Lacedæmonians derived not any ſolid or permanent benefit from their victory at Coronæa, unleſs we account as ſuch the gratification of their revenge, in ravaging without reſiſtance the Argive and Bœotian territory; but their defeat at Cnidus deprived

[1] Diodor. Sicul. ad Olym. xcvi. 1. & Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. 5.

them

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them in one day of the fruit of many laborious campaigns, ſince, with the aſſiſtance of a ſuperior naval force, and with the command of the Perſian treaſury, Conon found little difficulty in detaching for ever from their dominion the whole weſtern coaſt of Leſſer Aſia. This enterpriſe muſt have been effected with uncommon rapidity, and, unleſs the Perſian fleet kept the ſea in the middle of winter (which is not at all probable), could only employ about three months. The meaſures taken by the Spartans, either to preſerve or to recover their important poſſeſſions in the Eaſt, have ſcarcely deſerved the notice of hiſtory, if we except their reſiſtance at Abydus, a place leſs famous for this memorable defence, (ſuch is the love of fiction, and the contempt of truth!) than for the fabulous amours of Hero and Leander. Dercyllidas had obtained the government of this ſtrong and populous town, as the reward of his military ſervices. Inſtead of imitating the puſillanimity of the neighbouring governors, many of whom, alarmed by the diſaſter at Cnidus, fled in precipitation from the places entruſted to their command, Dercyllidas aſſembled the Abydenians; aſſured them that one naval defeat had not ruined the power of Sparta [18], who, even before ſhe had attained the ſovereignty of the ſea, now unfortunately loſt, was able to reward her benefactors, and to puniſh her enemies. "The moment of adverſity furniſhed an occaſion to diſplay their inviolable attachment to the republic; and it would be glorious for them alone, of all the inhabitants of the Aſiatic coaſt, to brave the power of Perſia." Having confirmed the courage of the Abydenians, he ſailed to the town of Seſtos, acroſs the moſt frequented and narroweſt paſſage of the Helleſpont. Seſtos was the principal place of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, the inhabitants of which owed their protection and ſafety

Brave defence of Abydus.

[18] The remarkable expreſſion of Xenophon ſhews the importance of this defeat in the general eſtimation of the Abydenians, and of Dercyllidas himſelf, though he would fain diſſemble it. Εσι δι ουχ ὑπ' τως ἐχου, ὡ τη ναυμαχια ἐκρατηθημεν, ἡδη ἐσμεν ουδεν. "The matter ſtands not thus, that becauſe we have been worſted in the ſea-fight, we are therefore nothing."

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to the useful labours of Dercyllidas[19]; and this claim of merit enabled him to secure their allegiance. The fidelity of these towns, amidst the general defection of the coast of Europe and of Asia, prevented the inconveniences and hardships to which the expelled Spartans, who had been employed in the garrisons of those parts, must have been otherwise exposed; and delivered them from the necessity of undertaking a winter's journey to the Peloponnesus, through the territories of many hostile republics. The unfortunate governors and garrisons, who had fled, or who had been driven, from the places of their respective command, took refuge within the friendly walls of Sestos and Abydus. Their numbers increased the security of those cities, and enabled Dercyllidas, who excelled in the art of fortification, to put them in such a posture of defence as baffled the attempts of Conon and Pharnabazus.

But the success of these commanders was still sufficiently complete; and the importance of their services excited the warmest gratitude in the breast of Artaxerxes. The merit of the satrap was acknowledged soon afterwards, by his obtaining in marriage the daughter of the great king.

Conon rebuilds the walls and harbours of Athens. Olymp. xcvi. 4. A. C. 393.

The patriotic Conon neither desired nor received any personal reward; but employed his favour with Artaxerxes to retrieve the affairs of Athens, the interest of which formed the honourable motive that had alone engaged, and that still retained him, in the Persian service. He inflamed the resentment which both Pharnabazus and his master had justly conceived against Sparta, and encouraged them, early in the spring, to send their victorious armament towards Greece, to retaliate the ravages committed in the East by the arms of Agesilaus. But he instructed them, that if they would render their vengeance complete, and humble for ever the Spartan pride, they must raise the fallen rival of that imperious republic. The

[19] See above, p. 181.

disbursement

diſburſement of a ſum of money, which would be ſcarcely felt by the treaſury of Perſia, might ſuffice to rebuild the walls and harbours of Athens; a meaſure by which they would inflict the deepeſt wound on the power, as well as on the pride, of their ambitious enemy. The propoſal was heard with approbation; the expence was liberally ſupplied; the Perſian fleet ſet ſail, reduced the Cyclades and Cythera, ravaged the coaſt of Laconia, and, after performing in detached ſquadrons whatever ſeemed moſt uſeful for the Perſian ſervice, aſſembled in the long-deſerted harbours of the Phalerus, Munichia and Piræus. There the important taſk, of reſtoring the ancient ornaments and defence of the city of Minerva, was begun, carried on, and accompliſhed, with extraordinary diligence. The ready ſervice of the crews, belonging to the numerous fleet, aſſiſted the induſtry of mercenary workmen, whom the allurement of gain had brought from every quarter of Greece; and the labour of both was ſeconded and encouraged by the voluntary and eager exertions of the Bœotians and Argives; but, above all, by the zeal of the Athenians themſelves, who juſtly regarded their actual employment as the ſecond foundation of their once glorious capital.

Sparta alarmed by that meaſure, ſolicits peace from Perſia. Olymp. xcvii 1. A. C. 392.

The work was completed before the return of ſpring; and the mortifying intelligence, when brought to Sparta, affected the magiſtrates of that republic with the cruelleſt anxiety. They were ready to abandon for ever the proſpect of recovering their loſt dominion in the Eaſt; they were deſirous to obtain an accommodation with Artaxerxes on the moſt humiliating terms; they were willing to deprive themſelves of the only advantage yet in their power, to forego even the pleaſure of revenge, and to abſtain from ravaging the territories of their neighbours and enemies, provided only the great king and his ſatraps would grant them a condition, with which it was eaſy to comply, ſince it required nothing but that they ſhould ceaſe to laviſh their own money in raiſing the dangerous power of

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the Athenians. For effecting this purpoſe, they ſent ſucceſſive embaſſies to the court of Perſia, as well as to Teribazus, who had lately ſucceeded Tithrauſtes, in the government of the ſouthern provinces. They induſtriouſly neglected Pharnabazus, from whom they could not reaſonably expect any favour, as the hoſtilities of Ageſilaus had peculiarly excited the reſentment of that warlike ſatrap.

Employ Antalcidas as their miniſter.

Among the miniſters employed by Sparta, in this negotiation, was Antalcidas, a man whoſe prior hiſtory is little known. He appears to have had an intercourſe of hoſpitality with ſeveral noble Perſians[20]; it is not improbable that he had ſerved under the ſtandard of Cyrus, and perhaps continued in the Eaſt during the ſucceſſive expeditions of Thimbron, Dercyllidas, and Ageſilaus. If we except the artful and daring Lyſander, Sparta never employed a more proper agent to treat with the Barbarians. Antalcidas was bold, eloquent, ſubtile, complying, a maſter in all the arts of inſinuation and addreſs, and equally well qualified, by his abilities and vices, to execute an inſidious commiſſion at a corrupt court. The revered inſtitutions of his country were the objects of real or well-feigned contempt; he derided the frugal and ſelf-denying maxims of the divine Lycurgus; but peculiarly delighted the voluptuous, cowardly, and treacherous ſatraps and courtiers, when he directed the poiſoned ſhafts of his ridicule againſt the manly firmneſs, the probity, and the patriotiſm of Leonidas and Callicratidas, names equally glorious to Sparta and diſhonourable to Perſia.

His negotiation facilitated by the unreaſonable ambition of Conon and the Athenians.

The ſucceſs of ſuch a miniſter, almoſt enſured by his own character and talents, was haſtened by the imprudent ambition of Conon and the Athenians, too ſoon and too fatally intoxicated by the deceitful gifts of proſperity. When this illuſtrious commander cooperated with Pharnabazus in expelling the Lacedæmonians from the Eaſt, he earneſtly exhorted the ſatrap to confirm the Aſiatic

[20] Xenoph. Hellen.

Greeks

Greeks in the enjoyment of their ancient liberties, leſt the fear of oppreſſion might ſuggeſt the means of reſiſtance, and oblige them to form a general alliance for their own defence, which might prove favourable to Artaxerxes. In this plauſible advice the patriotic Athenian had a farther view than it was poſſible for the Perſian at that time to diſcover. After rebuilding the walls and harbours of Athens, he requeſted Pharnabazus, who prepared to return to his province, that he might be allowed, for a few months longer, to employ a ſquadron of Perſian ſhips, in conjunction with his own, to infeſt the territories of Sparta and her allies. The ſatrap, naturally unſuſpicious, and perhaps betrayed by his reſentment, readily granted this demand. But Conon, unmindful of his promiſed operations againſt the common enemy, thought only of promoting the intereſt of his republic. He ſailed to the Cyclades, to Chios, to Leſbos, and even to the coaſt of Eolis and Ionia, diſplayed the ſtrength of his armament, deſcribed the flouriſhing fortune of Athens, and endeavoured to perſuade or to compel the aſtoniſhed Aſiatics and iſlanders to acknowledge the juſt authority of their ancient metropolis or ſovereign, who having riſen more ſplendid from her ruins, required only the attachment of her former allies and ſubjects, to recover her hereditary power and renown.

Negociations of the adverſe ſtates with Perſia.

The ſucceſs of this extraordinary enterpriſe is not particularly deſcribed, nor is the omiſſion material, ſince this laſt expedition of Conon had not any other permanent effect but that of ruining himſelf. His unjuſtifiable ambition furniſhed powerful weapons to the dexterity of Antalcidas, who repreſented him as guilty of the moſt unexampled audacity, aggravated by the moſt perfidious ingratitude, in attempting to alienate and to conquer the king's dominions, even by the aſſiſtance of the king's forces, to which both his country and himſelf owed ſo many recent and ſignal benefits. The accuſation was probably rendered more welcome to Tiribazus, by the jealouſy which he naturally entertained of the neighbouring ſatrap,

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the friend of Conon, and his own rival. But after the laſt unwarrantable tranſaction of the Athenian, which he could defend only by the obſolete Greek maxim, that every thing is lawful to a man in the ſervice of his country, even his late colleague Pharnabazus ſeems to have withdrawn from him the protection and friendſhip by which he had been ſo long diſtinguiſhed, ſo that the influence of that powerful ſatrap formed not any oppoſition to the negociations and intrigues of Antalcidas. The Athenians, however, ſent Dion, Hermogenes, with other emiſſaries, to watch and counteract his meaſures. Conon was named at the head of this deputation; and as he knew not the full extent of Teribazus's animoſity, inflamed and exaſperated by the addreſs of Antalcidas, he expected that the perſonal preſence of a man, who had formerly ſerved the Perſians with fidelity and ſucceſs, might obtain an eaſy pardon from the ſatrap, and perhaps prove uſeful to the affairs of Athens. The Bœotians and Argives likewiſe ſent their ambaſſadors, who had inſtructions to act in concert with Conon and his colleagues. But *their* overtures were little regarded, while thoſe of Antalcidas met with warm approbation from Teribazus.

The overtures of Sparta moſt acceptable to the Perſian miniſters.

The Lacedæmonian ambaſſador declared that he had been commanded to offer ſuch terms of peace as ſuited equally the dignity and the intereſt of the great king. "The Spartans reſigned all pretenſions to the Greek cities in Aſia, which they acknowledged to be dependencies of the Perſian empire. Why ſhould Artaxerxes, then, continue to laviſh his treaſure in vain? Since the Spartans not only ceded to him the immediate object of diſpute, but earneſtly deſired to promote the future proſperity of his dominions, by ſettling the affairs of Greece, as beſt anſwered his conveniency. For this purpoſe they were ready to declare all the cities and iſlands, ſmall and great, totally independent of each other; in conſequence of which there would not be any republic ſufficiently powerful thenceforth to diſturb the tranquillity of Perſia." Theſe conditions, which the moſt

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most insolent minister of the great king might himself have dictated, were too advantageous not to be liable to suspicion. But Teribazus was so blinded by partiality for the Spartan minister, that he seems not to have entertained the smallest doubt of his sincerity. The terms of peace were transmitted to the court of Susa, that they might be approved and ratified by Artaxerxes. The subtlety of Antalcidas was rewarded by a considerable sum of money; and the patriotism of Conon (a patriotism which had carried him beyond the bounds of justice and propriety) was punished by immediate death[21], or by an ignominious confinement[22]. His fate is variously related; but his actions justly rank him with the first of Grecian names; and the fame of an illustrious father was supported and rivalled by that of his son Timotheus[23].

Death of Conon.

It might have been expected that a plan of accommodation, so advantageous and honourable for Persia, should have been readily accepted by Artaxerxes. But the negociation languished for several years, partly on account of the temporary disgrace of Teribazus, who was succeeded by Struthas; a man who, moved by some unknown motive, warmly espoused the interest of the Athenians; and partly by the powerful solicitations and remonstrances of the Bœotian and Argive ambassadors, who accused the sincerity, and unveiled the latent ambition, of Sparta.

Obstacles to the conclusion of the treaty of peace. Olymp. xcvii. 3. A. C. 393.

Meanwhile the war was carried on with unremitting activity. The Lacedæmonians and their allies sallied from their strong garrisons in Sicyon and the Lechæum, to destroy the harvests and the villages of their Peloponnesian enemies. The Bœotians and Argives retaliated these injuries by several hostile incursions into the territories of Sparta; while the Athenians, as if they had again attained the command of the sea, bent the whole vigour of their republic towards an element, long propitious to their ancestors.

Military operations.

[21] Isoc. Panegyr.
[22] Xenoph. Gr. Hist. l. iv.
[23] Dinarch. adv. Demost. p. 94, & Corn. Nepos, in vit. Conon. & Timoth.

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Conqueſts of Thraſybulus.

The recent ſplendour of Conon had eclipſed the ancient and well-merited renown of Thraſybulus, whoſe extraordinary abilities, and more extraordinary good fortune, had twice reſcued his country from the yoke of tyrants. But after the lamented death or captivity of the former, the Athenian fleet, amounting to forty ſail, was entruſted to Thraſybulus; who, having ſcoured the Ægean ſea, ſailed to the Helleſpont, and perſuaded or compelled the inhabitants of Byzantium, and ſeveral other Thracian cities, to aboliſh their ariſtocratic government, and to accept the alliance of Athens. His activity was next directed againſt the iſle of Leſbos, in which the Lacedæmonian intereſt was ſtill ſupported by a conſiderable body of troops. Having landed his men, he joined battle with the enemy in the neighbourhood of Methymna, and obtained a complete victory, after killing with his own hand Therimachus, the Spartan governor and general. The principal cities of the iſland acknowledged the Athenian power, and ſeaſonably reinforced the fleet, by the terror of which they had been ſubdued. Encouraged by this ſucceſs Thraſybulus ſailed towards Rhodes, in order to aſſiſt the democratic faction, who equally contended for the intereſt of Athens and their own.

He is ſurpriſed and ſlain.

Before proceeding, however, to that important iſland, he determined to multiply the reſources, and to confirm the affections, of the fleet. For this purpoſe he raiſed conſiderable ſupplies of whatever ſeemed moſt neceſſary for his expedition from the maritime towns of Aſia, and at length entered the mouth of the Eurymedon (the glorious ſcene of Cimon's victories) and levied a heavy contribution on Aſpendus, the principal ſea-port and capital of Pamphylia. But here his good fortune ended [24]. The patient timidity of the Barbarians had endured the public depredation, to which they were long accuſtomed; but even *their* ſervility could not brook the pri-

[24] Corn. Nep. in vit. Thraſybul.

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vate rapacity and intolerable exactions of the ſailors and troops, which were imputed (not perhaps without reaſon) to the unrelenting avarice of the commander. The reſentment of the Pamphylians overcame their cowardice. They attacked the Grecian tents in the night, and ſurpriſed the ſecurity of Thraſybulus, who thus fell a ſacrifice to a very unjuſtifiable defect, which, if we may believe a contemporary writer, greatly debaſed the dignity of his otherwiſe illuſtrious character [25].

Activity of Antalcidas at the Perſian court. Olymp. xcvii. 4. A. C. 389.

The unjuſt treatment of Aſpendus, which had been retorted by ſuch ſignal revenge, would never perhaps have reached the ears of Artaxerxes, had not his voluptuous indolence been beſet by the active importunity of Antalcidas. This vigilant and artful miniſter let ſlip no opportunity to rouſe the jealouſy of the great king againſt the Athenians, his hereditary foes, and to obliterate his reſentment againſt the Spartans, his recent but leſs natural enemies. The ſevere exactions from Pamphylia, a province acknowledging his authority, afforded a powerful topic of perſuaſion, which the Spartan ambaſſador could not fail to employ; but it is uncertain whether even this important argument would have conquered the reluctance of the Perſian monarch to concur with the meaſures of a people, who had enabled the rebellious Cyrus to diſpute his throne, and who had recently invaded and plundered, not a maritime city, but the interior provinces of the empire. His intereſt and inclination were combated by his reſentment and his pride; when his fluctuating irreſolution was at length decided by the Athenians, whoſe mad imprudence crowned the triumph of Antalcidas.

[25] Lyſias againſt Ergocles. This Ergocles was the friend and confidant of Thraſybulus. He had aſſiſted him in expelling the thirty tyrants, and had recently accompanied him in his expedition to the coaſt of Thrace, mentioned in the text. The military exploits of Thraſybulus in Thrace were highly honourable and meritorious; but his private behaviour was the reverſe. He ſtuck at nothing by which he could enrich himſelf or his dependants. Ergocles was condemned to death for the ſhare which he had taken in this unjuſtifiable peculation and rapacity. Lyſias's Orations againſt Ergocles and Philocrates. See likewiſe Ariſtophanes Eccleſiaz. v. 350, & Schol. ad locum.

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Revolt of Cyprus abetted by the Athenians.

The ſignal victories of Conon and Thraſybulus, and the riſing fortune of Athens, encouraged Evagoras king of Salamis, who had been offended by ſome late cauſe of diſguſt, to execute his long meditated deſign of revolting from Perſia. Egypt was actually in rebellion; Artaxerxes had undertaken a war againſt the barbarous Carduchians[26], who were by no means a contemptible enemy. Theſe were very favourable circumſtances; but the Perſian fleet, which, after performing the ſervice for which it had been equipped, had continued to lie inactive in the Phœnician and Cicilian harbours, was ready to be employed in any new enterpriſe. The ſkilful and experienced bravery of the king of Salamis, ſeconded by the youthful ardour of his ſon Protagoras, obtained an eaſy victory over the firſt ſquadrons that were ſent to invade his iſland. But there was reaſon to dread the arrival of a far ſuperior force. In this danger Evagoras requeſted, and obtained, the aſſiſtance of the Athenians; who not only enjoyed peace with Perſia, but whoſe ambaſſadors were endeavouring to prevent that court from making peace with their enemies.

The great king dictates the terms of a general peace. Olymp. xcviii. 1. A. C. 388.

This extraordinary meaſure of a people, in preferring their gratitude to their intereſt; a gratitude which they might have foreſeen to be uſeleſs to him whom they meant to oblige, and pernicious to the moſt important intereſts of their republic, finally determined Artaxerxes to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Spartans; and to dictate the terms of a general peace, almoſt in the ſame words which had been propoſed by Antalcidas: "That the Greek cities in Aſia, with the iſland of Cyprus and the peninſula of Clazomené, ſhould be ſubject to Perſia; Athens ſhould be allowed to retain her immemorial juriſdiction in the iſles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; but all the other republics, ſmall and great, ſhould enjoy the independent government of their own hereditary laws. Whatever people rejected theſe con-

[26] Theſe and the following circumſtances concerning the war of Cyprus are ſcattered through Diodorus, Iſocrates's Panegyric of Athens, and the Panegyric of Evagoras.

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ditions, ſo evidently calculated for preſerving the public tranquillity, muſt expect the utmoſt indignation of the great king, who, in conjunction with the republic of Sparta, would make war, on their perverſe and dangerous obſtinacy, by ſea and land, with ſhips and money [27]."

Which the Grecian ſtates are compelled to accept. Olymp. xcviii. 2. A. C. 387.

Teribazus and Antalcidas returned from the Eaſt, charged with the definitive reſolutions, or rather the haughty mandate of Artaxerxes, which had been confirmed by the unalterable ſanction of the royal ſignet. There was reaſon, however, to apprehend that Thebes, Athens, and Argos might ſtill reject the terms of a peace propoſed by their avowed enemies, pernicious to their particular and immediate intereſts, and equally diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to the whole Grecian name. The remembrance of the glorious confederacy, for defending the Aſiatic colonies againſt the oppreſſion of Barbarians, could not indeed much influence the degenerate councils of thoſe republics; but the Thebans muſt reſign, with reluctance, their real or pretended authority over the inferior cities of Bœotia; the Argives muſt unwillingly withdraw their garriſon from Corinth, and leave that important capital in the power of the ariſtocratic or Lacedæmonian faction; and the Athenians muſt abandon, with regret, the fruits of their recent victories, and the hopes of recovering their ancient grandeur. The oppoſition of theſe ſtates had been foreſeen by Antalcidas, who took the moſt effectual meaſures to render it impotent. By the aſſiſtance of Perſian money he equipped a fleet of eighty ſail, from the mercenary ſea-ports of Greece and Aſia, from the intermediate iſles, and even from the coaſts of Italy and Sicily. This armament was independent of the ſquadrons with which Teribazus prepared to attack the iſle of Cyprus, if the preſumption of Evagoras, unaſſiſted and alone, ſhould dare to provoke

[27] The laſt words are literally tranſlated from Xenoph. p. 550. See likewiſe Diodor. l. xiv. c. cx. Plut. Ageſil. p. 608; and Artaxerx. p. 1082.

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his hoſtility. The ſatrap alſo had collected a very conſiderable army, which was ready to embark for Greece, and to co-operate with Ageſilaus, who had aſſembled the domeſtic troops and allies of Sparta to march, at the firſt ſummons, againſt any city or republic that might reject the peace of Antalcidas [28]. Theſe vigorous preparations, intimidating the weakneſs of the confederates, compelled them into a reluctant compliance with the terms of the treaty. The Thebans made the ſtrongeſt and moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; but their pretenſions were finally ſilenced by the threats of the Spartan king, the inveterate enemy of their republic. The Bœotian cities were acknowledged to be independent, and admitted as parties in the peace. The Argives retired from Corinth, which being deſerted by the leaders of the democratical faction, became a faithful ally to Sparta. The military and naval operations ceaſed, tranquillity was reſtored, and the armies and fleets were, on both ſides, diſbanded and diſſolved [29].

Evagoras alone rejects the authority of Perſia.

But amidſt this univerſal and moſt obſequious ſubmiſſion to the court of Perſia, one man avowed his diſcontent, and prepared to maintain his oppoſition. The article reſpecting Cyprus was loudly rejected by Evagoras, who aſſerted the independence of his native iſland; and, with a magnanimity that formed a ſtriking contraſt with the degenerate and diſgraceful ſoftneſs of his Grecian allies, ſet the power of Artaxerxes at defiance. Evagoras truſted to the reſources of his own vigorous mind, to the ſuperior ſkill of his ſeamen, and to the aſſiſtance of Acoris king of Egypt. But the numerous ſquadrons of Teribazus prevailed over all his hopes. He was diſcomfited in a naval engagement; his territories were invaded and ravaged; he was reduced to his capital Salamis; and even Salamis was threatened with a ſiege. His reſiſtance had

[28] Της ιπ' Ανταλκιδυ ειρηνης καλουμενης. Xenoph. p. 477.

[29] Διαλυθη μεν τα πιζικα, &c. Xenoph. p. 551.

had already exceeded what his ſtrength warranted, or what his dignity required. His enemies were incapable of perſeverance, or unwilling to drive him to deſpair. He reſigned his numerous and recent conqueſts in Cyprus, but retained poſſeſſion of the ancient principality of Teucer, which his fortunate arms had recovered from an uſurper; and ſubmitted, without diſhonour, to imitate the example of many preceding princes of Salamis, and to acknowledge himſelf the tributary of the king of Perſia [30].

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Submits to an honourable compromiſe. Olymp. xcviii. 4. A. C. 385.

[30] Diodor. l. xv. p. 462.

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Reflections upon the Peace of Antalcidas.—Ambitious Views of Sparta.—State of Arcadia.—Siege of Mantinæa.—Olynthian Confederacy.—The Spartans make War on Olynthus.—Submission of that Republic.—Pella becomes the Capital of Macedon.—Phœbidas seizes the Theban Citadel.—The Measure approved by Agesilaus.—Conspiracy of the Theban Exiles.—The Theban Democracy restored.

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Reflections on the peace of Antalcidas.

THE peace of Antalcidas forms an important and disgraceful æra in the Grecian history. The valuable colonies in Asia, the cause, the object, and the scene, of so many memorable wars, were resigned and abandoned for ever to the power of a Barbarian master. The king of Persia dismembered the distant dependencies, and controuled the domestic arrangements of a people who had given law to his ancestors[1]. Their ancient confederacies were dissolved; the smaller cities were loosened from dependence on their powerful neighbours; all were disunited and weakened; and Greece felt the languor of peace, without enjoying the benefits of security.

But if the whole Grecian name was dishonoured by accepting this ignominious treaty, what peculiar infamy must belong to the magistrates of Sparta, by whom it was proposed and promoted? What motives of advantage could balance this weight of

[1] See the articles of the treaty concluded in 449 A. C. Vol. I. c. xii. p. 436.

disgrace?

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disgrace? Or rather, what advantage could the Spartans derive from such ignoble condescension as seemed totally unworthy of their actual power, but far more unworthy of their ancient renown? This question, like most political questions, may be best answered by facts; and the transactions which both preceded and followed the peace of Antalcidas clearly discover and ascertain the secret, but powerful, causes of that dishonourable, and seemingly disadvantageous, measure.

Motives which engaged the Spartans eagerly to embrace that treaty.

The ambition of making conquests in the East, which it now appeared impossible to retain, had deprived the Lacedæmonians of an authority, or rather dominion, in Greece, acquired by the success of the Peloponnesian war, and which they might have reasonably expected to preserve, and to confirm. Not only their power, but their safety, was threatened by the arms of a hostile confederacy, which had been formed and fomented by the wealth of Persia. Athens, their rival, their superior, their subject, but always their unrelenting enemy, had recovered her walls and fleet, and aspired to command the sea. Thebes and Argos had become sensible of their natural strength, and disdained to acknowledge the pre-eminence, or to follow the standard, of any foreign republic. The inferior states of Peloponnesus were weary of obeying every idle summons to war, from which they derived not any advantage but that of gratifying the ambition of their Spartan masters. The valuable colonies in Macedon and Thrace, and particularly the rich and populous cities of the Chalcidic region, the bloodless conquests of the virtuous Brasidas, had forsaken the interest of Sparta, when Sparta forsook the interest of justice. Scarcely any vestige appeared of the memorable trophies erected in a war of twenty-seven years. The eastern provinces (incomparably the most important of all) were irrecoverably lost; and this rapid decline of power had happened in the course of ten years, and had been chiefly occasioned by the fatal splendour of Agesilaus's victories in Asia.

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Advantages which they derived from it.

About a century before, and almoſt on the ſame ſcene, the Spartans had been firſt deprived of their hereditary fame, and preſcriptive honours[1]. Almoſt every interference, in peace or war, with the Ionian colonies, had hurt the intereſts of their republic. They began to ſuſpect, therefore, that ſuch diſtant expeditions ſuited not the circumſtances of Sparta, an inland city, with a fertile territory, but deſtitute of arts, induſtry, and commerce; and whoſe inhabitants, having little genius for the ſea, were naturally unable to equip, or to maintain, ſuch a naval force as might command the obedience of an extenſive coaſt, attached by powerful ties to their Athenian rivals. The abandoning, therefore, of what they could not hope to regain, or if regained, to preſerve, ſeemed a very prudent and ſalutary meaſure; ſince, in return for this imaginary conceſſion, they received many real and important advantages. They were appointed to ſuperintend and to direct the execution of the treaty; and in order to make their authority effectual, entitled to demand the aſſiſtance of Perſian money, with which they might eaſily purchaſe Grecian ſoldiers. The condition requiring the ſmaller cities to be declared free and independent (although the dexterity of Antalcidas had propoſed it as the beſt means of preventing the future invaſion of Aſia), was peculiarly beneficial to the Spartans. It repreſented them as the patrons of univerſal liberty, and reſtored them that honourable reputation which they had long loſt. From the nature of the condition itſelf, it could only apply to ſuch places as being kept in a reluctant ſubjection, ſtill poſſeſſed courage to vindicate their freedom. In the ſecondary towns of Meſſenia and Laconia, the ſtern policy of Sparta had cruſhed the hope, and almoſt the deſire, of obtaining this ineſtimable benefit. The authority of other capitals was leſs imperious and impoſing; the ſovereign and ſubject were more on a footing of equality; and it was a maxim in Greece, That men are diſpoſed to reject the juſt rights of their equals, rather than to revolt

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 420.

againſt

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againſt the unlawful tyranny of their maſters[3]. But Sparta expected not only to detach the inferior communities from their more powerful neighbours, but to add them to the confederacy of which ſhe formed the head; and by ſuch multiplied acceſſions of power, of wealth, and of fame, to re-eſtabliſh that ſolid power in Greece, which had been imprudently abandoned for the hope of Aſiatic triumphs[4].

Their ambitious deſigns immediately after that event.

That ſuch conſiderations of intereſt and ambition, not a ſincere deſire to promote the public tranquillity, had produced this perfidious treaty, could not long be kept ſecret; notwithſtanding the various artifices employed to conceal it. Thebes and Argos were required to comply with the terms of the peace; but no mention was made of withdrawing the Lacedæmonian garriſons from the places which they occupied. Leſt this injuſtice might occaſion general diſcontent, the Athenians were allowed the ſame privilege. The poſſeſſion of the unimportant iſles of Lemnos, Scyros, and Imbros, flattered their vain hopes, and lulled them into falſe ſecurity; and, as they expected to reap the fruits of the victories of Conon and Thraſybulus, they were averſe to renew the war for the ſake of their allies, whoſe intereſts were now ſeparated from their own. Meanwhile the Spartan emiſſaries negociated and intrigued in all the ſubordinate cities, encouraging the ariſtocratical factions, and fomenting the animoſities of the citizens againſt each other, and againſt their reſpective capitals. The jealouſies and complaints, which had been principally occaſioned by theſe ſecret cabals, were uſually referred to the Spartan ſenate; whoſe affected moderation, under pretence of defending the cauſe of the weak and the injured, always decided the conteſt in the way moſt favourable for themſelves. But the warlike diſciples of Lycurgus could not long remain ſatisfied with theſe juridical uſurpations. They determined to take arms; which they pro-

[3] Thucydid. paſſim. See particularly the ſpeech of the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, Vol. I. c. xv. p. 527.

[4] Vid. Iſocrat. de Pace, paſſim.

bably

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bably hoped to employ with ſuch artful dexterity as might prevent any general, or very dangerous, alarm; beginning with ſuch cities as had not entered into the late confederacy againſt them, gradually extending their hoſtilities to the more powerful members of that confederacy; and thus conquering ſucceſſively thoſe, whoſe entire and collective ſtrength it would have been vain to aſſail[5].

State of Arcadia. Olymp. xcviii. 3. A. C. 386.

The firſt victim of this ambitious policy was the flouriſhing republic of Mantinæa, whoſe territory was ſituate almoſt in the center of Arcadia, itſelf the center of the Peloponneſus. The origin of Mantinæa was the ſame with that of Tegea, Stymphalis, Heræa, Orchomenos, and other neighbouring cities, which had grown into populouſneſs and power from the ſcattered villages of ſhepherds inhabiting the vallies and mountains of Arcadia. The exuberant fertility, the inland ſituation, the generous warmth, yet lively verdure[6], together with the picturesque and animating ſcenery of this delightful region, ſeemed peculiarly adapted to inſpire, and to gratify, the love of rural happineſs; and to afford, in all their elegance and dignity, *thoſe ſublime and ſacred joys of the country*, which the genius of ancient poets hath felt, and deſcribed with ſuch affecting ſenſibility. Every diſtrict of Arcadia was marked and diverſified by hills, ſome of which, could we credit the inaccuracy of geographical deſcription, aſcend two miles in perpendicular height[7], and which ſupply innumerable ſtreams, that water and fertiliſe the rich vallies which they incloſe and defend. This ſecure and inſulated poſition of their territory long preſerved the Arcadians ignorant and uncorrupted; and a little before the period of hiſtory now under review, they were diſtinguiſhed by the innocent ſimplicity of their manners, and by their fond attachment to a paſtoral life. But the turbulent ambition of their neighbours had often obliged them

[5] Xenoph. Hellen. l. v. p. 551. & Diodor. l. xv. p. 448.

[6] Theſe circumſtances are common to Arcadia with the other mountainous diſtricts of Greece, as well as with the iſlands of the Archipelago. TOURNEFORT.

[7] Deſcript. Græc. apud Gronov. vol. I.

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to employ the ſword inſtead of the ſheep-hook. They had reluctantly taken arms; yet, when compelled by neceſſity, or excited by honour, the mountaineers of Arcadia had diſplayed ſuch ſtubborn valour, and exerted ſuch efforts of vigour and activity, as made their ſervices eagerly deſired, and purchaſed with emulation, by the ſurrounding ſtates. Nor had they truſted to their perſonal ſtrength and bravery alone for the defence of their beloved poſſeſſions. Having quitted their farms and villages, they had aſſembled into walled towns, from which their numerous garriſons were ready to ſally forth againſt an hoſtile invader. The dangerous vicinity of Sparta had early driven the companions of Pan and the Nymphs from the vocal woods of Mount Mænalus[8], into the fortifications of Tegea, formerly the principal city of the province[9], but afterwards rivalled and ſurpaſſed by Mantinæa, which was become an object of jealouſy and envy, not only to the neighbouring cities of Arcadia, but even to Sparta herſelf.

The proud meſſage of the Spartans to the Mantinæans. Olymp. xcviii. 3. A. C. 386.

In the year immediately following the treaty of Antalcidas, Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors were ſent to Mantinæa, to diſcharge a very extraordinary commiſſion. Having demanded an audience of the aſſembly, they expreſſed the reſentment of their republic againſt a people, who, pretending to live in friendſhip with them, had in the late war repeatedly furniſhed with corn their avowed enemies the Argives. That, on other occaſions, the Mantinæans had unguardedly diſcovered their ſecret hatred to Sparta, rejoicing in her misfortunes, and envying her proſperity. That it was time to anticipate this dangerous and unjuſt animoſity; for which purpoſe the Spartans commanded them to demoliſh their walls, to abandon their proud city, and to return to thoſe peaceful villages in which their anceſtors had lived and flouriſhed[10]. The Mantinæans received this propoſal

[8] Mænalus argutumque nemus pinoſque loquentes
Semper habet; ſemper paſtorum ille audit amores
Panaque, &c. VIRG. Ecl. viii. v. 22.

[9] Herodot. l. vi. c. 105.

[10] Xenoph. Hellen. l. v. c. 2. & ſeqq. Diodor. l. xv. c. 7. & ſeqq.

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with the indignation which it merited; the ambaſſadors retired in diſguſt; the Spartans declared war; ſummoned the aſſiſtance of their confederates; and a powerful army, commanded by king Ageſipolis, invaded the hoſtile territory.

Mantinæa beſieged.

But the moſt deſtructive ravages could not bend the reſolution of the Mantinæans. The ſtrength and loftineſs of their walls bade defiance to aſſault; nor could a regular ſiege be undertaken with certain ſucceſs, as the magazines of Mantinæa were abundantly ſtored with various kinds of grain, the crops of the former year having been uncommonly plentiful. Ageſipolis, however, embraced this doubtful mode of attack, and drew firſt a ditch, and then a wall, entirely round the place, employing one part of his troops in the work, and another in guarding the workmen. This tedious ſervice exhauſted the patience of the beſiegers, without ſhaking the firmneſs of the Mantinæans. The Spartans were afraid to detain longer in the field their reluctant confederates; but Ageſipolis propoſed a new meaſure, which was attended with complete and immediate ſucceſs. The river Ophis, formed by the collected torrents from mount Anchiſius, a river broad, deep, and rapid, flowed through the plain, and the city of Mantinæa. It was a laborious undertaking to ſtop the courſe of this copious ſtream; which was no ſooner effected, than the lower parts of the walls of Mantinæa were laid under water. According to the uſual practice of the Greeks, the fortifications of this place were built of raw bricks, which being leſs liable to break into chinks, and to fly out of their courſes, were preferred as the beſt defence againſt the battering-engines then in uſe. But it is the inconvenience of raw bricks, to be as eaſily diſſolved by water, as wax is melted by the ſun [1]. The walls of Mantinæa began to yield, to ſhake, to fall in pieces. The activity of the inhabitants propped them with wood, but without any permanent advantage;

[1] This is the expreſſion of Pauſanias, in Arcad. who mentions the name of the river Ophis, omitted by Xenophon and Diodorus.

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so that despairing of being able to exclude the enemy, they sent to capitulate, requesting that they might be permitted to keep possession of their city, on condition that they demolished their fortifications, and followed, in peace and war, the fortune of Sparta.

The town capitulates.

Agesipolis and his counsellors refused to grant them any other terms of peace than those which had been originally proposed by the republic. He observed, that while they lived together in one populous city, their numbers exposed them to the delusions of seditious demagogues, whose address and eloquence easily seduced the multitude from their real interest, and destroyed the influence of their superiors in rank, in wealth, and in wisdom, on whose attachment alone the Lacedæmonians could safely depend. They insisted, therefore, that the Mantinæans should destroy their houses in the city; separate into four distinct communities [12]; and return to those villages which their ancestors had inhabited. The terror of an immediate assault made it necessary to comply with this humiliating demand; but the most zealous partisans of democracy, to the number of sixty, afraid of trusting to the capitulation, were *allowed* to fly from their country; which is mentioned as an instance of moderation [13] in the Lacedæmonian soldiers, who might have put them to death as they passed through the gates.

Hard conditions to which the inhabitants are compelled to submit. Olymp. xcviii. 4. A. C. 385.

This transaction was scarcely finished, when the Spartan magistrates seized an opportunity of the domestic discontents among the Phliasians, to display the same tyrannical spirit, but with still greater exertions of severity. The little republic of Phlius, like every state of Greece in those unfortunate, at least turbulent times, was distracted by factions. The prevailing party banished their opponents, the friends of Sparta and aristocracy. They were allowed to return from exile, in consequence of the commands and threats of Agesi-

The Spartans regulate, with a strong hand, the affairs of Phlius. Olymp. xcix. 1. A. C. 384.

[12] Xenophon says four, Diodorus five.

[13] Or rather of good discipline; πειθαρχια. The nobles of the Mantinæans, οι βελτιστοι των Μαντινεων, were not so temperate; vide Xenoph. p. 552.

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laus[14]; but met not with that reſpectful treatment which ſeemed due to perſons who enjoyed ſuch powerful protection. They complained, and Ageſilaus again interfered, by appointing commiſſioners to try and condemn to death the obnoxious Phliaſians; an odious office, which muſt have been executed with unexampled rigour, ſince the city of Phlius, which had hitherto been divided by a variety of intereſts, thenceforth continued invariably the ſtedfaſt ally of Sparta[15].

Embaſſy of Acanthus and Apollonia to Sparta.

Meanwhile ambaſſadors arrived from Acanthus and Apollonia, two cities of the Chalcidicé, requeſting the Lacedæmonian aſſiſtance againſt the dangerous ambition of Olynthus. This city, of which we had occaſion to mention the foundation towards the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, was ſituated nine miles from the ſea, in a fertile and ſecure diſtrict, between the rivers Olynthus and Amnias, which flow into the lake Bolyca, a name improperly beſtowed on the inmoſt receſs of the Toronaic gulph. The vexatious government of Athens firſt drove the maritime communities of the Chalcidic region within the walls of Olynthus; the oppreſſive tyranny of Sparta obliged them to ſtrengthen theſe walls, as well as to provide ſufficient garriſons to defend them; and the ſubſequent misfortunes of thoſe domineering republics, together with the weakneſs of Macedon, encouraged and enabled the inhabitants of Olynthus ſucceſsfully to employ, in offenſive war, the forces which had been raiſed with no other view than to maintain their own independence. The towns which they ſubdued were either incorporated or aſſociated with their own; and Olynthus became the head of a confederacy, whoſe extent, power, reſources, and hopes, occaſioned juſt alarm among the neighbouring communities of Greeks and Barbarians. They had already conquered the ſouthern ſhores of Macedon, which comprehended the delightful regions of Chalcis and Pierea, indented by two great and two ſmaller bays, and affording, in the higheſt

[14] Xenoph. in Ageſil. & Hellen. l. v. p. 553. [15] Ibid. l. vii. p. 624.

perfection,

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perfection, the united benefits of agriculture, paſturage, and commerce. They aſpired at acquiring the valuable diſtrict of mount Pangæus, whoſe timber and mines alike tempted their ambition and avarice; and Olynthus being favourably ſituate in the centre of the Chalcidicé, itſelf the centre of the Macedonian and Thracian coaſts, might have preſerved and extended her dominion, if the ambaſſadors of Acanthus and Apollonia had not completely effected the object of their commiſſion at Sparta. They applied to the Ephori, who introduced them to the greater aſſembly, conſiſting, not only of the Spartans and Lacedæmonians, but of the deputies ſent by their confederates. Cleigenes, the Acanthian, ſpoke in the name of his colleagues: "We apprehend, O Lacedæmonians, and allies! that amidſt the multiplied objects of your care and correction, you have overlooked a great and growing diſorder which threatens, like a peſtilence, to infect and pervade Greece. The ambition of the Olynthians has increaſed with their power. By the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the ſmaller cities in their neighbourhood, they have been enabled to ſubdue the more powerful. Emboldened by this acceſſion of ſtrength, they have wreſted from the king of Macedon his moſt valuable provinces. They actually poſſeſs Pella, the greateſt city in that kingdom; and the unfortunate Amyntas is on the point of abandoning the remainder of his dominions, which he is unable to defend. There is not any community in Thrace capable to ſtop their progreſs. The independent tribes of that warlike, but divided country, reſpect the authority, and court the friendſhip of the Olynthians, who will doubtleſs be tempted to extend their dominion on that ſide, in order to augment the great revenues which they derive from their commercial cities and harbours, by the inexhauſtible mines in mount Pangæus. If this extenſive plan ſhould be effected, what can prevent them from acquiring a deciſive ſuperiority by ſea and land? and ſhould they enter into an alliance with Athens and Thebes (a meaſure actually in agitation), what will become,

They petition the aſſiſtance of that republic againſt the Olynthian confederacy.

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we ſay not, of the hereditary pre-eminence of Sparta, but of its independence and ſafety? The preſent emergency, therefore, ſolicits by every motive of intereſt and of honour, the activity and valour of your republic. By yielding a ſeaſonable aſſiſtance to Acanthus and Apollonia, which, unmoved by the puſillanimous example of their neighbours, have hitherto ſpurned the yoke, and defied the threats of Olynthus, you will ſave from oppreſſion two peaceful communities, and check the ambition of an uſurping tyrant. The reluctant ſubjects of the Olynthians will court your protection; and the Chalcidian cities will be encouraged to revolt, eſpecially as they are not yet inſeparably linked with the capital by the ties of intermarriage and conſanguinity, and by the interchange of rights and poſſeſſions [16]. When ſuch a connection ſhall take place (for the Olynthians have made a law to encourage it), you will be unable to break the force of this powerful and dangerous confederacy."

The Spartans readily liſten to a requeſt probably ſuggeſted by themſelves. Olymp. xcix. 2. A. C. 383.

The ſpeech of Cleigenes, and the ambitious views of the republic to which it was addreſſed, afford reaſon to conjecture that the ambaſſadors neither aſked any thing in favour of their own communities, nor urged any accuſation againſt Olynthus, which had not been previouſly ſuggeſted by the Spartan emiſſaries in Macedon. The reception given to the propoſal of Cleigenes tends to confirm this concluſion. The Lacedæmonians, with affected impartiality and indifference, deſired the opinion of their allies, before declaring their own. But there was not any occaſion to declare what none could be ſo blind as to miſtake. The confederates with one conſent, but eſpecially thoſe who wiſhed to ingratiate themſelves with Sparta [17], determined to undertake the expedition againſt Olynthus. The Spartans commended their reſolution, and proceeded to deliberate concerning the ſtrength of the army to be raiſed, the mode of levying it, and the time for taking the field. It was reſolved, that

Their preparations for the Olynthian war.

[16] Επιγαμιας και εγκτησεσι πολλαις. Xenoph. p. 555.

[17] Και μαλιστα οι βουλομενοι χαριζεσθαι τοις Λακεδαιμονιοις. Xenoph. ibid.

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the whole forces ſhould amount to ten thouſand effective men; and a liſt was prepared, containing the reſpective contingents to be furniſhed by the ſeveral cities. If any ſtate ſhould be unable to ſupply the full complement of ſoldiers, money would be taken in their ſtead, at the rate of half a drachm a day (or three-pence halfpenny) for each man; but if neither the troops nor the money were ſent in due time, the Lacedæmonians would puniſh the diſobedience of the obſtinate or neglectful, by fining them eight times the ſum which they had been originally required to contribute.

The ambaſſadors then roſe up, and Cleigenes again ſpeaking for the reſt, declared that theſe were indeed noble and generous reſolutions; but unfortunately, could not be executed with ſuch promptitude as ſuited the urgency of the preſent criſis. The dangerous ſituation of Acanthus and Apollonia demanded immediate aſſiſtance. He propoſed, therefore, that thoſe troops which were ready, ſhould inſtantly take the field; and inſiſted on this meaſure as a matter of the utmoſt importance to the future ſucceſs of the war.

First campaign against Olynthus. Olymp. xcix. 2. A. C. 383

The Lacedæmonians acknowledged the expediency of the advice; and commanded Eudamidas, with two thouſand men, to proceed without delay to Macedon, while his brother Phœbidas collected a powerful reinforcement, in order to follow him. A very extraordinary event, which we ſhall have occaſion fully to explain, retarded the arrival of thoſe auxiliaries, until the ſeaſon for action had been nearly ſpent. But Eudamidas, with his little band, performed very eſſential ſervice. He ſtrengthened the garriſons of ſuch places as were moſt expoſed to aſſaults from the enemy; the appearance of a Spartan army encouraged the ſpirit of revolt among the allies and ſubjects of Olynthus; and ſoon after his march into the Chalcidice, Eudamidas received the voluntary ſurrender of Potidæa, a city of great importance in the iſthmus of Pallené.

Eudamidas defeated and ſlain.

Such was the firſt campaign of a war which laſted four years, and was carried on under four ſucceſſive generals. Eudamidas, too much elated

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elated by his firſt ſucceſs, ravaged the Olynthian territory, and unguardedly approached the city. He was intercepted, conquered, and ſlain, and his army diſperſed or loſt [18].

Second campaign under Teleutias, the brother of Ageſilaus. Olymp. xciv. 3. A. C. 382.

Teleutias, the brother of Ageſilaus, whoſe naval exploits have been already mentioned with applauſe, aſſumed the conduct of this diſtant expedition, with a body of ten thouſand men. He was aſſiſted by Amyntas, king of Macedon, and ſtill more effectually by Derdas, the brother of that prince, and the governor, or rather ſovereign, of Elymea, the moſt weſtern province of Macedon, which abounded in cavalry. By the united efforts of theſe formidable enemies, the Olynthians, who had been defeated in various rencounters, were ſhut up within their walls, and prevented from cultivating their territory. Teleutias at length marched with his whole forces, in order to inveſt, or if he found an opportunity, to aſſault the place. His ſurpriſe and indignation were excited by the boldneſs of the Olynthian horſe, who ventured to paſs the Amnias in ſight of ſuch a ſuperior army; and he ordered the targeteers, who were commanded by Tlemonidas, to repel their inſolence. The cavalry made an artful retreat acroſs the Amnias, and were fiercely purſued by the Lacedæmonians. When a conſiderable part of the latter had likewiſe paſſed the river, the Olynthians ſuddenly faced about, and charged them. Tlemonidas, with above an hundred of his companions, fell in the action. The Spartan general beheld with grief and rage the ſucceſsful bravery of the enemy. Graſping his ſhield and lance, he commanded the cavalry, and the remainder of the targeteers, to purſue without intermiſſion; and, at the head of his heavy-armed men, advanced with leſs order than celerity. The Olynthians attempted not to ſtop their progreſs, till they arrived under the walls and battlements. At that moment the townſmen mounted their ramparts, and aſſailed the

[18] Xenoph. p. 556.

enemy

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enemy with a ſhower of darts and arrows, and every kind of miſſile weapon, which greatly added to the confuſion occaſioned by the rapidity of their march. Meanwhile the flower of the Olynthian troops, who had been purpoſely drawn up behind the gates, ſallied forth with irreſiſtible violence; Teleutias, attempting to rally his men, was ſlain in the firſt onſet; the Spartans who attended him gave ground; the whole army was repelled, and purſued with great ſlaughter, while they fled in ſcattered diſorder towards the friendly towns of Acanthus, Apollonia, Spartolus, and Potidæa [19].

Teleutias likewiſe defeated and ſlain.

This mortifying diſaſter did not cool the ardour of the Spartans for gaining poſſeſſion of Olynthus. In the year three hundred and eighty-one before Chriſt, which was the third of the war, they ſent Ageſipolis, with a powerful reinforcement, into Macedon. The arrival of this prince, early in the ſpring, revived the hopes of the vanquiſhed, and confirmed the attachment of the Lacedæmonian allies. He invaded and ravaged ſuch parts of the Olynthian territory as had been ſpared in former incurſions, and took by ſtorm the ſtrong city of Torona. But while he prepared to avail himſelf of theſe advantages for rendering his ſucceſs complete, he was ſeized by a calenture, a diſeaſe incident to warm climates, and, as the name expreſſes, affecting the patient with a painful ſenſation of burning heat, which he is eager to extinguiſh by the moſt violent and dangerous remedies [20]. Ageſipolis had lately viſited the temple of Apollo at Aphytis, a maritime town on the Toranaic gulph. In the paroxyſm of his diſorder, he longed for the fanning breezes, the ſhady walks and groves, and the cool cryſtalline ſtreams, of that delightful retreat. His attendants indulged his inclination, but could not ſave his life. He died on

Third campaign under king Ageſipolis; Olymp. xcix. 4. A. C. 381.

who dies of a calenture.

[19] Xenoph. p. 561. & ſeqq.

[20] It is ſuppoſed, with great probability, that the ſailors who ſuddenly diſappear in the Mediterranean, during the heat of ſummer, have been attacked in the night by the calenture, and have thrown themſelves into the ſea. Cyclopæd. Par. ad voc. The diſorder is examined by Dr. Shaw, Phil. Tranſ. Abridg. vol. iv.

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the ſeventh day of the diſeaſe, within the precincts of the conſecrated ground. His remains, embalmed in honey, were conveyed to Sparta [21]. His brother Cleombrotus ſucceeded to the throne; and Polybiades, a general of experience and capacity, was inveſted with the command in Macedon.

Fourth campaign under Polybiades. Olymp. c. 1. A. C. 380.

Polybiades, imitating the example of his predeceſſors, conducted a powerful reinforcement againſt Olynthus, which was completely ſurrounded by land, while a ſquadron of Lacedæmonian gallies blocked up the neighbouring harbour of Mecyberna. The events of the ſiege, which laſted eight or ten months, have not been thought worthy of record. It is probable that the Olynthians no longer ventured to ſally forth againſt ſuch a ſuperior force: yet they muſt have been exceedingly diſtreſſed by famine before their obſtinacy could be determined to capitulate. They formally relinquiſhed all claim to the dominion of the Chalcidicé: they ceded the Macedonian cities to their ancient ſovereign; and engaged, by ſolemn oaths, to obey, in peace and war, the commands of their Spartan confederates and maſters [22]. In conſequence of this humiliating treaty, or rather of this abſolute ſubmiſſion of the Olynthians, Polybiades led off his victorious army, and Amyntas forſook the royal reſidence of Ægæ or Edeſſa, and re-eſtabliſhed his court at Pella, a place of great ſtrength and beauty, ſituate on an eminence, which, with an adjoining plain of conſiderable extent, was defended by the rivers Axius and Lydias, and by impervious lakes and moraſſes. The city was diſtant only fifteen miles from the Ægean ſea, with which it communicated by means of the above-mentioned rivers. It had been of old founded by Greeks, by whom it was recently conquered and peopled; but in conſequence of the misfortunes and ſurrender of Olynthus, Pella became, and thenceforth continued, the capital of Macedon.

Olynthus finally ſubmits.

Pella reſtored to Amyntas, and continues thenceforth the capital of Macedon.

[21] Xenoph. p. 564.

[22] Ibid. p. 565.

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Daring enterprise of the Spartan Phœbidas.

The commencement, and especially the conclusion of the Olynthian war, breathed the same spirit with the peace of Antalcidas, and proved the degenerate ambition of the Spartans, who were prepared to aggrandise the Barbarians on every side, in order to obtain their assistance towards extending their own dominion in Greece. This selfish and cruel system of policy deserved the indignation and resentment of the whole Grecian name, who were at length excited against Sparta by a very extraordinary transaction, to which we already had occasion to allude. When Eudamidas undertook the expedition against Olynthus, it was intended that his brother Phœbidas should follow him at the head of eight thousand men. This powerful reinforcement marched from Peloponnesus, and, in their journey northwards, encamped in the neighbourhood of Thebes, which was then torn by the inveterate hostility of contending factions. Ismenias, whose name has already occurred on a very dishonourable occasion, headed the democratical party; Leontiades supported the interest of Sparta and aristocracy; and both were invested with the *archonship*, the chief magistracy in the commonwealth. It is not absolutely certain that Phœbidas had previous orders to interfere in this dissention [23], when he was accosted by Leontiadas, "who exhorted him to seize the opportunity, which fortune had thrown in his way, of performing a signal service to his country. He then explained to the Lacedæmonian the distracted state of Thebes, and the facility with which he might become master of the citadel; so that while his brother Eudamidas was carrying on the war against Olynthus, he himself would acquire possession of a much greater city [24]."

A contemporary historian, whose known partiality for the Lacedæmonians disposed him to regard this singular enterprise as an act

In time of peace he seizes the Theban citadel. Olymp. xciv. 2. A. C. 383.

[23] Diodorus boldly asserts that Phœbidas acted by orders of his republic, and that the feigned complaints against him were nothing but a mask to disguise or to conceal the injustice of the community.

[24] Xenoph. p. 297. & seqq. Plutarch in Pelopid. Diodor. p. 457.

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of private audacity, repreſents Phœbidas as a man of a light and vain mind, who loved the fame of a ſplendid action more than life itſelf, and who embraced, with childiſh tranſports of joy [25], the propoſal of Leontiades. The mode of executing their plan was ſoon ſettled between them. To elude ſuſpicion Phœbidas made the uſual preparations for continuing his journey, when he was ſuddenly recalled by his aſſociate. It was the month of July; the heat was intenſe; and, at mid-day, few or no paſſengers were to be ſeen in the roads or ſtreets. The Theban matrons celebrated the feſtival of Ceres, and prayed that bountiful divinity to preſerve the hope of a favourable harveſt. The appropriated ſcene of their female worſhip was the Cadmæa, or citadel, of which the gates had been purpoſely thrown open, and which was totally defenceleſs, as the males were univerſally excluded from this venerable ceremony. Every circumſtance conſpired to facilitate the deſign of Leontiades, who conducted the Lacedæmonians to the fortreſs, without finding the ſmalleſt oppoſition. He immediately deſcended to the ſenate, which, though it uſually aſſembled in the Cadmæa, was then ſitting in the marketplace; declared that the Lacedæmonians had acted by his advice, and without any purpoſe of hoſtility; ſeized Iſmenias with his own hand as a diſturber of the public peace, and ordered the other leaders of the republican faction to be taken into ſafe cuſtody. Many were caught and impriſoned, and about four hundred eſcaped to Athens [26].

The meaſure approved by Ageſilaus.

When the news of this event reached Sparta, the ſenate and aſſembly reſounded with real or well feigned complaints againſt the madneſs of Phœbidas, who, unprovoked by any injury, had violently ſeized a place in alliance and amity with the republic. Ageſilaus, however, undertook his defence; his ambitious mind had long fomented the domineering arrogance of his country; poſſibly

[25] Ανακυφισθη is the expreſſion uſed by Xenophon.

[26] Xenoph. p. 557.

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he had prompted the enterprise of Phœbidas, which he warmly approved; and his influence being as extensive as his abilities, he easily persuaded his countrymen to justify the fortunate rashness [27] of that commander, by keeping possession of the Theban citadel.

The cruelties of Sparta drive the Thebans to despair.

During five years the Spartans maintained in the Cadmæa, a garrison of fifteen hundred men. Protected by such a body of foreign troops, which might be reinforced on the shortest warning, the partisans of aristocracy acquired an absolute ascendant in the affairs of the republic, which they conducted in such a manner as best suited their own interest, and the convenience of Sparta. Without pretending to describe the banishments, confiscations, and murders, of which they were guilty, it is sufficient for the purpose of general history to observe, that the miserable victims of their vengeance suffered similar calamities to those which afflicted Athens under the thirty tyrants. The severity of the government at length drove the Thebans to despair; and both the persecuted exiles abroad, and the oppressed subjects at home, prepared to embrace any measures, however daring and hazardous, which promised them a faint hope of relief [28].

Conspiracy of the Theban exiles. Olymp. c. 3. A. C. 378.

Among the Theban fugitives, who had taken refuge in Athens, and whose persons were now loudly demanded by Sparta, was Pelopidas, the son of Hippocles, a youth whose distinguished advantages might justly render him an object of envy, before he was involved in the misfortunes of his country. He yielded to none in birth; he surpassed all in fortune; he excelled in the manly exercises so much esteemed by the Grecks, and was unrivalled in qualities still more estimable, generosity and courage. He had an hereditary attachment to the democratic form of policy; and, previous to the

[27] To save appearances, however, Phœbidas was fined. Even his accusers were offended, not at his injustice, but at his acting without orders. Xenoph. ibid. & Plutarch, vol. ii. p. 336.

[28] Xenoph. Hellen. l. v. c. iv. Plut. in Pelopid. idem de genio Socratis, p. 322. & seqq.

late

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late melancholy revolution, was marked out by his numerous friends and adherents as the perſon moſt worthy of adminiſtering the government. Pelopidas had often conferred with his fellow-ſufferers at Athens about the means of returning to their country, and reſtoring the democracy; encouraging them by the example of the patriotic Thraſybulus, who, with a handful of men, had iſſued from Thebes, and effected a ſimilar, but ſtill more difficult, enterpriſe. While they ſecretly deliberated on this important object, Mello, one of the exiles, introduced to their nocturnal aſſembly his friend Phyllidas, who had lately arrived from Thebes; a man whoſe enterpriſing activity, ſingular addreſs, and crafty boldneſs, juſtly entitle him to the regard of hiſtory.

Aſſiſted by Phyllidas, ſecretary to the Theban council.

Phyllidas was ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of the exiles; yet by his inſinuating complaiſance, and officious ſervility, he had acquired the entire confidence of Leontiades, Archias, and the other magiſtrates, or rather tyrants[29], of the republic. In buſineſs and in pleaſure, he rendered himſelf alike neceſſary to his maſters; his diligence and abilities had procured him the important office of ſecretary to the council; and he had lately promiſed to Archias and Philip, the two moſt licentious of the tyrants, that he would give them an entertainment, during which they might enjoy the converſation and the perſons of the fineſt women in Thebes. The day was appointed for this infamous rendezvous, which theſe magiſterial debauchees expected with the greateſt impatience; and, in the interval, Phyllidas ſet out for Athens, on pretence of private buſineſs[30].

The time and means of execution adjuſted.

In Athens, the time and the means were adjuſted for executing the conſpiracy. A body of Theban exiles aſſembled in the Thriaſian plain, on the frontier of Attica, where ſeven[31], or twelve[32], of the youngeſt and moſt enterpriſing, voluntarily offered themſelves to enter the capital, and to co-operate with Phyllidas in the deſtruction of the magiſtrates. The diſtance between Thebes and Athens was

[29] Τὴν περὶ Ἀρχίαν τυραννίδα. Xenoph.
[30] Xenoph. p. 566.
[31] Xenoph. p. 566.
[32] Plutarch. in Pelopid.

about thirty-five miles. The conſpirators had thirteen miles to march through a hoſtile territory. They diſguiſed themſelves in the dreſs of peaſants, arrived at the city towards evening with nets and hunting poles, and paſſed the gates without ſuſpicion. During that night, and the ſucceeding day, the houſe of Charon, a wealthy and reſpectable citizen, the friend of Phyllidas, and a determined enemy of the ariſtocracy, afforded them a ſecure refuge, till the favourable moment ſummoned them to action.

Fidelity of the conſpirators to each other.

The important evening approached, when the artful ſecretary had prepared his long-expected entertainment in the treaſury. Nothing had been omitted that could flatter the ſenſes, and lull the activity of the mind in a dream of pleaſure. But a ſecret and obſcure rumour, which had ſpread in the city, hung, like a drawn dagger over the voluptuous joys of the feſtivity. It had been darkly reported, that ſome unknown ſtrangers, ſuppoſed to be a party of the exiles, had been received into the houſe of Charon. All the addreſs of Phyllidas could not divert the terrors of his gueſts. They diſpatched one of their lictors or attendants to demand the immediate preſence of Charon. The conſpirators were already buckling on their armour, in hopes of being immediately ſummoned to execute their purpoſe. But what was their aſtoniſhment and terror, when their hoſt and protector was ſternly ordered to appear before the magiſtrates! The moſt ſanguine were perſuaded that their deſign had become public, and that they muſt all miſerably periſh, without effecting any thing worthy of their courage. After a moment of dreadful reflection, they exhorted Charon to obey the mandate without delay. But that firm and patriotic Theban firſt went to the apartment of his wife, took his infant ſon, an only child, and preſented him to Pelopidas and Mello, requeſting them to retain in their hands this deareſt pledge of his fidelity. They unanimouſly declared their entire confidence in his honour, and entreated him to remove from danger a helpleſs infant, who might become, in ſome

future

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future time, the avenger of his country's wrongs. But Charon was inflexible, declaring, "That his ſon could never aſpire at a happier fortune, than that of dying honourably with his father and friends."

Their diſſimulation and addreſs.

So ſaying, he addreſſed a ſhort prayer to the gods, embraced his aſſociates, and departed. Before he arrived at the treaſury, he was met by Archias and Phyllidas. The former aſked him, in the preſence of the other magiſtrates, whoſe anxiety had brought them from table, "Who are thoſe ſtrangers ſaid to have arrived the other day, and to be entertained in your family?" Charon had compoſed his countenance ſo artfully, and retorted the queſtion with ſuch well-diſſembled ſurpriſe, as conſiderably quieted the ſolicitude of the tyrants, which was totally removed by a whiſper of Phyllidas, "That the abſurd rumour had doubtleſs been ſpread for no other purpoſe but that of diſturbing their pleaſures."

The Theban magiſtrates aſſaſſinated.

They had ſcarcely returned to the banquet, when Fortune, as if ſhe had taken pleaſure to confound the dexterity of Phyllidas, raiſed up a new and moſt alarming danger. A courier arrived from Athens with every mark of haſte and trepidation, deſiring to ſee Archias, to whom he delivered a letter from an Athenian magiſtrate of the ſame name, his ancient friend and gueſt. This letter revealed the conſpiracy; a ſecret not entruſted to the meſſenger, who had orders, however, to requeſt Archias to read the diſpatch immediately, as containing matters of the utmoſt importance. But that careleſs voluptuary, whoſe thoughts were totally abſorbed in the expected ſcene of pleaſure, replied with a ſmile, "Buſineſs to-morrow;" depoſited the letter under the pillow of the couch, on which, according to ancient cuſtom, he lay at the entertainment; and reſumed his converſation with Phyllidas concerning the ladies, whom he had promiſed to introduce. Matters were now come to a criſis; Phyllidas retired for a moment; the conſpirators were put in motion; their weapons concealed under the flowing ſwell of female attire, and

their

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their countenances overſhadowed and hid by a load of crowns and garlands. In this diſguiſe they were preſented to the magiſtrates, intoxicated with wine and folly. At a given ſignal they drew their daggers, and effected their purpoſe[33]. Charon and Mello were the principal actors in this bloody ſcene, which was entirely directed by Phyllidas. But a more difficult taſk remained. Leontiades, with other abettors of the tyranny, ſtill lived, to avenge the murder of their aſſociates. The conſpirators, encouraged by their firſt ſucceſs, and conducted by Phyllidas, gained admiſſion into their houſes ſucceſſively, by means of the unſuſpected ſecretary. On the appearance of diſorder and tumult, Leontiades ſeized his ſword, and boldly prepared for his defence. Pelopidas had the merit of deſtroying the principal author of the Theban ſervitude and diſgrace. His aſſociates periſhed without reſiſtance; men whoſe names may be conſigned to juſt oblivion, ſince they were diſtinguiſhed by nothing memorable but their cruel and oppreſſive tyranny.

The meaſures of the conſpirators were equally vigorous and prudent. Before alarming the city, they proceeded to the different priſons, which were crowded with the unfortunate victims of arbitrary power. Every door was open to Phyllidas. The captives, tranſported with joy and gratitude, increaſed the ſtrength of their deliverers. They broke open the arſenals, and provided themſelves with arms. The ſtreets of Thebes now reſounded with alarm and terror; every houſe and family were filled with confuſion and uproar; the inhabitants were univerſally in motion; ſome providing lights, others running in wild diſorder to the public places, and all anxiouſly wiſhing the return of day, that they might diſcover the unknown cauſe of this nocturnal tumult.

The priſoners ſet at liberty.

During a moment of dreadful ſilence, which interrupted the noiſe of ſedition, a herald proclaimed, with a clear and loud voice, the

Epaminondas joins the inſurgents.

[33] Xenoph. p. 507. Plutarch. in Pelopid. Diodor. l. xv. p. 470.

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death of the tyrants, and ſummoned to arms the friends of liberty and the republic. Among others who obeyed the welcome invitation was Epaminondas, the ſon of Polymnis, a youth of the moſt illuſtrious merit; who united the wiſdom of the ſage, and the magnanimity of the hero, with the practice of every mild and gentle virtue; unrivalled in knowledge and in eloquence; in birth, valour, and patriotiſm, not inferior to Pelopidas, with whom he had contracted an early friendſhip. The principles of the Pythagorean philoſophy[34], which he had diligently ſtudied under Lyſis of Tarentum, rendered Epaminondas averſe to engage in the conſpiracy, leſt he might embrue his hands in civil blood[35]. But after the ſword was once drawn, he appeared with ardour in defence of his friends and conntry; and his example was followed by many brave and generous youths who had reluctantly endured the double yoke of domeſtic and foreign tyranny.

The Theban democracy reſtored. Olymp. c. 3. A. C. 378.

The approach of morning had brought the Theban exiles, in arms, from the Thriaſian plain. The partiſans of the conſpirators were continually increaſed by a confluence of new auxiliaries from every quarter of the city. Encompaſſed by ſuch an invincible band of adherents, Pelopidas and his aſſociates proceeded to the market-place; ſummoned a general aſſembly of the people; explained the neceſſity, the object, and the extent of the conſpiracy; and, with the univerſal approbation of their fellow-citizens, reſtored the democratic form of government[36].

The revolution communicated to the Athenians, who aſſiſt in expelling the Lacedæmonian garriſon.

Exploits of valour and intrepidity may be diſcovered in the hiſtory of every nation. But the revolution of Thebes diſplayed not leſs wiſdom of deſign, than enterpriſing gallantry in execution. Amidſt the tumult of action, and ardour of victory, the conſpirators poſſeſſed ſufficient coolneſs and foreſight to reflect that the Cadmæa, or citadel, which

[34] See Vol. I. p 391—408.
[35] Plutarch. de genio Socratis, p. 279, & paſſim.
[36] Xenoph. Diodor. & Plutarch. ibid.

was

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was held by a Lacedæmonian garriſon of fifteen hundred men, would be reinforced, on the firſt intelligence of danger, by the reſentful activity of Sparta. To anticipate this alarming event, which muſt have rendered the conſequences of the conſpiracy incomplete and precarious, they commanded the meſſenger, whom, immediately after the deſtruction of the tyrants, they had diſpatched to their friends in the Thriaſian plain, to proceed to Athens, in order to communicate the news of a revolution which could not fail to be highly agreeable to that ſtate, and to ſolicit the immediate aſſiſtance of the Athenians, whoſe ſuperior ſkill in attacking fortified places was acknowledged by Greeks and Barbarians. This meſſage was attended with the moſt ſalutary effects. The acute diſcernment of the Athenians eagerly ſeized the precious opportunity of weakening Sparta[37], which, if once neglected, might never return. Several thouſand men were ordered to march; and no time was loſt, either in the preparation, or in the journey, ſince they reached Thebes the day after Pelopidas had re-eſtabliſhed the democracy.

The Cadmæa ſurrenders. Olymp. c. 3. A. C. 378.

The ſeaſonable arrival of thoſe auxiliaries, whoſe celerity exceeded the moſt ſanguine hopes of the Thebans, increaſed the ardour of the latter to attack the citadel. The events of the ſiege are variouſly related[38]. According to the moſt probable account, the garriſon made a very feeble reſiſtance, being intimidated by the impetuous alacrity and enthuſiaſm, as well as the increaſing numbers of the aſſailants, who already amounted to fourteen thouſand men, and received continual acceſſions of ſtrength from the neighbouring cities of Bœotia. Only a few days had elapſed, when the Lacedæmonians deſired to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to depart in ſafety with their arms. Their propoſal was readily accepted; but they ſeem not to have demanded, or at leaſt not to have obtained, any

[37] Dinarch. Orat. contra Demoſth. p. 100.

[38] Diodorus differs entirely from Xenophon and Plutarch, whom I have chiefly followed.

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terms of advantage or ſecurity for thoſe unfortunate Thebans, whoſe attachment to the Spartan intereſt ſtrongly ſolicited their protection. At the firſt alarm of ſedition, theſe unhappy men, with their wives and families, had taken refuge in the citadel. The greater part of them cruelly periſhed by the reſentment of their countrymen; a remnant only was ſaved by the humane interpoſition of the Athenians[39]. So juſtly had Epaminondas ſuſpected, that the revolution could not be accompliſhed without the effuſion of civil blood.

[39] Xenoph. & Plutarch. ibid.

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The Bœotian War.—Unſucceſsful Attempt of Sphodrius againſt the Piræus.—Doubts concerning Xenophon's Account of that Tranſaction.—Ageſilaus invades Bœotia.—Military Succeſs of the Thebans.—Naval Succeſs of the Athenians.—Congreſs for Peace under the Mediation of Artaxerxes.—Epaminondas, Deputy from Thebes.—Cleombrotus invades Bœotia.—Battle of Leuctra.—State of Greece.—Jaſon of Theſſaly.—His Character and Views.—Aſſaſſinated in the midſt of his Projects.

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The Bœotian war. Olymp. c. 1. A. C. 378.

THE emancipation of Thebes gave a deep wound to the pride and tyranny of Sparta; and the magiſtrates of the latter republic prepared to puniſh, with due ſeverity, what they affected to term the unprovoked rebellion of their ſubjects. The Thebans were firmly reſolved to maintain the freedom which they had aſſumed; and theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides occaſioned a memorable war, which, having laſted with little interruption during ſeven years, ended with the battle of Leuctra, which produced a total revolution in the affairs of Greece.

First campaign under Cleombrotus.

The ardent mind of Ageſilaus had long inſpired, or directed, the ambitious views of his country. He enjoyed the glory, but could not avoid the odium, attached to his exalted ſituation; and fearing to increaſe the latter, he allowed the conduct of the Theban war to be committed to the inexperience of his unequal colleague.

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In the heart of a ſevere winter, Cleombrotus, with a well-appointed army, entered Bœotia. His preſence confirmed the obedience of Theſpiæ, Platæa, and other inferior communities. He defeated ſome ſtraggling parties of the Thebans, repelled their incurſions, ravaged their territory, burned their villages, but attempted not to make any impreſſion on the well-defended ſtrength of their city. After a campaign of two months, he returned home, leaving a numerous garriſon in Theſpiæ, commanded by Sphodrias, a general of great enterpriſe, but little prudence.

Sphodrias left with a garriſon in Theſpiæ.

Meanwhile the Athenians, alarmed by the nearer view of danger, publicly diſavowed the aſſiſtance which they had given to Thebes; and having diſgraced, baniſhed, or put to death[1], the adviſers of that daring meaſure, renewed their alliance with Sparta.

Stratagem of Thebes for widening the breach between Athens and Sparta.

The Thebans felt the full importance of this defection, and left nothing untried to prevent its fatal tendency, a deſign (could we believe tradition) in which they ſucceeded by a very ſingular ſtratagem. The light and raſh character of Sphodrias was well known, we are told, to the Theban chiefs, who employed ſecret emiſſaries to perſuade him, by arguments moſt flattering to his paſſions, to attack by ſurpriſe the imperfectly repaired harbour of Athens. Theſe artful miniſters of deceit repreſented to Sphodrias, that it was unworthy of his dignity, and of his valour, to employ the arms of Sparta in a predatory war, while an object of far more importance and glory naturally ſolicited the activity of his enterpriſing mind. "The Thebans, indeed, were vigilant in guard; and, being animated by the enthuſiaſm of newly-recovered freedom, were determined, rather than ſurrender, to bury themſelves under the ruins of their country. But their ſecret and perfidious ally, whoſe aſſiſtance had recently enabled them to throw off the Spartan yoke, was lulled in ſecurity. The moment had arrived for cruſhing

[1] Xenoph. p. 334. I have endeavoured to reconcile Xenophon and Dinarchus, cited above.

the

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the implacable hatred of the Athenians, by ſurpriſing the Piræus, their principal ornament and defence; an action which would be celebrated by poſterity above the kindred glory of Phæbidas, who, during the time alſo of an inſidious peace, had ſeized the Theban citadel [2]."

Unſucceſsful attempt of Sphodrias to ſeize the Piræus.

The diſtance between Thebes and Theſpiæ, which was not more than twenty miles, furniſhed an eaſy opportunity for carrying on theſe ſecret practices; but the diſtance, which exceeded forty miles, between Thebes and Athens, rendered the enterpriſe of Sphodrias abortive. He marched from Theſpiæ with the flower of his garriſon, early in the morning, expecting to reach the Piræus before the dawn of the ſucceeding day. But he was ſurpriſed by the return of light in the Thriaſian plain. The borough of Eleuſis was alarmed; the report flew to Athens, and the citizens, with their uſual alacrity, ſeized their arms, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The mad deſign, and the ſtill greater madneſs of Sphodrias, in ravaging the country during his retreat, provoked the fury of the Athenians. They immediately ſeized the perſons of ſuch Lacedæmonians as happened to reſide in their city. They ſent an embaſſy to Sparta, complaining, in the moſt indignant terms, of the inſult of Sphodrias. The Spartans diſavowed his conduct. He was recalled and tried, but ſaved from death by the authority of Ageſilaus. This powerful protection was obtained by the interceſſion of his ſon Cleonymus, the beloved companion of Archidamus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of the Spartan king. Archidamus pleaded, with the modeſt eloquence of tears, for the father of a friend, his equal in years and valour, with whom he had been long united in the moſt tender affection. Cleonymus declared on this occaſion, that he ſhould never diſgrace the ardent attachment of the royal youth: and illuſtrious as Archidamus afterwards became, Xenophon affirms,

[2] Xenoph. p. 340. Diodorus, p. 472.

that

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that his early and unalterable love of Cleonymus forms not the ſhade, but rather the faireſt light, of his amiable and exalted character [3].

Doubts concerning Xenophon's account of this tranſaction.

Such is the account of this tranſaction, given originally by Xenophon, and faithfully copied by other writers, ancient and modern. But there is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that Ageſilaus was not totally unacquainted with the ambitious and unwarrantable deſign of Sphodrias; that the Spartans would have approved the meaſure, had it been crowned with ſucceſs; and that even the philoſophic Xenophon, a partial admirer of Ageſilaus and the Lacedæmonians, has employed the perſuaſive ſimplicity of his inimitable ſtyle, to varniſh a very unjuſtifiable tranſaction. Such, at leaſt, it appeared to the Athenian aſſembly, who, offended by the crime, were ſtill more indignant at the acquittal, of Sphodrias. From that time they began to prepare their fleet, to enliſt ſailors, to collect and to employ all the materials of war, with a reſolution firmly to maintain the cauſe of Thebes and their own.

Ageſilaus repeatedly invades Bœotia. Olymp. c. 4. A. C. 377. & Olymp. ci. 1. A. C. 376.

While they were buſied in ſuch preparations, Ageſilaus repeatedly invaded Bœotia, without performing any thing worthy of his former renown. His army amounted to eighteen thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe. The enemy were aſſiſted by a conſiderable body of mercenaries, commanded by Chabrias the Athenian, who finally repelled the Spartan king from Thebes, by a ſtratagem not leſs ſimple than uncommon. The Theban army, prepared to act on the defenſive againſt a ſuperior force, had occupied a riſing ground in the neighbourhood of their city. Ageſilaus detached a body of light-armed troops, to provoke them to quit this advantageous poſt; but the Thebans cautiouſly maintained their ground, and obliged the enemy to draw out their whole forces, in order to diſlodge them. Chabrias, waiting their approach, commanded his

[3] Xenoph. p. 570.

troops

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troops to execute a new movement, which he had recently taught them for ſuch an emergency. They ſupported their advanced bodies on their left knee, extended their ſhields and ſpears, and thus firmly maintained their ranks [4]. Alarmed at the determined boldneſs of an unuſual array, which ſeemed to bid him defiance, Ageſilaus withdrew his army from the capital, and contented himſelf with committing farther ravages on the country.

Succeſs of the Thebans. Olymp. ci. 2. A. C. 375.

In the ſkirmiſhes which happened after his retreat, the Thebans proved repeatedly victorious. He returned home, and continued at Sparta during the following year, to be cured of his wounds; where he ſuffered the mortifying reproaches of his adverſary Antalcidas, "for teaching the Thebans to conquer." The generals who ſucceeded him had not better ſucceſs. Phœbidas, the original author of the war, who had been appointed governor of Theſpiæ, was defeated and ſlain, with the greateſt part of the garriſon of that place. Pelopidas, with his own hand, killed the Spartan commander in the action at Tanagra; and in the pitched battle of Tegyra, the Lacedæmonians, though ſuperior in number, were broken and put to flight; a diſgrace which, they reflected with ſorrow, had never befallen them in any former engagement.

Naval ſucceſs of the Athenians. Olymp. ci. 1. A. C. 376.

While the war was thus carried on by land, the Athenians put to ſea, and gained the moſt diſtinguiſhed advantages on their fa-

[4] The words of Nepos, in Chabria, are better explained by reading, "Qui obnixo genu, ſcuto projectaque haſta impetum excipere hoſtium docuit." This agrees with the ſtatue of Chabrias in the Villa Borgheſe, whoſe ſingular attitude has given ſo much trouble to antiquaries. Winkelmann conjectures this maſter-piece of art to be the moſt ancient ſtatue in Rome, from the form of the letters in the name Agaſias with which it is inſcribed. He obſerves, that it is erroneouſly ſuppoſed to be a gladiator, ſince the Greeks never honoured gladiators with ſuch monuments; and the ſtyle of the workmanſhip proves it more ancient than the introduction of that inhuman ſpectacle into Greece. The body of the ſtatue is advanced, and reſts on the left thigh; the right arm graſps a javelin, or ſpear; around the left is ſeen the leather thong, or handle of a ſhield. It ſeems, ſays Winkelmann, the particular attitude of a warrior on ſome dangerous emergency. What this emergency was, the learned and ingenious Leſſing fortunately diſcovered, by the words of Cornelius Nepos. "Hoc (the ſtratagem of Chabrias) uſque eò tota Græcia fama celebratum eſt, ut illo ſtatu Chabrias ſibi ſtatuam fieri voluerit, quæ publicè ei ab Athenienſibus in foro conſtituta eſt."

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vourite element. The Lacedæmonian fleet, of ſixty ſail, commanded by Pollis, was ſhamefully defeated near the iſle of Naxos, by the ſkilful bravery of Chabrias, who performed alternately, and with equal abilities, the duties of admiral and general[5]. But the principal ſcene of action was the Ionian ſea, where Timotheus[6] and Iphicrates every where prevailed over the commanders who oppoſed them. The fleet of Sparta was totally ruined by the victors, who repeatedly ravaged the coaſts of Laconia[7], and laid under heavy contributions the iſlands of Corcyra, Zacinthus, Leucadia, and Cephalenia. Even the iſles and cities more remote from the ſcene of this naval war, particularly the valuable iſland of Chios, and the important city of Byzantium, deſerted their involuntary connection with the declining fortune of Sparta, and once more accepted the dangerous alliance of the Athenians[8].

The Greeks aſſiſt Artaxerxes in the Egyptian war.

Theſe hoſtile operations, which weakened, without ſubduing, the ſpirit of the vanquiſhed, were interrupted by the ſolicitations and bribes of the king of Perſia, who earneſtly promoted the domeſtic tranquillity of Greece, that he might enjoy the aſſiſtance of its arms in cruſhing a new rebellion in Egypt. His emiſſaries met with equal ſucceſs in Athens and Sparta, which were alike weary of the war, the former having little more to hope, and the latter having every thing to fear, from its continuance. Many of the inferior ſtates, being implicitly governed by the reſolves of theſe powerful republics, readily imitated their example. And ſo precarious and miſerable was the condition of them all, in that diſorderly period, that about twenty thouſand men abandoned their homes and families, and followed the ſtandard of the Perſians. The merit of Iphicrates juſtly entitled him to the command of his countrymen, which

[5] Xenoph. p. 577. Diodor. l. xv. ad Olymp. ci. 1.

[6] Corn. Nep. in vit. Timoth. & Dinarch. adv Demoſth. Such was the good fortune of Timotheus, that the ſatirical artiſts of the times painted him aſleep, covered with a net, in which the cities and iſlands entangled and caught themſelves. Plutarch. de invid. & odio.

[7] Xenoph. p. 578. [8] Id. ibid.

was unanimouſly conferred on him. But the expedition produced nothing worthy of ſuch a general, who in a few months returned to Athens, diſguſted with the ignorant pride, and ſlothful timidity, of the Perſian commanders, who durſt not undertake any important enterpriſe, without receiving the ſlow inſtructions of a diſtant court [9].

The Thebans raſe Platæa. Olymp. ci. 3. A. C. 374.

Meanwhile the Thebans, who, elated by a flow of unwonted proſperity, had proudly diſregarded the repreſentations of Artaxerxes, profited of the temporary diverſion made by the Egyptian war, to reduce ſeveral inferior cities of Bœotia. The walls of Theſpiæ were raſed to the ground; Platæa met with the ſame fate; and its inhabitants, after ſuffering the cruelleſt indignities, were driven into baniſhment. It might be expected that the unfortunate exiles ſhould have ſought refuge in Sparta, whoſe authority they had uniformly acknowledged, ſince the diſhonourable peace of Antalcidas. But ſo diſſimilar were the fluctuating politics of Greece to the regular tranſactions of modern times (governed by the lifeleſs but ſteady principle of intereſt), that the Platæans had recourſe to Athens, a city actually in alliance with the people, by whom they had been ſo unjuſtly perſecuted. Their eloquence, their tears, the memory of paſt ſervices, and the promiſe of future gratitude, prevailed on the Athenian aſſembly, who kindly received them into the boſom of their republic, and expreſſed the warmeſt indignation againſt their inſolent oppreſſors [10].

Congreſs for peace held under the mediation of Artaxerxes, Olymp. ci. 1. A. C. 371.

This affecting tranſaction threatened to deprive the Thebans of an ally, to whom they were in a great meaſure indebted for their proſperity. Their ſubſequent conduct tended ſtill farther to widen the breach. They marched troops into Phocis, with an intention to reduce that country. They heard with equal diſdain, the remonſtrances of their friends, and the threats of their enemies.

[9] Corn. Nepos in Iphicrat. Diodorus, l. xv. ad Olym. c. iv.

[10] Diodor. l. xv. ad Olymp. & Iſocrat. Orat. pro Plat.

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Their unuſual arrogance totally alienated the Athenians, who ſeemed finally diſpoſed to conclude a laſting peace with Sparta, on the principles of the treaty of Antalcidas, that their reſpective garriſons ſhould be withdrawn from foreign parts, and the communities, ſmall as well as great, be permitted to enjoy the independent government of their own equitable laws. The intereſt of the king of Perſia, who ſtill needed freſh ſupplies to carry on the Egyptian war, induced him to employ his good offices for promoting this ſpecious purpoſe; and a convention of all the ſtates was ſummoned to Sparta, whither the Thebans deigned indeed to ſend a repreſentative; but a repreſentative, whoſe firmneſs and magnanimity were well fitted to ſuſtain and elevate the aſpiring pretenſions of his republic.

Epaminondas appears as deputy from Thebes.

In effecting this glorious revolution which gave freedom to Thebes, as well as in the military operations, which immediately followed that important event, the youthful merit of Pelopidas had acquired the fame of patriotiſm, valour, and conduct. The nobility of his birth, and the generous uſe of his riches, increaſed the aſcendant due to his illuſtrious ſervices. Every external advantage, the manly grace of his perſon, the winning affability of his deportment, his ſuperior excellence in the martial exerciſes ſo highly prized by the Greeks, and eſpecially by the Thebans, gained him the admiration of the multitude; or, in other words, of the legiſlative aſſembly of his country. He had been ſucceſſively elected, during ſix years, to the firſt dignity of the republic; nor had the Thebans ever found reaſon to repent their choice [n]. Yet in the preſent emergency, when they were required to appoint a deputy for the convention at Sparta (the moſt important charge with which any citizen could be entruſted), Pelopidas, with all his merit, was not the miniſter whom they thought proper to employ.

His character.

Epaminondas, naturally his rival, but always his friend, had hitherto been contented with a ſubordinate ſtation: yet every office

[n] Plut. in Pelopid.

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he exerciſed, whether in the civil or military department, derived new luſtre from his perſonal dignity. His exterior accompliſhments were not inferior to thoſe of Pelopidas; but he had learned from the philoſophy of Lyſis the Pythagorean, to prefer the mind to the body, merit to fame, and the rewards of virtue to the gifts of fortune. He reſiſted the generous ſolicitations of his friends to deliver him from the honourable poverty in which he was born; continuing poor from taſte and choice, and juſtly delighting in a ſituation, which is more favourable, eſpecially in a democratical republic, to that freedom and independence of mind which wiſdom recommends as the greateſt good. Nor was he more careleſs of money than avaricious of time, which he continually dedicated to the ſtudy of learning and philoſophy, or employed in the exerciſe of public and private virtue. Yet to become uſeful he was not deſirous to be great. The ſame ſolicitude which others felt to obtain, Epaminondas ſhewed to avoid, the dangerous honours of his country. His ambitious temper would have been better ſatisfied to direct, by a perſonal influence with the magiſtrates, the adminiſtration of government from the boſom of his beloved retirement [12], when the unanimous voice of the citizens, and ſtill more the urgency of the times, called him to public life; and ſuch was his contempt for the glory of a name, that had he lived in a leſs turbulent period, his exalted qualities, however admired by ſelect friends, would have probably remained unknown to his contemporaries and poſterity.

Such was the man to whoſe abilities and eloquence the Thebans committed the defence of their moſt important intereſts in the general congreſs of the Grecian ſtates. The Athenians ſent Antocles and Calliſtratus; the firſt a ſubtile [13], the ſecond an affecting orator [14]. Ageſilaus himſelf appeared on the part of Sparta. Matters were

Conference at Sparta. Olymp. ciii. 1. A. C. 371.

[12] The conduct of Epaminondas coincides with, and confirms, the account above given of the Pythagorean philoſophy.

[13] Επιφρη, ρητωρ, Xenoph. l. vi.

[14] The pathetic pleading of Calliſtratus, for the citizens of Oropus firſt inſpired Demoſthenes with the ambition of eloquence. Plut. in Demoſth.

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eaſily adjuſted between thoſe leading republics, who felt equal reſentment at the unhappy fate of Theſpiæ and Platæa. They lamented their mutual jealouſy, and unfortunate ambition, which had occaſioned ſo many bloody and deſtructive wars; and commemorated the ſhort but glorious intervals of moderation and concord, which had tended ſo evidently to their own and the public felicity. Inſtructed by fatal experience, it was time for them to lay down their arms, and to allow that tranquillity to themſelves and to their neighbours, which was neceſſary to heal the wounds of their common country. The peace could not be uſeful or permanent, unleſs it were eſtabliſhed on the liberal principles of equality and freedom, to which all the Grecian communities were alike entitled by the treaty of Antalcidas. It was propoſed, therefore, to renew that ſalutary contract, which was accepted by the unanimous conſent of Athens, of Sparta, and of their reſpective confederates.

Demands of Epaminondas.

Epaminondas [15] then ſtood up, offering to ſign the treaty in the name of the Bœotians. "The Athenians," he took notice, "had ſigned for all the inhabitants of Attica; the Spartans had ſigned not only for the cities of Laconia, but for their numerous allies in all the provinces of the Peloponneſus. Thebes was entitled to the ſame prerogatives over her dependent cities, which had anciently acknowledged the power of her kings, and had recently ſubmitted to the arms of her citizens." Ageſilaus, inſtead of anſwering directly a demand which could neither be granted with honour, nor denied with juſtice, aſked, in his turn, Whether it was the intention of the Thebans to admit, in terms of the treaty, the independence of Bœotia? Epaminondas demanded, Whether it was the intention of Sparta to admit the independence of Laconia? "Shall the Bœotians," ſaid

[15] The convention of Sparta is noticed by Xenophon, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Cornelius Nepos. The firſt writer is ſilent with regard to Epaminondas. Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos furniſh the hints which I have made uſe of in the text. It is not impoſſible that there were two conventions, at different times, reſpecting the ſame object. In that caſe Xenophon muſt have totally omitted one of them.

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the king, with emotion, "be free?" "Whenever," replied Epaminondas with firmneſs, "you reſtore freedom to the Lacedæmonians, the Meſſenians, and the oppreſſed communities of Peloponneſus, whom, under the name of allies, you retain in an involuntary and rigorous ſervitude."

He addreſſes the deputies of the allies.

Then turning to the deputies of the allies, he repreſented to them the cruel mockery by which they were inſulted. "Summoned to deliberate concerning the general freedom and independence, they were called to ratify a peace, which, inſtead of eſtabliſhing theſe invaluable and ſacred rights, confirmed the ſtern tyranny of an imperious maſter." That "the cities, ſmall and great, ſhould be free," was the verbal condition of the treaty; but its real drift and import was, that Thebes ſhould give freedom to Bœotia, and thereby weaken her own ſtrength, while Sparta kept in ſubjection the extenſive territories of her confederates, in whoſe name ſhe had ſigned that perfidious contract, and whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe expected, and could demand, towards giving it immediate effect. If the allies perſiſted in their actual reſolution, they conſented to deſtroy the power of Thebes, which was the only bulwark to defend them againſt Spartan uſurpation: they conſented to continue the payment of thoſe intolerable contributions with which they had long been oppreſſed; and to obey every idle ſummons to war, of which *they* chiefly ſuffered the fatigues and dangers, while the advantage and glory redounded to the Spartans alone. If they felt any reſpect for the glorious name of their anceſtors; if they entertained any ſenſe of their own moſt precious intereſts, they would be ſo little diſpoſed to promote the reduction of Thebes, that they would imitate the auſpicious example of that ancient and noble city, which had acquired the dignity of independent government, not by inſcriptions [16] and treaties, but by arms and valour.

[16] The public deeds and tranſactions of the Greeks were inſcribed on pillars of marble. Thucyd. & Xenoph. paſſim.

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Permanent effect of his repreſentations.

The juſt remonſtrances of Epaminondas made a deep impreſſion on the deputies. Ageſilaus, alarmed at its effect, anſwered him in a ſtrain very different from that deſpotic brevity [17] which the Spartans uſually affected. His ſpeech was long and eloquent. He reaſoned, prayed, threatened. The deputies were awed into ſubmiſſion, leſs perhaps by the force of his eloquence, than by the terror of the Spartan armies ready to take the field. But the words of Epaminondas ſunk deep into their hearts. They communicated, at their return, the powerful impreſſion to their conſtituents; and its influence was viſible in the field of Leuctra, and in the events which followed that memorable engagement.

Reflections on his conduct.

As the Grecian ſtates were accuſtomed to grant more unreſerved powers to their generals and miniſters, than are allowed by the practice of modern times, we muſt be contented to doubt, whether, in this important negotiation, Epaminondas acted merely by the extemporary impulſe of his own mind, or only executed, with boldneſs and dignity, the previous inſtructions of his republic. It is certain, that his refuſal to acknowledge the freedom of Bœotia, not only excluded Thebes from the treaty, but expoſed her to the immediate vengeance of the confederates; and according to the received principles of modern policy, there is reaſon to accuſe both the prudence and the juſtice of the admired Theban; his prudence in provoking the ſtrength of a confederacy, with which the weakneſs of any ſingle republic ſeemed totally unable to contend, and his juſtice in denying to *ſeveral* communities of Bœotia their hereditary laws and government. Yet the conduct of Epaminondas has never been expoſed to ſuch odious reproaches. Succeſs juſtified his audacity; and the Greeks, animated by an ambitious enthuſiaſm to aggrandiſe their reſpective cities, were taught to dignify by the names of patriotiſm and magnanimity, qualities which, in

[17] Epaminondas ſaid, or more probably it was ſaid for him, that he had compelled the Spartans to lengthen their monoſyllables. Plut. in Ageſil.

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the ſober judgment of poſterity, would be degraded by very different appellations. There are reaſons, however, not merely ſpecious, by which Epaminondas might juſtify his conduct at an impartial bar. He could not be ignorant that Thebes, unaſſiſted and alone, was unable to cope with the general confederacy of Greece: but he knew that this confederacy would never exiſt but in words, ſince the jealouſy of ſeveral ſtates, and particularly of Athens, would be diſpoſed rather to commiſerate, than to increaſe, the calamities of a people at variance with Sparta[18]. He perceived the effect of his ſpirited remonſtrances on the moſt ſtedfaſt adherents of that republic; and contemplating the circumſtances of his country, and of the enemy, he found ſeveral motives of encouragement to the ſeemingly unequal conteſt.

which is juſtified by the ſtate of Sparta.

The Spartans had been weakened by the defection and loſs of their dominions, and dejected by their unfortunate attempts to recover them. They had been deprived of their preſcriptive honours, and had forſaken their hereditary maxims. Their ancient and venerable laws had in a great meaſure ceaſed to govern them; and the ſeeds of thoſe corruptions were already ſown, which have been cenſured by philoſophers and ſtateſmen with equal juſtice and ſeverity[19]. Nor were they expoſed to the *uſual* misfortunes, only, of a degenerate people; the inſtitutions of Lycurgus formed one conſiſtent plan of legiſlation, which could not be partially obſerved and partially neglected. While the ſubmiſſive diſciples of that extraordinary lawgiver remained ſatisfied with their ſimplicity of manners, their poverty, and their virtue, and had ſcarcely any other object in view, but to reſiſt the ſolicitations of pleaſure, and to repel the encroachments of enemies, the law, which diſcouraged a commercial intercourſe with foreign nations, and which excluded ſtrangers, whatever merit they might poſſeſs, from aſpiring to the rank of citi-

[18] Xenophon hints at this diſpoſition, l. vi. p. 608.

[19] Ariſtot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9.

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zens, was an eſtabliſhment ſtrictly conformable to the peculiar ſpirit of the Lacedæmonian conſtitution. But when Sparta abandoned the ſimplicity of her primitive maxims, became ambitious, wealthy, triumphant, and almoſt continually engaged in war, not as the means of defence, but as the inſtrument of power and conqueſt, conſiſtency required that ſhe ſhould have laid aſide her pretenſions to thoſe excluſive honours which ſhe no longer deſerved. When ſhe relinquiſhed the virtuous pre-eminence of her anceſtors, the warlike inhabitants of Peloponneſus were not unworthy to be ranked with her citizens; and by admitting them to this honour, ſhe would have given them an intereſt in her victories, and rendered them willing partners of her danger. But, inſtead of adopting this generous policy, which poſſibly might have rendered her what Rome, with more wiſdom, indeed, but not with more virtue or more bravery, afterwards became, the miſtreſs of the world, ſhe increaſed her pretenſions in proportion to the decline of her merit; ſpurned the equality of a fœderal union, to which the Peloponneſians were entitled; deprived even the Lacedæmonians of their juſt ſhare in the government, and concentrated all power and authority within the ſenate and aſſembly of Sparta. A long courſe of almoſt uninterrupted hoſtilities had deprived her of the beſt half of her citizens, whoſe numbers were continually diminiſhing, without the poſſibility of ever being repaired; nor could it be difficult to overthrow an empire which depended on the addreſs and bravery of about four thouſand warriors, the ſplendor of a great name, and the reluctant aſſiſtance of inſulted allies and oppreſſed ſubjects [12].

The conſideration of theſe circumſtances, which could not fail to preſent themſelves to the ſagacity of Epaminondas, might have

[12] The condition of Sparta, repreſented in the text, is taken from the hiſtory of the times in Xenophon and Diodorus, from Ariſtotle's Politics, l. ii. c. 9. the Oration of Archidamus, and the Panathanæan Oration of Iſocrates. The laſt writer reduces the number of Spartan citizens to two thouſand; a diminution principally occaſioned by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinæa, which happened a conſiderable time before the compoſition of that diſcourſe.

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encouraged him to ſet the threats of his adverſaries at defiance, eſpecially when he reflected on the actual condition of Thebes, whoſe civil and military inſtitutions had recently acquired new ſpirit and freſh vigour.

Compared with that of Thebes.

The Thebans, with their ſubjects or neighbours in Bœotia, had been long regarded as an unworthy and faithleſs race, with ſtrong bodies but ignoble ſouls, and infamous among the Greeks, on account of their ancient alliance with Xerxes and the Barbarians. The divine genius of Pindar had not redeemed them from the character of a ſluggiſh and heavy people, noted even to a proverb for ſtupidity [20]. From the age of that inimitable writer, they appear, indeed, to have been little addicted to the purſuit of mental excellence; but they uniformly continued to cultivate, with peculiar care, the gymnaſtic exerciſes, which gave the addreſs and dexterity of art to the ponderous ſtrength of their gigantic members. To acquire renown in war, ſuch people only wanted that ſpark of etherial fire which is kindled by a generous emulation. The tyranny of Sparta firſt animated their inactive languor. Having ſpurned an oppreſſive yoke, they boldly maintained their freedom; and, in the exerciſe of defenſive war, gained many honourable trophies over enemies who had long deſpiſed them. Succeſs enlivened their hopes, inflamed their ambition, and gave a certain elevation to their national character, which rendered them as ambitious of war and victory, as they had formerly been anxious for peace and preſervation. They had introduced a ſevere ſyſtem of military diſcipline; they had conſiderably improved the arms and exerciſe of cavalry; they had adopted various modes of arranging their forces in order of battle, ſuperior to thoſe practiſed by their neighbours. Emulation, ardour, mutual eſteem, and that ſpirit of combination, which often prevails in turbulent and diſtracted times, had united a conſiderable number of

[20] Bœotum in craſſo jurares aëre natum. Hor. Epiſt. i. l. ii.

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their citizens in the cloſeſt engagements, and inſpired them with the generous reſolution of braving every danger in defence of each other. This aſſociation originally conſiſted of about three hundred men, in the prime of life, and of tried fidelity, and commanded by Pelonidas, the glorious reſtorer of his country's freedom. From the inviolable ſanctity of their friendſhip, they were called the Sacred Band, and their valour was as permanent as their friendſhip. During a long ſucceſſion of years, they proved victorious wherever they fought; and at length fell together, with immortal glory, in the field of Chæronæa, with the fall of Thebes, of Athens, and of Greece. Such, in general, were the circumſtances and condition of thoſe rival republics [21], when they were encouraged by their reſpective chiefs to decide their pretenſions by the event of a battle.

Cleombrotus invades Bœotia. Olymp. cii. 2. A. C. 371.

In the interval of ſeveral months, between the congreſs at Sparta and the invaſion of Bœotia, Ageſilaus and his ſon Archidamus collected the domeſtic ſtrength of their republic, and ſummoned the tardy aid of their confederates. Sickneſs prevented the Spartan king from taking the field in perſon; but his advice prevailed with the Ephori and ſenate, to command his colleague Cleombrotus (who, in the former year, had conducted a conſiderable body of troops into Phocis, in order to repel the Thebans from that country), to march without delay into the hoſtile territory, with aſſurance of being ſpeedily joined by a powerful reinforcement. The rendezvous was appointed in the plain of Leuctra, which ſurrounded an obſcure village of the ſame name, ſituate on the Bœotian frontier, almoſt at the equal diſtance of ten miles from the ſea and from Platæa. The plain was encompaſſed on all ſides by the lofty ridges of Helicon, Cithæron, and Cynocephalæ; and the village was hitherto remarkable only for the tomb of two Theban damſels, the daughters of Scedaſus, who had been violated by the brutality of three Spar-

The Spartans and their confederates aſſemble in the plain of Leuctra.

[21] Plut. in Pelopid. v. 11. p. 355—366.

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tan youths. The dishonoured females had ended their disgrace by a voluntary death; and the afflicted father had imitated the example of their despair, after imploring vengeance in vain from gods and men [22].

The Spartans and their confederates joined forces in this neighbourhood, after repelling a few Theban detachments which guarded the defiles of Mount Helicon. Their army amounted to twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. The Thebans could not muster half that strength, after assembling all their troops, which had been scattered over the frontier, in order to oppose the desultory irruptions of the enemy. Their cavalry, however, nearly equalled those of the Spartans in number, and far excelled them in discipline and in valour. Epaminondas exhorted them to march, and repel the invaders, if they would prevent the defection of Bœotia, and avoid the dangers and disgrace of a siege. They readily obeyed, and proceeded to the neighbouring mountains, on which having encamped, they obtained a commanding view of the forces in the plain.

The Thebans encamp on the neighbouring mountain.

Having heard an account of the superior numbers of the enemy, the Thebans still determined to give them battle. But as the eyes are the most timorous of the senses, they were seized with terror and consternation at beholding the massy extent of the Spartan camp. Several of the colleagues of Epaminondas (for he had no fewer than six) were averse to an engagement, strongly dissuading the general from this dangerous measure, and artfully increasing the panic of the troops, by recounting many sinister omens and prodigies. The magnanimous chief opposed the dangerous torrent of superstitious terror, by a verse of Homer [23], importing, that to men engaged in the pious duty of defending their country, no particular indication was necessary of the favourable will of Heaven, since they were immediately employed in a service peculiarly agreeable to the gods.

Proceedings of Epaminondas before the battle.

[22] Xenoph. p. 595. [23] Εις οιωνος αριστος αμυνεσθαι περι πατρης. Il. xii. v. 243.

At

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At the ſame time, he counteracted the dejection of their imaginary fears, by encouragements equally chimerical. It was circulated, by his contrivance, that the Theban temples had opened of their own accord, in conſequence of which the prieſteſſes had announced a victory; that the armour of Hercules, repoſited in the Cadmæa, had ſuddenly diſappeared, as if that invincible hero in perſon had gone to battle in defence of his Theban countrymen; above all, an ancient oracle was carefully handed about, denouncing defeat and ruin to the Spartans near the indignant tomb of the daughters of Scedaſus. Theſe artifices gained the multitude, while arguments more rational prevailed with their leaders, of whom the majority at length ranged themſelves on the ſide of the general.

His magnanimity ſeconded by fortune.

Before conducting them to battle, Epaminondas diſplayed his confidence of victory, by permitting all thoſe to retire, who either diſapproved his cauſe, or were averſe to ſhare his danger; a permiſſion which the Theſpians firſt thought proper to embrace. The unwarlike crowd of attendants, whoſe ſervices were uſeleſs in time of action, gradually ſeized the ſame opportunity to leave the camp. The ſwelling multitude appeared as a ſecond army to the Spartans, who ſent a powerful detachment to oppoſe them. The fear of being cut off by the enemy threw them back on the Thebans, whoſe hopes were enlivened by the unexpected return of ſuch a conſiderable reinforcement. Thus encouraged, they determined unanimouſly to ſtand by their admired chief, and either to defend their country, or to periſh in the attempt; and the ardour of the troops equalling the ſkill of the general, both united rendered them invincible.

Diſpoſition of the forces on both ſides.

Cleombrotus had diſpoſed his forces in the form of a creſcent, according to an ancient and favourite practice of the Spartans. His cavalry were poſted in ſquadrons along the front of the right wing, where he commanded in perſon. The allies compoſed the left wing, conducted by Archidamus. The Theban general, perceiving this diſpoſition,

diſpoſition, and ſenſible that the iſſue of the battle would chiefly depend on the domeſtic troops of Sparta, determined to charge vigorouſly with his left, in order to ſeize or deſtroy the perſon of Cleombrotus; thinking that ſhould this deſign ſucceed, the Spartans muſt be diſcouraged and repelled; and that even the attempt muſt occaſion great diſorder in their ranks, as the braveſt would haſten, from every quarter, to defend the ſacred perſon of their king. Having reſolved, therefore, to commit the fortune of the day to the bravery of the left diviſion of his forces, he ſtrengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed men, whom he drew up fifty deep. The cavalry were placed in the van, to oppoſe the Spartan horſe, whom they excelled in experience and valour. Pelopidas, with the Sacred Band, flanked the whole on the left; and deeming no particular ſtation worthy of their proweſs, they were prepared to appear in every tumult of the field, whither they might be called, either by an opportunity of ſucceſs, or by the proſpect of diſtinguiſhed danger. The principal inconvenience to which the Thebans were expoſed, in advancing to the charge, was that of being ſurrounded by the wide-extended arms of the Spartan creſcent. This danger the general foreſaw; and in order to prevent it, he ſpread out his right wing, of which the files had only ſix men in depth, and the ranks proceeding in an oblique line, diverged the farther from the enemy, in proportion as they extended in length.

Battle of Leuctra. Olymp. ciii. 2. A. C. 371.

The action began with the cavalry, which, on the Spartan ſide, conſiſted chiefly of ſuch horſes as were kept for pleaſure by the richer citizens in time of peace; and which, being an unequal match for the diſciplined valour of the Thebans, were ſpeedily broken, and thrown back on the infantry. Their repulſe and rout occaſioned conſiderable diſorder in the Lacedæmonian ranks, which was greatly heightened by the impetuous onſet of the Sacred Band. Epaminondas availed himſelf of this momentary confuſion, to perform one of thoſe rapid evolutions which commonly decide the

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fortune of battles. He formed his ſtrongeſt, but leaſt numerous diviſion, into a compact wedge, with a ſharp point, and with ſpreading flanks; expecting that the Lacedæmonians, as ſoon as they had recovered their ranks, would attack the weaker and more extended part of his army, which, from the oblique arrangement in which it had been originally drawn up, ſeemed prepared for a retreat. The event anſwered his expectation. While the Lacedæmonians advanced againſt his right wing, where they found little or no reſiſtance, he ruſhed forward with his left; and darting like the beak of a galley [24] on the flank of the enemy, bore down every thing before him, until he arrived near the poſt occupied by Cleombrotus. The urgency of the danger recalled to their ancient principles the degenerate diſciples of Lycurgus. The braveſt warriors flew from every quarter to the aſſiſtance of their prince, covered him with their ſhields, and defended him with their ſwords and lances. Their impetuous valour reſiſted the intrepid progreſs of the Thebans, till the Spartan horſemen, who attended the perſon of Cleombrotus, were totally cut off, and the king himſelf, pierced with many wounds, fell on the breathleſs or expiring bodies of his generous defenders. The fall of the chief gave new rage to the battle. Anger, reſentment, and deſpair, by turns agitated the Spartans. According to the ſuperſtitious ideas of paganiſm, the death of their king appeared to them a ſlight misfortune, compared with the diſgraceful impiety of committing his mangled remains to the inſults of an enemy. To prevent this abomination, they exerted their utmoſt valour, and their ſtrenuous efforts were ſucceſsful. But they could not obtain any further advantage. Epaminondas was careful to fortify his ranks, and to maintain his order of battle; and the firmneſs and rapidity of his regular aſſault gained a complete and deciſive victory over the deſperate reſiſtance of broken troops. The

[24] Xenophon employs this expreſſion on a ſimilar occaſion, in relating the battle of Mantinæa.

principal

principal ſtrength of the allies had hitherto remained inactive, unwilling raſhly to engage in a battle, the motives of which they had never heartily approved. The defeat of the Lacedæmonians, and the death of Cleombrotus, decided their wavering irreſolution. They determined, almoſt with one accord, to decline the engagement; their retreat was effected with the loſs of about two thouſand men; and the Thebans remained ſole maſters of the field[25].

The Spartans crave permiſſion to bury their dead.

The care of burying the dead, and the fear of reducing the enemy to deſpair, ſeem to have prevented Epaminondas from purſuing the vanquiſhed to their camp; which, as it was ſtrongly fortified, could not be taken without great ſlaughter of the aſſailants. When the Lacedæmonians had aſſembled within the defence of their ditch and rampart, their ſecurity from immediate danger allowed them time to reflect with aſtoniſhment and ſorrow on the humiliating conſequences of their recent diſaſter. Whether they conſidered the number of the ſlain, or reflected on the mortifying loſs of national honour, it was eaſy for them to perceive, that, on no former occaſion, the glory of their country had ever received ſuch a fatal wound. Many Spartans declared their diſgrace too heavy to be borne; that they never would permit their ancient laurels to be buried under a Theban trophy; and that, inſtead of craving their dead under the protection of a treaty (which would be acknowledging their defeat), they were determined to return into the field, and to recover them by force of arms. This manly, but dangerous reſolution, was condemned in the council of war, by the officers of moſt experience and authority. They obſerved, that of ſeven hundred Spartans who fought in the engagement, four hundred had fallen; that the Lacedæmonians had loſt one thouſand, and the allies two thouſand ſix hundred. Their army indeed ſtill outnumbered that of the enemy; but their domeſtic forces formed ſcarcely the tenth part of their ſtrength, nor could they repoſe any confidence in the forced aſſiſt-

[25] Xenoph. p. 596, & ſeqq. & Plut. vol. ii. p. 366, & ſeqq.

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ance of their reluctant confederates, who, emboldened by the misfortunes of Sparta, declared their unwillingness to renew the battle, and scarcely concealed their satisfaction at the humiliation and disgrace of that haughty and tyrannical republic. Yielding, therefore, to the necessity of this miserable juncture, the Spartans sent a herald to crave their dead, and to acknowledge the victory of the Thebans [16].

News of the defeat at Leuctra brought to Sparta.

Before they found it convenient to return home, the fatal tidings had reached their capital; and, on this memorable occasion, the Spartans exhibited that striking peculiarity of behaviour, which naturally resulted from the institutions of Lycurgus. Availing himself of the extraordinary respect which uncultivated nations bestow on military courage, in preference to all other virtues and accomplishments, that legislator allowed to the man who had lost his defensive armour, or who had fled in the day of battle, but one melancholy alternative, more dreadful than death to a generous mind. The unfortunate soldier was either driven into perpetual banishment, and subjected to every indignity, which, in a rude age, would naturally be inflicted by the resentment of neighbouring and hostile tribes; or, if he submitted to remain at home, he was excluded from the public assemblies, from every office of power or honour, from the protection of the laws, and almost from the society of men, without the shadow of a hope ever to amend his condition. The influence of this stern law, which seems to have been forgotten in the field of Leuctra, was illustrated in a very striking manner, after that unfortunate battle.

Singular behaviour of the Spartans on that occasion.

The messenger of bad news arrived, while the Spartans, according to annual custom, were celebrating, in the month of July, the gymnastic and musical entertainments, and invoking Heaven to preserve the fruits of the approaching autumn. Being introduced to the Ephori, he informed them of the public disaster. These magistrates

[16] Xenoph. & Plut. ibid.

commanded

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commanded the feſtival to proceed; ſending, however, to each family a liſt of the warriors whom it had loſt, and enjoining the women to abſtain from unavailing lamentations. Next day, the fathers and other relations of ſuch as had periſhed in the field of battle, appeared in the public places dreſſed in their gayeſt attire, ſaluting and congratulating each other on the bravery of their brethren or children. But the kinſmen of thoſe who had ſaved themſelves by a ſhameful flight, either remained at home, brooding in ſilence over their domeſtic affliction, or, if they ventured abroad, diſcovered every ſymptom of unutterable anguiſh and deſpair. Their perſons were ſhamefully neglected, their garments rent, their arms folded, their eyes fixed immoveably on the ground; expecting, in humble reſignation, the ſentence of eternal ignominy ready to be denounced by the magiſtrate againſt the unworthy cauſes of their ſorrow[21]. But, on this critical emergency, the rigour of the Spartan diſcipline was mitigated by Ageſilaus, whom the number and rank of the criminals deterred from inflicting on them the merited puniſhment. He endeavoured to atone for abandoning the ſpirit of the laws, by what may appear a very puerile expedient; "Let us ſuppoſe," ſaid he, "the ſacred inſtitutions of Lycurgus to have ſlept during one unfortunate day, but henceforth let them reſume their wonted vigour and activity:" a ſentence extravagantly praiſed by many writers, as preſerving the authority of the laws, while it ſpared the lives of the citizens. But as, on the one hand, we cannot diſcover the admired ſagacity of Ageſilaus in diſpenſing this act of lenity, ſo, on the other, we cannot condemn as imprudent the act itſelf, which the preſent circumſtances of his country rendered not only expedient, but neceſſary. If Sparta had been the populous capital of an extenſive territory, the lives of three hundred citizens might, perhaps, have been uſefully ſacrificed to the honour of military diſcipline. But a community exceedingly ſmall, and actually

Deciſion of Ageſilaus reſpecting the vanquiſhed in the field of Leuctra.

[21] Xenoph. p. 596.

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weakened by the loſs of four hundred members, could ſcarcely have ſurvived another blow equally deſtructive. No diſtant proſpect of advantage, therefore, could have juſtified ſuch an unſeaſonable ſeverity.

State of Greece after the battle of Leuctra. Olym. cii. 2. A. C. 371.

When the intelligence was diffuſed over Greece, that the Thebans, with the loſs of only three hundred men, had raiſed an immortal trophy over the ſtrength and renown of Sparta, the importance of this event became every-where conſpicuous. The deſire, and hope, of a revolution in public affairs, filled the Peloponnefus with agitation and tumult. Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives, every people who had been influenced by Spartan councils, or intimidated by Spartan power, openly aſpired at independence. The leſs conſiderable ſtates expected to remain thenceforth unmoleſted, no longer paying contributions, nor obeying every idle ſummons to war. The more powerful republics breathed hatred and revenge, and gloried in an opportunity of taking vengeance on the proud ſenators of Sparta, for the calamities which they had ſo often inflicted on their neighbours.

Affected moderation of Athens.

But amidſt this general ferment, and while every other people were guided rather by their paſſions and animoſities, than by the principles of juſtice or ſound policy, the Athenians exhibited an illuſtrious example of political moderation[28]. Immediately after the battle of Leuctra, a Theban herald, adorned with the emblems of peace and victory, had been diſpatched to Athens, in order to relate the particulars of the engagement, and to invite the Athenians to an offenſive alliance againſt a republic, which had ever proved the moſt dangerous, as well as the moſt inveterate enemy of their country. But the aſſembly of Athens, governed by the magnanimity, or rather by the prudence, of Timotheus and Iphicrates, determined to humble their rivals, not to deſtroy them.

[28] Xenoph. p 598.

The

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Views of that republic.

The ancient and illuſtrious merit of the Spartans, their important ſervices during the Perſian war, and the fame of their laws and diſcipline, which ſtill rendered them a reſpectable branch of the Grecian confederacy, might have a conſiderable influence in producing this reſolution. But it chiefly proceeded from a jealouſy of the growing power of Thebes, the ſituation of whoſe territories might ſoon render her a more formidable opponent to Athens, than even Sparta herſelf. This political conſideration for once prevailed over a deep-rooted national antipathy. The Theban herald was not received with reſpect, nor even with decency. He was not entertained in public, according to the eſtabliſhed hoſpitality of the Greeks; and although the ſenate of the Five Hundred (who uſually anſwered foreign ambaſſadors) was then aſſembled in the citadel, he was allowed to return home without receiving the ſmalleſt ſatisfaction on the ſubject of his demand. But the Athenians, though unwilling to ſecond the reſentment, and promote the proſperity of Thebes, prepared to derive every poſſible advantage from the miſfortunes and diſtreſs of Sparta. Convinced that the inhabitants of Peloponneſus would no longer be inclined to follow her ſtandard, and ſhare her danger and adverſity, they eagerly ſeized the opportunity of delivering them for ever from her yoke; and, leſt any other people might attain the rank which the Spartans once held, and raiſe their own importance on the ruins of public freedom, ambaſſadors were ſent ſucceſſively to the ſeveral cities, requiring their reſpective compliance with the treaty of Antalcidas. Againſt ſuch as rejected this overture, war was denounced in the name of Athens and her allies; which was declaring to all Greece, that the battle of Leuctra had put the balance of power in her hands, and that ſhe had determined to check the ambition of every republic whoſe views were too aſpiring[29].

[29] Xenoph. p. 602.

Diſappointed

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The Thebans court the alliance of Jaſon of Theſſaly.

Diſappointed of the aſſiſtance of Athens, the Thebans had recourſe to an ally not leſs powerful. The extenſive and fertile territory of Theſſaly, which had been ſo long weakened by diviſion, was fortunately united under the government of Jaſon of Pheræ, a man whoſe abilities and enterpriſing ambition ſeemed deſtined to change the face of the ancient world[30]. To the native virtues of hoſpitality and magnificence, which peculiarly diſtinguiſhed his country, Jaſon added indefatigable labour, and invincible courage, with a mind capable to conceive the loftieſt deſigns, and a character ready to promote them by the meaneſt artifices[31]. His family deſcended from the ancient kings of the heroic ages, and formed the wealthieſt houſe in Pheræ, which had already attained conſiderable pre-eminence over the neighbouring cities of Theſſaly. By contrivances extremely unworthy of that greatneſs to which they frequently conduct, Jaſon deceived his brothers and kinſmen, and appropriated almoſt the ſole uſe of his domeſtic opulence. With this he hired a well-appointed body of mercenaries, by whoſe aſſiſtance he acquired greater authority in Pheræ, than any former general or king had ever enjoyed[32]. But the government of a ſingle city could not ſatisfy his aſpiring mind. By ſtratagem, by ſurpriſe, or by force, he extended his dominion over the richeſt parts of Theſſaly; and was ready to graſp the whole, when his deſigns were obſtructed by the powerful oppoſition of Polydamas the Pharſalian[33].

His character, and fortunes.

His ambition oppoſed by Polydamas.

Next to Pheræ and Lariſſa, Pharſalus was the largeſt and moſt flouriſhing city in that northern diviſion of Greece. But the inhabitants, diſtracted by factions, exhauſted their ſtrength in civil diſcord and ſedition, until a ray of wiſdom illuminating both parties, they committed their differences, and themſelves, to the probity and patriotiſm of Polydamas, which were equally reſpected at home and abroad. For ſeveral years Polydamas commanded the citadel, and

[30] Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. c. i. & ſeqq.
[31] Polyæn. Stratagem.
[32] Plut. Polit. & ſan. tuend.
[33] Xenoph. ibid.

adminiſtered

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administered justice and the finances with such diligence and fidelity, as might reasonably have entitled him to the glorious appellation of Father of his country. He firmly opposed and counteracted the secret practices, as well as the open designs, of Jason, who eagerly solicited his friendship by every motive that could actuate a mind of less determined integrity.

Conference between them.

At a conference which was held between them at Pharsalus, where Jason had come alone and unattended, the better to gain the confidence of a generous adversary, the Pheræan displayed the magnitude of his power and resources, which it seemed impossible for the weakness of Pharsalus to resist; and promised, that, on surrendering the citadel of that place, which must otherwise soon yield to force, Polydamas should enjoy in Thessaly the second rank after himself; that he would regard him as his friend and colleague; nor could there remain a doubt that their united labours might raise their common country to that station in Greece which it had been long entitled to hold. That the subjugation of the neighbouring states opened vaster prospects, which forced themselves irresistibly on his mind, when he considered the natural advantages of Thessaly, the fertility of the soil, the swiftness of the horses, the disciplined bravery and martial ardour of the inhabitants, with whom no nation in Europe, or in Asia, was capable to contend.

Determined integrity of Polydamas.

Polydamas heard with pleasure the praises of his native land, and admired the magnanimity of Jason. But he observed, that his fellow-citizens had honoured him with a trust which it was impossible for him ever to betray; and that their community still enjoyed the alliance of Sparta, from which the neighbouring cities had revolted. That he was determined to demand the protection of that republic; and if the Lacedæmonians were willing and able to afford him any effectual assistance, he would defend to the last extremity the walls of Pharsalus. Jason commended his integrity

and

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and patriotiſm, which, he declared, inſpired him with the warmer deſire to obtain the friendſhip of ſuch an illuſtrious character.

Jaſon declared leader of the Theſſalians. Olym. cii. 3. A. C. 370.

Soon afterwards Polydamas went to Sparta, and propoſed his demand in the council; exhorting the magiſtrates not only to undertake the expedition, but to undertake it with vigour; for if they expected to oppoſe the forces of Jaſon by their undiſciplined peaſants, or half-armed ſlaves, they would infallibly bring diſgrace on themſelves, and ruin on their confederates. The Lacedæmonians were deeply engaged in the Theban war, which had been hitherto carried on unſucceſsfully. They prudently declined, therefore, the invitation of Polydamas; who, returning to Theſſaly, held a ſecond conference with Jaſon. He ſtill refuſed to ſurrender the citadel, but promiſed to uſe his beſt endeavours for making the Pharſalians ſubmit of their own accord; and offered his only ſon as a pledge of his fidelity. Jaſon accepted the offer, and, by the influence of Polydamas, was ſoon afterwards declared captain-general of Pharſalus, and all Theſſaly; a modeſt appellation, under which he enjoyed the full extent of royal power[34].

His admirable diſcipline;

He began his reign by adjuſting, with equity and preciſion, the proportion of taxes, and the contingent of troops, to be raiſed by the ſeveral cities in his dominions. The new levies, added to his ſtanding army of mercenaries, amounted to eight thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand heavy-armed foot, and ſuch a body of targeteers, as no nation of antiquity could match[35]. But numbers formed the leaſt advantageous diſtinction of the army of Jaſon. Every day he exerciſed his troops in perſon; diſpenſed rewards and puniſhments; caſhiered the ſlothful and effeminate; honoured the brave and diligent with double, and ſometimes treble pay, with large donatives in

[34] Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. c. 1, & ſeqq. & Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. p. 488.

[35] Xenophon expreſſes it more ſtrongly; πιλτασικον γε μην ἱκανον προς παντας ανθρωπους ανιστα χθηναι, p. 600.

money,

money, and with ſuch other preſents as peculiarly ſuited their reſpective taſtes. By this judicious plan of military adminiſtration the ſoldiers of Jaſon became alike attached to their duty, and to the perſon of their general, whoſe ſtandard they were ready to follow into any part of the world [36]. CHAP. XXX.

He began his military operations by ſubduing the Dryopes [37], the Dolopians, and the other ſmall but warlike tribes, inhabiting the long and intricate chain of mounts Oeta and Pindus, which form the ſouthern frontier of Theſſaly. Then turning northwards, he ſtruck terror into Macedon, and compelled Amyntas to become his ally, and moſt probably his tributary. Thus fortified on both ſides, he retaliated the inroads of the Phocians, who had long profited of the diviſions, and inſulted the weakneſs, of his country; and by conquering the ſmall and uncultivated diſtrict of Epirus, which then formed a barbarous principality under Alcetas [38], an anceſtor of the renowned Pyrrhus, he extended the dominion of Theſſaly from the Ægean to the Ionian ſea, and encompaſſed, as with a belt, the utmoſt breadth of the Grecian republics. and rapid ſucceſs.

It cannot be doubted that the ſubjugation, or at leaſt the command of thoſe immortal commonwealths, was the aim of the Theſſalian prince, who declared to his friends, that he expected, by the aſſiſtance of Greece, to imitate the glorious example of Cyrus and Ageſilaus, and to effect, by the united ſtrength of the confederacy, what theſe generals had nearly accompliſhed by a body of ten or twelve thouſand ſoldiers [39]. While the Spartans, however, preſerved their long-boaſted pre-eminence, and regarded it as their His views on Greece.

[36] Xenoph. p. 600.

[37] Strabo, l. viii. p. 299.

[38] In ſpeaking of Arrybas (the ſon of Alcetas, and the grandfather of Pyrrhus), who received his education at Athens, Juſtin ſays, "Quanto doctior majoribus ſuis, tanto et gratior populo fuit. Primus itaque leges & ſenatum annuoſque magiſtratûs & republicam formam compoſuit. Et ut a Pyrrho ſedes, ſic vita cultior populo ab Arryba ſtatuta."

[39] Xenoph. p. 600.

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hereditary and unalienable right to conduct their confederates to war, Jaſon could not hope to attain the principal command in an Aſiatic expedition. As the natural enemy of that haughty people, he rejoiced in their unproſperous war againſt the Thebans; nor could he receive ſmall ſatisfaction from beholding the ſouthern ſtates of Greece engaged in perpetual warfare, while he himſelf maintained a reſpected neutrality, and watched the firſt favourable occaſion of interfering, with deciſive effect, in the final ſettlement of that country.

His alliance with Thebes.

He ſeldom ventured indeed into the Peloponneſus; but, in order to examine matters more nearly, he undertook, upon very extraordinary pretences, ſeveral journeys to Athens and Thebes. From policy, and perhaps from inclination, he had formed an intimate connection with the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of thoſe republics, and particularly with Pelopidas and Timotheus. The latter, after ſerving his country with equal glory and ſucceſs, was, according to the uſual fortune of Athenian commanders, expoſed to a cruel perſecution of his rivals and enemies, which endangered his honour and his life. On the day of trial the admirers and friends of that great man appeared in the Athenian aſſembly, in order to intercede with his judges; and among the reſt Jaſon, habited in the robe of a ſuppliant, humbly ſoliciting the releaſe of Timotheus, from a people who would not probably have denied a much greater favour to the ſimple recommendation of ſo powerful a prince[40]. In a viſit to Thebes he endeavoured to gain or ſecure the attachment of Epaminondas, by large preſents and promiſes; but the illuſtrious Theban, whoſe independent and honourable poverty had rejected the aſſiſtance of his friends and fellow-citizens, ſpurned with diſdain the inſolent generoſity of a ſtranger[41]. Yet, by the intervention of

[40] Demoſthenes & Cornel. Nepos in Timoth.

[41] Plut. Apophtheg.

Pelopidas,

Pelopidas, Jaſon contracted an engagement of hoſpitality with the Thebans, in conſequence of which he was invited to join their arms, after their memorable victory at Leuctra.

Rapidity of his movements.

The Theſſalian prince accepted the invitation, though his deſigns reſpecting Greece were not yet ripe for execution. He was actually engaged in war with the Phocians, of which, whatever might be the pretence, the real object was to obtain the ſuperintendence of the Delphic oracle, and the adminiſtration of the ſacred treaſure. To avoid marching through a hoſtile territory, he ordered his gallies to be equipped, as if he had intended to proceed by ſea to the coaſt of Bœotia. His naval preparations amuſed the attention of the Phocians, while Jaſon entered their country with a body of two thouſand light horſe, and advanced with ſuch rapidity that he was every where the firſt meſſenger of his own arrival.

His views in mediating a truce between Thebes and Sparta.

By this unuſual celerity, he, without encountering any obſtacle, joined the army of the Thebans, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Leuctra, at no great diſtance from the enemy. Inſtead of an auxiliary, Jaſon thought it more ſuitable to his intereſt to act the part of a mediator. He exhorted the Thebans to reſt ſatisfied with the advantages which they had already obtained, norto drive their adverſaries to deſpair; that the recent hiſtory of their own republic and of Sparta, ſhould teach them to remember the viciſſitudes of fortune. The Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, he reminded of the difference between a victorious and vanquiſhed army. That the preſent criſis ſeemed totally adverſe to the re-eſtabliſhment of their greatneſs; that they ſhould yield to the fatality of circumſtances, and watch a more favourable opportunity to reſtore the tarniſhed luſtre of their arms. His arguments prevailed; hoſtilities were ſuſpended; the terms of a peace were propoſed and accepted: but it is remarkable, that the Spartans and their allies had ſo little confidence in this ſudden negociation, that they decamped the night following, and continued to march homeward with the diligence

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of diſtruſt and fear, until they got intirely beyond reach of the Thebans [42].

Jaſon had not, probably, more confidence in a treaty haſtily concluded between enemies, whoſe reſentments were irritated and inflamed by ſo many mutual injuries offered and retorted. Nothing could have been more contrary to his views than a ſincere and laſting peace between theſe powerful republics; but as this was not to be apprehended, he wiſhed to obtain the reputation of appeaſing the diſſentions of Greece; a circumſtance of great importance to the accompliſhment of his ambitious deſigns.

He is aſſaſſinated in the midſt of his projects. Olymp. cii. 3. A. C. 370.

In his return home, he demoliſhed the walls of Heraclea, a town ſituate near the ſtraits of Thermopylæ; not fearing, ſays his hiſtorian [43], that any of the Greek ſtates ſhould invade his dominions from that ſide, but unwilling to leave a place of ſuch ſtrength on his frontier, which, if ſeized by a powerful neighbour, might obſtruct his paſſage into Greece. Thither he determined to return at the celebration of the Pythian games, at which he meant to claim the right of preſiding, as an honour due both to his piety and to his power. He commanded, therefore, the cities and villages of Theſſaly to fatten ſheep, goats, ſwine, and oxen, and propoſed honourable rewards to ſuch diſtricts as furniſhed the beſt victims for the altars of Apollo. Without any burthenſome impoſition on his ſubjects, he collected a thouſand oxen, and, of ſmaller cattle, to the number of ten thouſand. At the ſame time, he prepared the whole military ſtrength of his kingdom, by whoſe aſſiſtance, ſtill more effectually than by the merit of his ſacrifices, he might maintain his pretenſions to the ſuperintendence of the games, the direction of the oracle, and the adminiſtration of the ſacred treaſure, which he regarded as ſo many previous ſteps to the conqueſt of Greece and Aſia. But, amidſt theſe lofty projects, Jaſon, while reviewing the

[42] Xenoph. p. 600.

[43] Ibid. p. 599.

Pheræan

Pheræan cavalry, was ſtabbed by ſeven youths, who approached him, on pretence of demanding juſtice againſt each other. Two of the aſſaſſins were diſpatched by his guards. Five mounted fleet horſes, which had been prepared for their uſe, and eſcaped to the Grecian republics, in which they were received with univerſal acclamations of joy, and honoured as the ſaviours of their country from the formidable power of a brave but ambitious tyrant[44]. The projects and the empire of Jaſon periſhed with himſelf; Theſſaly, as we ſhall have occaſion to explain, relapſed into its former ſtate of diviſion and weakneſs: But it is the buſineſs of hiſtory to relate not only great actions, but great deſigns; and even the deſigns of Jaſon announce the approaching downfal of Grecian freedom.

[44] Xenoph. & Diodor. ibid. & Valerius Maximus, l. ix.

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Tumults in the Peloponneſus.—Invaſion of Laconia.—Epaminondas rebuilds Meſſené.—Archidamus reſtores the Fortune of Sparta.—Foundation of Megalopolis.—Affairs of Theſſaly and Macedon.—Negotiations for Peace.—The Pretenſions of Thebes rejected.—Epaminondas invades the Peloponneſus.—Revolutions in Achaia.—Speech of Archidamus in the Spartan Council.—Deſigns of Thebes.—Diſconcerted by Athens.—Pelopidas's Expedition in Theſſaly.—The Arcadians ſeize the Olympic Treaſure.—Battle of Mantinæa.—Ageſilaus's Expedition into Egypt.

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History of the laſt ſtage of Grecian freedom.

THE death of Jaſon removed the terror of Greece; but of a country which owed its ſafety to the arm of an aſſaſſin, the condition may juſtly be regarded as extremely unſtable and precarious. There elapſed, however, thirty-three years of diſcord and calamity, before the Greeks finally experienced, in Philip of Macedon, ſuch ambition and abilities as enabled him fully to accompliſh the lofty deſigns of the Theſſalian. The hiſtory of this laſt ſtage of tumultuous liberty comprehends the bloody, but indeciſive wars, which exhauſted Greece during eleven years that intervened between the battle of Leuctra, and the acceſſion of Philip to the Macedonian throne, together with the active reign of that prince; a memorable period of twenty-two years, illuminated by the ſucceſs and glory

glory of Macedon, and clouded by the disgrace and ruin of the Grecian republics.

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Tumults and seditions in th Peloponnesus after the battle of Leuctra. Olymp. cii. 3. A. C. 370.

The unexpected issue of the battle of Leuctra was doubly prejudicial to the Spartans, by weakening their own confederacy, and strengthening that of their enemies. In less than two years after that important event, the alliance in Peloponnesus, over which Sparta had so long maintained an ascendant, was totally dissolved, and most cities had changed not only their foreign connections, but their domestic laws and government. During the same period, the confederacy of which Thebes was the head, had, on the contrary, been very widely extended. Many communities of the Peloponnesus courted her protection; and, in the north of Greece, the Acarnanians, Locrians, Phocians, the whole breadth of the continent, from the Ionian to the Ægean sea, and even the isle of Eubœa, increased the power, and in some measure acknowledged the dominion of Thebes. The history of these revolutions is very imperfectly related by ancient writers; but their consequences were too remarkable not to be attended to and explained. The Peloponnesians, after being delivered from the oppression of the Spartan yoke, were subjected to the more destructive tyranny of their own ungovernable passions[1]. Every state and every city was torn by factions which frequently blazed forth into the most violent seditions. The exiles from several republics were nearly as numerous as those who had expelled them. Fourteen hundred were banished from Tegea; two thousand[2] were slain in Argos; in many places the contending factions alternately prevailed; and those who, in the first encounter, had got possession of the government and the capital, were sometimes attacked[3] and conquered by the numerous fugitives, who formed

[1] Diodorus, l. xv. p. 371, & seqq. Isocrat. in Archidam. & de Pace.

[2] This number is made out by comparing different authors, and uniting in one view the different scenes of the sedition, which is called the Scytalism by Diodorus (ubi supra), and Pausanias (Corinth.), from the Greek word σκυτάλη, signifying a club, which, it seems, was the principal instrument of slaughter.

[3] Diodorus, ibid.

a camp

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a camp in the adjoining territory. The Mantinæans alone ſeem to have acted wiſely. With one accord, and with equal diligence, they laboured to rebuild their walls, which the inſolence of Sparta had demoliſhed. The work was ſoon brought to a concluſion; and the Mantinæans united in one democracy, fully determined thenceforth to preſerve the ſtrength of their city, which appeared neceſſary to maintain their political independence.

The exiles fly to Sparta.

Neither the Thebans nor the Spartans immediately interfered in this ſcene of diſorder. The former found ſufficient employment for their arms and negotiations in the northern parts of Greece; and the latter were ſo much humbled by their defeat at Leuctra, that they contented themſelves with preparing to defend the banks of the Eurotas, and to repel the expected aſſault of their capital. For this purpoſe they had armed the aged and infirm, who were legally exempted from military ſervice [4]. They had commanded into the field even thoſe citizens who were employed in ſuch ſacred and civil offices as are deemed moſt uſeful in ſociety; and, as their laſt reſource, they talked of giving arms to the Helots. But the convulſions of Peloponneſus ſoon ſupplied them with leſs dangerous auxiliaries [5]. The incenſed partizans of ariſtocracy, who had been expelled from Argolis, Achaia, and Arcadia, had recourſe to the moſt ancient and diſtinguiſhed patrons of their political principles. Encouraged by this ſeaſonable reinforcement, the Spartans ſet at defiance the Theban invaſion, by which they had been ſo long threatened, and ſent a conſiderable detachment to recover their loſt authority in Arcadia. But it was the fate of Sparta, to regain neither in that, nor in any other ſtate of the Peloponneſus, the influence which ſhe had loſt in the field of Leuctra. Polytropos, who commanded her allies in this expedition, was defeated and ſlain in the firſt rencounter with the Arcadians and Lycomedes, their intrepid an[illegible] magnani-

That republic attempts in vain to recover her authority in Arcadia.

[4] Xenoph. l. vi. p. 597.

[5] Id. p. 603.

mous

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mous leader. Nor did Ageſilaus perform any thing deciſive againſt the enemy. He was contented with ravaging the villages and delightful fields of Arcadia, in which he met with little reſiſtance from the inhabitants, who declined an engagement, until they ſhould be joined by the Theban confederacy, whoſe aſſiſtance they had ſent to ſolicit, and had juſt reaſon to expect [6].

The Thebans take the field at the head of their allies. Olymp. cii 4. A. C. 369.

At length the far-renowned Thebans took the field, having carefully pondered their own ſtrength, and collected into one body the flower and vigour of their numerous allies. They were accompanied by the warlike youth of the towns and villages of Bœotia, by the Acarnanians, Phocians, Locrians, and Eubœans, and by a promiſcuous crowd of needy fugitives, who were attracted to their camp by the allurement of plunder. They had no ſooner arrived on the frontier of Arcadia, than they were joined by the inhabitants of that country, as well as by the Elians and Argives. This united maſs of war exceeded any numbers, that either before or afterwards ever aſſembled in Greece under one ſtandard, amounting to fifty, ſome ſay to ſeventy thouſand men [7]. The Thebans, and the reſt of the Bœotians, were commanded by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, to whom the generous admiration of their colleagues had voluntarily reſigned their authority. Appriſed of the march of ſuch a formidable army, conducted by generals of ſuch unqueſtionable merit, Ageſilaus prepared to evacuate Arcadia, a meaſure which he fortunately effected, before his ſoldiers beheld the fires kindled in the hoſtile camp, and thus avoided the diſgrace of retiring before the enemy [8]. His unreſiſted devaſtation of the territory which he had invaded, as well as his ſucceſsful retreat, gave freſh ſpirits to his followers, and made them return with better hopes to defend their own country, which was now threatened with invaſion.

The Spartans evacuate Arcadia.

[6] Xenoph. p. 605. [7] The numbers differ in Xenoph. Heilen. l. vi. Pauſan. Boeotic. Diodoru, l. xv. & Plut. in Pelopid. [8] Xenoph. p. 606.

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Invaſion of Laconia.

The Thebans, though they had no longer any occaſion to protect the Arcadians from inſult, were determined[9] by many powerful motives, to employ the vaſt preparations which they had collected. Their particular reſentment againſt Sparta was heightened by the general voice of their allies, who exhorted them to embrace an opportunity which, perhaps, might never return, utterly to deſtroy a people who neither could enjoy tranquillity, nor allow their neighbours to enjoy it. The inhabitants of Carya, and of ſeveral other towns in Laconia, declared their reſolution to revolt from Sparta, as ſoon as the enemy ſhould enter their boundaries. In a council of war ſummoned by the Theban generals, it was therefore determined to march without farther delay into the Lacedæmonian territories, to lay waſte the country, and, if poſſible, to take poſſeſſion of the capital.

Brave defence of the diſtrict Sciritis.

That this reſolution might be executed with the greater celerity and effect, the army was thrown into four diviſions, deſtined, by ſeparate roads, to break into the devoted province, to join forces at Sellaſia, and thence to march in one body to Sparta. The Bœotians, Elians, and Argives penetrated, without oppoſition, by the particular routes which had been aſſigned them. But when the Arcadians, who formed the fourth diviſion of the army, attempted to traverſe the diſtrict Sciritis, the brave Iſchilas, who guarded that important paſs, determined to repel them, or to periſh. The example of Leonidas at Thermopylæ kindled a generous enthuſiaſm in the breaſt of this gallant Spartan. The number of the Arcadian levies ſo far exceeded his own, that death ſeemed the ſure reward of his courage. Yet he exhorted all thoſe to decline the danger who were not ambitious to ſhare it. He even *commanded* the youth to leave

[9] They at firſt oppoſed the eagerneſs of the Arcadians, Elians, and Argives for invading Laconia, conſidering ὅτι διπλόαλωτος μὲν ἡ λακωνικὴ εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις, τρίβω δὲ καθ' ἣν πορεύσονται τῇ στρατιᾷ. "That it would be difficult to penetrate into a country defended by the natural ſtrength of its frontier, or by vigilant garriſons." Xenoph. p. 607.

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his camp before the engagement, deeming their lives too precious to be riſked in ſo deſperate an enterpriſe. He, with the old ſoldiers who followed him, choſe the preſent opportunity to meet a glorious death in defence of their country. But their lives were ſold dearly. The action was long doubtful: the loſs of the Arcadians great; nor did the battle ceaſe till the laſt of the Spartans had periſhed [10].

Devaſtation of Laconia.

The confederates having ſoon after aſſembled at Sellaſia, the place of rendezvous, marched forward to Sparta, burning and deſtroying all before them. During five hundred years Laconia had not experienced a ſimilar calamity. The guards who defended the city were thrown into conſternation. The women were terrified by the ſmoke and tumult raiſed by the invaders; a ſpectacle, concerning which it had been their uſual boaſt, that they alone of all the Grecian females, had never beheld it in their native land. Alarmed by the danger which threatened them, and which they were ſenſible of their own inability to repel, the Spartans embraced the doubtful expedient of giving arms to their peaſants and ſlaves, whom they commonly treated with ſuch an exceſs of cruelty. Not leſs than ſix thouſand of theſe unhappy men were engaged, by threats or promiſes, to undertake the reluctant defence of the proud tyrants, whom they deteſted. Their formidable numbers increaſed the general panic, which had ſeized the magiſtrates and citizens, and which did not finally ceaſe until the arrival of a powerful body of men from Corinth, Phlius, Epidaurus, and Pallené; cities which, though they had ever oppoſed the *deſpotiſm*, were unwilling to permit the *deſtruction* of Sparta.

Vigilant intrepidity of Ageſilaus.

This ſeaſonable reinforcement not only removed the conſternation of the Spartans, but made them paſs with rapidity from the depths of deſpondency to the joys of ſucceſs. The kings and magiſtrates could ſcarcely reſtrain their impetuoſity from ruſhing into the field:

[10] Xenoph. l. vi. p. 607. & Diodor. l. xv. p. 376. The former indeed adds, ει μη τις αμφιγνοηθεις διεφυγε. "Unleſs, perhaps, ſome one eſcaped unknown through the enemy."

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and this martial enthuſiaſm, guided by the conſummate prudence of Ageſilaus, enabled them to repel the firſt aſſaults of the enemy, and to convince them that every ſucceeding attempt to get poſſeſſion of the city, muſt be attended with ſuch fatigue, and danger, and loſs of men, as could not be compenſated by the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe. The conduct of Ageſilaus, during this critical emergency, has been highly extolled by all writers[11], and never beyond its merit. By a well-contrived ambuſh in the temple of the Tyndaridæ[12], he defeated the deſigns of the aſſailants: by very uncommon preſence[13] of mind, he quelled a dangerous inſurrection; and while, by force or ſtratagem, he overcame the united efforts of domeſtic and foreign enemies, he negociated the moſt powerful aſſiſtance for the relief of his country.

The Spartans and their allies negociate at Athens a treaty of defence.

Immediately after the battle of Leuctra the Athenians had declared their reſolution to renew and confirm the treaty of Antalcidas, which, though it diminiſhed the grandeur, yet ſecured the tranquillity of Greece, and prevented the weakneſs of any one republic from falling a prey to the ambition of another. But notwithſtanding this declaration, which was univerſally approved by their neighbours, they had, either from reſentment or from policy, remained above two years ſpectators of the decline of the Lacedæmonian, and the growth of the Theban league. Whatever uneaſineſs might be occaſioned by the increaſing ſtrength of their new rival, was ſufficiently balanced by the decay and downfal of their ancient and inveterate enemy. But though, doubtleſs, they ardently deſired the ruin of

[11] Xenoph. & Plut. in Ageſilao. Diodorus, l. xv. & Pauſanias Lacon

[12] Caſtor and Pollux, ſo called from their mother Tyndaris, or Leda.

[13] The mutineers had entered into a conſpiracy to ſeize an important poſt in the city. Ageſilaus obſerved them as they marched thither, and immediately ſuſpecting their deſign, called out, that they had miſtaken his orders; adding his meaning to be, that they ſhould ſeparate into different diviſions, and repair to the ſeveral poſts which he named. The conſpirators naturally concluded that he knew nothing of their purpoſe, and ſeparating, as he commanded, could never afterwards find an opportunity to unite in ſuch numbers as rendered them dangerous.

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the Spartan power, they could not ſincerely approve the cruel deſtruction of their perſons, and of their city. When informed of the terrible devaſtation of Laconia, they naturally felt a return of compaſſion for a people whoſe exploits, on many memorable occaſions, had done ſuch ſignal honour to the Grecian name.

Arguments employed for this purpoſe.

The emiſſaries of Ageſilaus, whoſe ſuperior mind had aſſumed dictatorial power amidſt the diſtreſs of his country, ſeized the favourable opportunity to urge, with the Athenians, many motives of action, which ſeldom operate amidſt the cold lifeleſs politics of modern times. They took notice that the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had often mutually aſſiſted each other in ſeaſons of diſtreſs, and that the moſt glorious æra of their ſtory was that in which the two republics had united their councils and meaſures againſt a common enemy. That when the ſpirit of rivality and ambition had unhappily divided Greece, and the Athenians were expoſed to the calamities of a long and unfortunate war, they had been protected by the humanity of Sparta againſt the implacable rage of the Thebans, who wiſhed to demoliſh the city of Athens, and to reduce its territory to the barren ſolitude of the Criſſean plain. That by the moderation of Sparta, the Athenians had not only been ſaved from the vengeance of foreign enemies, but delivered from the yoke of domeſtic tyrants, and the cruel tyranny of the Piſiſtratidæ. The merit of theſe ſervices deſerved the reward of gratitude; the hereditary renown of Athens urged her to protect the miſerable; and juſtice demanded that ſhe ſhould aſſert, and maintain, the conditions of a recent treaty, which ſhe herſelf had propoſed, and which the Thebans, after accepting, had ſo manifeſtly violated.

How received by the Athenians.

A loud and diſcordant murmur ran through the aſſembly. Some approved the demand, others obſerved that the Spartans changed their language with their fortune; that they had formerly, and probably would again, whenever they became powerful, aſſume a very different tone, and, inſtead of colouring by falſe diſguiſes, diſplay

in

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in its native force their inveterate enmity to Athens. That the late treaty of peace could not entitle them to any aſſiſtance, ſince they themſelves had begun the war by the invaſion of Arcadia; a war undertaken from the unjuſt motive of ſupporting the tyrannical uſurpation of the nobles of Tegea over the rights of their fellow-citizens.

Speech of Cleiteles, the Corinthian.

Together with the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors, had come thoſe of Corinth and Phlius, cities eminently diſtinguiſhed by an unſhaken fidelity to their ancient confederate and protector. Cleiteles the Corinthian, obſerving what turn the debate was likely to take, ſtood up and ſaid, "Were it a matter of doubt, Athenians! who are the aggreſſors, the melancholy experience of *our* ſtate would remove the difficulty. Since the renovation of the peace of Antalcidas, the Corinthians, ſurely, have not committed hoſtilities againſt any power in Greece. Yet the Thebans have entered our territory, cut down our trees, burned our houſes, plundered our cattle and effects. How, then, can you refuſe your aſſiſtance to thoſe who have been ſo manifeſtly injured, in direct violation of the treaty, to which, at your expreſs deſire, they acceded and ſwore." The aſſembly loudly approved the diſcourſe of Cleiteles, which was ſupported and confirmed by the arguments and eloquence of Patrocles the Phliaſian.

Of Patrocles, the Phliaſian.

"It is manifeſt, I think, to all of you, Athenians! that ſhould Sparta be deſtroyed, Athens muſt be the next object of the hoſtility of Thebes, ſince that city alone would then ſtand in the way of her ambition. The cauſe of the Lacedæmonians, therefore is, in fact, your own. You muſt embrace it with ardour, as the laſt opportunity which the gods perhaps will afford you, of defending the general freedom at the head of your allies, and of preventing the dangerous domination of the Thebans; the effects of which, you, who are their neighbours, would feel with peculiar ſeverity. By taking this reſolution, which is equally generous and ſalutary, you will

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will acquire a fund of merit, not only with the Spartans, than whom none were ever more mindful of favours, or more ambitious of honeſt fame, but alſo with us their allies, who, ſince we have continued faithful to our friends in their adverſity, cannot be ſuſpected of ingratitude to our proſperous benefactors. I have heard with admiration how, in ancient times, the injured and afflicted always had recourſe to Athens, and were never diſappointed of relief. I now no longer hear, but ſee, the Lacedæmonians, with their faithful allies, ſoliciting your protection againſt the Thebans, whoſe unrelenting cruelty could not perſuade Sparta, in the height of her reſentment and of her power, to deſolate your country, and to reduce you into ſervitude. Your anceſtors acquired juſt renown by ſaving the dead bodies of the Argives, to whom the impiety of Thebes denied the ſacred rites of burial [14]. How much greater renown will redound to you, when the Lacedæmonians, by your generous aſſiſtance, ſhall be ſaved from death. It was deemed meritorious in *them* to have defended the children of Hercules againſt the unnatural perſecution of Euryſtheus; but it will be far more glorious for *you* to have defended not only the deſcendants of that hero, the hereditary kings of Lacedæmon, but, along with them, the ſenate, the magiſtrates, the people; in one word, to have delivered the whole nation from a danger dreadful in itſelf, and otherwiſe inevitable. During the proſperity of their empire, the Lacedæmonians prevented your deſtruction by a decree, which diſplayed their humanity, without expoſing their ſafety. You are called to defend the Lacedæmonians, not by inactive decrees, but by arms and courage. Arm, then, in their behalf; and, forgetful of recent animoſities, repay the important ſervices which, in the Barbarian war, the valour of Sparta rendered to Athens and to all Greece."

[14] See vol. i. c. i. p. 19. The facts alluded to in the text are related in all the panegyrics of Athens, by Plato, Lyſias, Iſocrates, and Thucydides.

The

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Iphicrates, with twelve thouſand men, ſent to defend Laconia.

The aſſembly was ſo deeply affected by the perſuaſive diſcourſe of the Phliaſian, that they refuſed to hear any thing in oppoſition to it, and determined, almoſt unanimouſly, to take the field. Iphicrates was named general; twelve thouſand men were ordered to repair to his ſtandard; the ſacrifices were propitious; the troops took a ſhort repaſt; and ſuch was their ardour to meet the enemy, that many of them marched forth without waiting the orders of their commander[15].

Epaminondas continues his ravages in that province.

Epaminondas, meanwhile, had committed dreadful devaſtation in Laconia. His repulſe from the capital had exaſperated his hoſtilities againſt the country. He had deſolated the fertile banks of the Eurotas, which were thick planted with houſes, and abounding in all the conveniencies of life, known to the auſtere ſimplicity of Sparta. He had aſſaulted Helos, and Gythium; and, traverſing the whole province, had deſtroyed the villages by fire, and the inhabitants by the ſword. Even theſe terrible ravages did not ſatisfy his reſentment; he determined, that the invaſion of Laconia ſhould not be a temporary evil, which the labour of years might repair; and for this purpoſe employed an expedient, which, even after he might evacuate their country, muſt leave the Lacedæmonians expoſed to the rage of an implacable enemy.

Rebuilds and fortifies Meſſene. Olym. ciii. 2. A. C. 369.

We have had occaſion to relate the various fortunes of the Meſſenians. About three centuries before the period now under review, their city had been demoliſhed by the Spartans; their territory had been ſeized, and divided among that people; the ancient inhabitants had been reduced into ſervitude, and compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the benefit of cruel maſters; or diſperſed in miſerable baniſhment, over Greece, Italy, and Sicily. After two centuries of humiliation and calamity, the humanity, or perhaps the policy of Athens, took compaſſion on this unfortunate race, and

[15] This whole tranſaction is explained in Xenoph. p. 602-613.

ſettled

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ſettled them in the territory of Naupactus, and the neighbouring iſland of Cephalenia. The Meſſenians diſplayed their gratitude by important ſervices during the Peloponneſian war; but their moſt vigorous exertions could not long retard the declining fortune of Athens. The event of that war rendered Sparta the arbiter of Greece; and the Meſſenians were the firſt objects of her memorable tyranny, being univerſally enſlaved, baniſhed, or put to death. It is probable that the ſcattered remains of this miſerable community would flock from every quarter to the ſtandard of Epaminondas, rejoicing in an opportunity to retaliate the unrelenting perſecution of a people, who now ſuffered the calamities which they had ſo often inflicted. But the general voice of hiſtory aſcribes to Epaminondas the merit of aſſembling the Meſſenians[16]. It is certain, that he rebuilt their city, and put them in poſſeſſion of their territory; an act of generous compaſſion which inflicted a moſt unexpected and cruel puniſhment on the Spartans, who beheld the aſhes of a nation, which they had twice endeavoured to extinguiſh, revive and flouriſh in their neighbourhood; continually increaſe by the acceſſion of Spartan ſubjects and ſlaves; and, encouraged by a Theban garriſon, and their own inveterate hoſtility, watch every favourable occaſion to exert the full power of their vengeance[17].

The Athenians take the field.

Epaminondas had accompliſhed this extraordinary enterpriſe, when he received intelligence of the motions of the Athenian army commanded by Iphicrates. That illuſtrious general had allowed the ardour of his troops to evaporate, by purſuing a conduct which it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to explain, but which the military hiſtorian[18] condemns, as highly unworthy of his former renown. When celerity was of the utmoſt importance, he waſted ſeveral precious days at Corinth, without any neceſſity, or even pretence, for this unſeaſonable delay. His ſoldiers loudly demanded to

[16] Plutarch. in Pelopid. Diodor. l. xv. p. 491. Pauſan. Meſſen. p. 265.

[17] Diodor. l. xv. c. 16.

[18] Xenoph. l. vi. verſus finem.

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meet the enemy, or even to aſſault the walls of Argos, the ſtrongeſt and moſt populous city in Peloponneſus, and not inferior to Thebes itſelf in active animoſity againſt their common foe. Iphicrates, however, embraced none of thoſe meaſures, but led his army towards Arcadia; expecting, perhaps, what actually happened, that the news of his arrival there would deliver Laconia from the hoſtile invader.

The Thebans evacuate Laconia.

It cannot be imagined, indeed, that Epaminondas feared the iſſue of an engagement with the Athenians. But he was juſtly alarmed with the intereſt which even that people had taken in the danger of Sparta. The indignation and reſentment which they, the rivals and enemies of the injured, diſcovered on this occaſion, taught him what ſentiments his conduct muſt excite in more impartial ſtates, ſhould he perſiſt in his original plan, deſtroy the Lacedæmonian capital, and, as the orator Leptines expreſſed it, "pluck out an eye of Greece[19]." Many concurring cauſes tended alſo to accelerate his departure. The Arcadians were called home to defend their houſes and families. The Eleans and Argives were anxious to ſecure their booty by an expeditious retreat. Even the Thebans were weary of an expedition which had conſumed ſeveral winter months, a ſeaſon in which they were not accuſtomed to keep the field. Proviſions likewiſe grew ſcarce; and Epaminondas, preſſed by difficulties on every ſide, prepared to evacuate the Lacedæmonian territories; but not (in the words of Xenophon) until "every thing of value had been conſumed or plundered, poured out, or burned down[20]."

The Thebans and Athenians reſpectively accuſe their commanders.

At the ſame time that the Thebans left Laconia, Iphicrates withdrew the Athenians from the country which they had invaded. The two armies ſiled off, as by mutual conſent, and returned to their reſpective cities by ſeparate roads, without any attempt to interrupt the progreſs of each other. Iphicrates was blamed for

[19] Ariſtot. Rhetor. l. iii. c. 10.

[20] Xenoph. p. 612.

allowing

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allowing an enemy, heavy with plunder, and exhauſted by the fatigue of a winter's campaign, to paſs unmoleſted through the Iſthmus of Corinth. Pelopidas and Epaminondas were accuſed and tried before the Theban aſſembly, for protracting the term of their command beyond the time limited by law. The former diſcovered leſs courage than might have been expected from his impetuous and daring character. He, who had never feared the ſword of an enemy, trembled at the angry voice of his inſolent accuſers. But Epaminondas diſplayed, on this occaſion, the ſuperiority of philoſophical firmneſs, ſeated in the mind, to that conſtitutional courage which is the reſult of blood and ſpirits. The latter is ſufficient for a day of battle; but the former alone can yield ſupport in every viciſſitude of fortune.

Epaminondas defends his conduct.

Inſtead of obſerving the formality of a regular defence, the illuſtrious Theban undertook the invidious taſk of pronouncing his own panegyric[21]. After relating his exploits, without amplification, and without diminution, he concluded by obſerving, "that he could ſubmit to death without reluctance, ſecure of immortal fame, earned in the ſervice of his country." The ſeditious demagogues were awed by his magnanimity; the anger of the aſſembly againſt himſelf and his colleague diſſolved in admiration; and Epaminondas was conducted from the tribunal with as much glory as from the field of Leuctra.

In fear of the ſubſequent events.

From the invaſion of Laconia to the general engagement at Mantinæa, there elapſed ſix years of indeciſive war, and tumultuous activity; battles loſt and gained, conqueſts made and abandoned, alliances concluded and broken; treaties of peace propoſed, accepted, and violated, by thoſe who felt the unhappy effects of diſſentions which their rancorous animoſity was unwilling to terminate. In examining the hiſtory of this period, we may perceive the ſame confuſion in

[21] Plutarch. de ſui Laude, p. 540.

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the relation, which appears at firſt ſight to have been in the events themſelves. It is neceſſary, however, to reduce them into the form of a regular narrative. In important concerns, numerous bodies of men, however they may act without effect, cannot be ſuppoſed to act *entirely* without deſign: their motives, unſteady and capricious as they often are, form the inviſible chain which it is the buſineſs of the hiſtorian to inveſtigate and to follow; ſince it is otherwiſe impoſſible that the tranſactions which he deſcribes, ſhould afford either real inſtruction, or any rational entertainment.

The alliance between Athens and Sparta concluded and extended. Olymp. 101. 1. C. 368.

Early in the enſuing ſpring, the Lacedæmonians, with the few allies who ſtill adhered to their cauſe, diſpatched an embaſſy to Athens, in order to ſtrengthen the bands of amity and union with that republic. In the conference held for that purpoſe, it appeared that the Spartans were either very deeply affected by the recent obligations conferred on them, or that they very earneſtly deſired the continuance of ſimilar favours. They acknowledged that the experience, the bravery, the naval victories and fortune of Athens, juſtly entitled her to the ſovereignty of the Grecian ſeas; and when this conceſſion, which had hitherto been withheld with ſuch diſdain, could not ſatisfy the more patriotic, or rather the leſs generous members of the aſſembly, they condeſcended to grant another acknowledgment ſtill more inconſiſtent with the pride of their hereditary pretenſions; that in ſuch military expeditions as were undertaken by the joint forces of both republics, the command ſhould be equal and alternate; ſo that an army of Lacedæmonians (a thing hitherto unexampled) would be commanded during half the campaign by Athenian generals. Patrocles the Phliaſian, whoſe eloquence and addreſs had been diſtinguiſhed in the former negociation, was not leſs active in the preſent; chiefly by *his* intervention, matters were finally adjuſted; an alliance of the moſt intimate kind was concluded between the two republics; and, by the aſſiſtance of the generous Phliaſian, the Spartans obtained this important advantage,

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tage, without the disgrace of many ineffectual overtures, or the mortification of long supplicatory speeches, which they deemed of all things the most grievous[22].

The Spartan negociations, so fortunate in Athens, were equally successful with Dionysius tyrant of Sicily, and Artaxerxes king of Persia. The former, himself a Dorian, naturally lamented the humiliation and distress of a people, who, during seven hundred years, had formed the principal ornament and defence of the Dorian race; and the latter pursued his ordinary system of politics, of assisting the weaker party, in order to balance the contending powers, and to perpetuate the hostilities of Greece. The Spartans negociate treaties with Dionysius and Artaxerxes.

While the Lacedæmonians gained strength by these important alliances, their enemies took the field. The Arcadians began the campaign by entering the territory of Pallené, an Achæan republic, which still remained faithful to Sparta. The country was laid waste, the villages burned, the city taken by storm, and the garrison, consisting of three hundred men, partly Lacedæmonians, put to the sword. Soon after this success, the Arcadians were joined by the Elians and Argives. Epaminondas likewise marched southward at the head of the Thebans, their foot amounting to seven thousand, and their cavalry to five hundred. Before he reached the Isthmus, the Lacedæmonians had been reinforced by a body of two thousand Sicilian troops, agreeably to their treaty with Dionysius; and the Athenians had taken the field, under the command of Chabrias, actually the most respected, or at least the most popular, of their generals. It was naturally the object of the Spartan and Athenian commanders, to prevent the junction of Epaminondas with his southern allies. For this purpose they strongly guarded, and even fortified the Isthmus; an expedient which had not been put in practice since the expedition of Xerxes. The Thebans, however, broke through, took Sicyon, and assaulted Corinth. But Chabrias, Military operations.

[22] Xenoph. p. 613–616.

who

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who happened at this time to enjoy the alternate command, repulſed them with ſuch loſs, that Epaminondas judged proper to retire homeward; on which account he was blamed and diſgraced by his countrymen, who, inſolent with proſperity, thought themſelves entitled always to conquer.

Retreat of the Thebans.

Pretenſion of the Arcadians.

The unexpected retreat of the Thebans, of which it is not eaſy to conjecture the real cauſe[23], occaſioned much diſſatisfaction among their confederates, particularly the Arcadians. This ſimple, but warlike people, had obtained diſtinguiſhed honour in ſeveral recent expeditions. They were uſually conducted by the Mantinæan Lycomedes, a man gallant in enterpriſe, and perſevering in execution; rich, noble, eloquent, generous, and affable. Under a commander equally reſpected and beloved, the Arcadians found nothing too arduous for their courage. In regular engagements, they commonly proved victorious wherever they fought. But their principal merit was diſplayed in ambuſhes and ſurpriſe, and all the dangerous ſtratagems of deſultory war. When a favourable occaſion ſummoned their activity, neither length of way, nor difficult mountains, nor ſtorms, nor darkneſs, could interrupt their courſe, or prevent their unexpected aſſault[24]. Unaſſiſted and alone, they had often defeated ſuperior ſtrength and numbers; and when, together with their Peloponneſian allies, they ſerved under the Theban ſtandard, their proweſs had been acknowledged and admired by the united army.

Encouraged by Lycomedes.

The repulſe and retreat of Epaminondas gave relief and ſplendour to the recent glory of Arcadia, and inſpired Lycomedes with an ambition which he eaſily communicated to his countrymen. He told them, "That they were the moſt ancient, the moſt populous, and ſurely not the leaſt warlike community, in Peloponneſus; but that

[23] The Theban demagogues, as we learn from Diodorus and Plutarch, accuſed Epaminondas of treacherous correſpondence with the enemy, or at leaſt of ſecretly favouring their cauſe; but this is altogether improbable.

[24] Vid. Xenoph. p. 618, & ſeqq.

they

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they had hitherto neglected to profit of the advantages which they poſſeſſed. In the memorable war of twenty-ſeven years, they had joined with the Lacedæmonians, whom they had raiſed to an authority, of which the Arcadians, as well as the reſt of Greece, felt the intolerable oppreſſion. That of late years they had acted with the Thebans, who, by *their* aſſiſtance chiefly, had attained a very alarming degree of power, which they occaſionally exerted or remitted, as ſuited their own convenience, without the ſmalleſt regard to the intereſt of their confederates. If this power ſhould be increaſed, might not the yoke of Thebes become as grievous as that of Sparta? It was time for the Arcadians to know their own worth; to diſdain following the ſtandard of any foreign ſtate; and not only to vindicate their freedom, but to claim their juſt pre-eminence." The aſſembly applauded the manly[25] reſolution of Lycomedes; and in order to render it effectual, determined to keep poſſeſſion of ſuch places as they had taken from the Lacedæmonians or their allies in Elis and Achaia, and to complete their conqueſts in theſe and the neighbouring provinces of Peloponnelus.

The Spartans take the field to oppoſe the deſigns of the Arcadians. Olymp. ciii. 2. A. C. 367.

For ſeveral months they met with little interruption in this deſign, the Spartans, after the departure of their auxiliaries, not venturing to take the field until the beginning of the enſuing year, when they received a new ſupply of troops from Dionyſius, and both troops[26] and money from Artaxerxes. The Theban arms were actually employed in Theſſaly and Macedon, as we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to relate; ſo that every circumſtance conſpired to haſten the march of Ageſilaus and the Lacedæmonians. But the infirmities incident to old age made him decline the command, which was entruſted to his ſon Archidamus; his colleague Ageſipolis not poſſeſſing great abilities either for war or government.

[25] Xenophon's expreſſion is lively; και μονον ανδρα ηγουντες, "thinking him the only man." L. vii. p. 618.

[26] Theſe were not Perſians, but ξενικοι, "Greek mercenaries." Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619.

The

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Glorious campaign of the Spartans under Archidamus.

The rapid ſucceſs of Archidamus, who ſeemed deſtined to reſtore the declining fortune of Sparta, juſtified the prudent choice of the magiſtrates and people. He expelled the hoſtile garriſons from the inferior cities of Laconia, ſtormed Caryæ, and put the rebellious inhabitants to the ſword. From thence he haſtened to Arcadia, laid waſte the ſouthern frontier of that province, and prepared to attack the populous city of Parrhaſia, when the united ſtrength of the Arcadians, commanded by Lycomedes, and reinforced by the Argives, approached to its relief. Their arrival made Archidamus withdraw to the hills that overhang the obſcure village of Midea. While he encamped there, Ciſſidas, who commanded the Sicilians, declared that the time limited for his abſence was expired, and, without waiting an anſwer, ordered his forces to prepare their baggage, and to march towards Laconia. But the neareſt paſſage into that country had been ſeized by the Meſſenians. In this difficulty Ciſſidas applied to Archidamus, who haſtened to his defence. The Arcadians and Argives at the ſame time decamped. The hoſtile armies encountered near the joining of the two roads which led towards Sparta from Midea and Eutreſios. As ſoon as Archidamus beheld the enemy prepared for an engagement, he commanded the Spartans to form, and when they were ready to advance, addreſſed them as follows: "Fellow-citizens and friends! if we are ſtill brave, we may look forward with confidence; we may yet retrieve our affairs, and deliver down the republic to poſterity as we received it from our anceſtors. Let us ſtrive, then, by one glorious effort, to recover our hereditary renown; and let us ceaſe being the reproach (inſtead of what the Spartans once were, the ornament and defence) of our friends, our parents, our families, and our country."

Battle of Midea won by the Spartans without the loſs of a man.

While he yet ſpoke, it thundered on the right, though the day was clear and ſerene. The ſoldiers, rouſed by the noiſe, looked towards the direction from which it came, and beheld, in a conſecrated grove at no great diſtance, an altar and ſtatue of Hercules, the great progenitor

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progenitor of Archidamus and the Spartan kings. Animated by the wonderful concurrence of ſuch auſpicious circumſtances, they were tranſported with an enthuſiaſm of valour, and impetuouſly ruſhed againſt their opponents, in full confidence of victory. The enemy, who thought that they had to do with a vanquiſhed and ſpiritleſs people, were aſtoniſhed at their mien and aſpect as they advanced to the attack. The few who waited their approach, were totally deſtroyed; many thouſands periſhed in the purſuit: it is ſaid by ancient hiſtorians[27], that the Spartans loſt not a man. Archidamus erected a trophy, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Sparta. The people were aſſembled, when he communicated his extraordinary intelligence. The aged Ageſilaus ſhed tears of joy. The Ephori and ſenators ſympathiſed with the emotions of their king. The patriotic weakneſs was communicated from breaſt to breaſt; the amiable contagion ſpread; the ſterneſt members of this numerous aſſembly diſſolved in ſoftneſs, and melted in ſenſibility[28].

Foundation of Megalopolis.

The Spartans were prevented from reaping the full fruits of this victory, by a conſiderable reinforcement which the Arcadians ſoon afterwards received from Thebes. By the aſſiſtance of theſe troops, the Menalians and Parrhaſians, who, from their ſituation on the ſouthern frontier of Arcadia, were moſt expoſed to the incurſions of the enemy, found means to execute a deſign ſaid to have been formerly ſuggeſted by Epaminondas. They abandoned twenty ſtraggling and defenceleſs villages; and chooſing an advantageous ſituation in the centre of their territory, erected a fortreſs there, which they ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall. The benefit of ſecurity attracted new inhabitants; the walls were extended; the place acquired the magnificent name of Megalopolis[29], the laſt city built by

[27] Xenoph. l. vii. p. 620. Diodor. & Plut. ubi ſupra.

[28] Xenoph. ibid. He obſerved, [illegible] τι αρα χαρα και λυπη, δακρυα εστιν. "So common are tears to joy and ſorrow."

[29] "The great city."

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the Greeks, while they preſerved the dignity of independent govern-ment[30].

Revolutions in Theſſaly.

The temporary ſucceſs of the Spartans under Archidamus, which is generally aſcribed to the valour of that commander, was principally occaſioned by the withdrawing from Peloponneſus, at a very critical juncture, the numerous army of Thebes, which was at that time called northward, in order to take an important and honourable part in the affairs of Macedon and Theſſaly. Since the atrocious murder of the heroic Jaſon, the latter kingdom had been afflicted by a continued train of crimes and diſorders. Juſt gratitude and reſpect towards the memory of their generous and warlike chief, engaged the Theſſalians to perpetuate the honours of his family. He was ſucceeded by his brothers Polydore and Polyphron; of whom the latter, not being able to endure the reſtraint of a limited, much leſs of a divided rule, attained, by the aſſaſſination of his colleague, the ſole dominion of Theſſaly. His ſtern deſpotiſm was aboliſhed by the hand of Alexander, who avenged the blood of his kinſman[31] Polydore, the only meritorious action of his life. For Alexander (as his character is repreſented to us) exceeded the cruelties of Polyphron, and of all the deteſted tyrants that have ever been condemned to the infamy of hiſtory. The Theſſalians were delivered from ſuch a monſter by the domeſtic conſpiracy of his wife Thebé, the daughter of Jaſon, and her brothers Tiſiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron; who governed with precarious ſway, till the power and addreſs of Philip deſtroyed their uſurpation, and rendered their diſtracted country, which ſeemed incapable of freedom, a province of Macedonia. Such, in few words, were the revolutions of Theſſaly; but the bloody reign

[30] I have melted together Pauſanias in Boeotic. and Diodorus, l. xv. p. 384, but followed the chronology of the latter.

[31] His brother, uncle, or father, according to different authors.

Cl

of Alexander demands more particular attention, being connected with the general revolutions of Greece.

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Tyranny of Alexander.

A cautious reader will always receive, with ſome diſtruſt, the accounts tranſmitted by ancient republicans of the lives and actions of tyrants [32]. The popular hiſtories of Alexander remind us of the fanciful deſcriptions of Buſiris or Pygmalion. Yet it cannot be doubted that the tyrant of Theſſaly was cruel to his ſubjects, perfidious to his allies, implacable to his enemies, a robber by land, and a pirate at ſea [33]: but that it was his uſual diverſion to bury men alive, to incloſe them in the ſkins of wild beaſts, as a prey to ravenous dogs, to mutilate and torture children in the preſence of their parents [34], can ſcarcely be reconciled with his ſhedding tears for the imaginary ſufferings of Hecuba and Andromaché, during the repreſentation of the Troades [35]. It is true, that he is ſaid to have been aſhamed of this weakneſs, and to have left the theatre with confuſion; but what could have engaged a monſter, ſuch as Alexander is deſcribed, to liſten to the pathetic ſtrains of the tender Euripides? What pleaſure, or what pain, could a tyger, thirſting for human blood, receive from ſuch an entertainment? Although we abſtract from his ſtory many incredible fictions, Alexander might well deſerve the reſentment of the Theſſalians. His injured ſubjects took arms, and ſolicited the protection of Thebes, whoſe juſtice or ambition readily embraced their cauſe. As Epaminondas ſtill continued under the diſpleaſure of his country, the Theban army was conducted by Pelopidas and Iſmenias. Their arrival ſtruck terror into the conſcious breaſt of the tyrant, who, without daring to truſt his defence to the

The affairs of Theſſaly ſettled by Pelopidas.

[32] The acceptation of the word tyrant in Greek hiſtory is well known. The Greeks called τυραννοι, "tyrants," thoſe who had acquired ſovereignty in ſtates formerly republican. Theſſaly, Sicily, Corinth, &c. are governed, not by βασιλεις, but τυραννοι, "not by kings, but tyrants;" whereas Macedonia, which had never been ſubject to any ſpecies of popular government, was ruled, not by τυραννοι, but βασιλεις, "not by tyrants, but kings."

[33] Theſe are the words of Xenophon, p. 601.

[34] Plut. in Pelopid.

[35] Id. de Fort. Alexand.

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numerous guards and mercenaries by whom his uſurpation was ſupported, implored the clemency of the Theban generals, ſubmitting to the moſt humiliating conditions which their wiſdom might judge proper to exact for the future ſecurity of his ſubjects [36].

Pelopidas eſtabliſhes Perdiccas on the throne of Macedon, and receives Philip as an hoſtage. Olymp. ciii. 2. A. C. 367.

This tranſaction was ſcarcely ended, when the Thebans, whoſe reputation and ſucceſs rendered them the moſt proper mediators in the affairs of their neighbours, were invited into Macedon, which, ſince the death of Amyntas II. had been a prey, during ſix years, to all the calamities of a diſputed ſucceſſion. Amyntas left three legitimate ſons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural ſon, Ptolemy, whoſe intrigues chiefly occaſioned the diſorders of the kingdom. He could not prevent the acceſſion of Alexander to the throne, as that prince had attained the age of manhood at the time of his father's death. But he embittered and ſhortened his reign, which laſted only one year; after which Ptolemy aſſumed the reins of government, as guardian of the minority of Perdiccas, and protector of Macedon. It ſoon appeared, however, that his ambition would not reſt ſatisfied with the borrowed power of a regent. He gained a conſiderable party to his intereſt, baffled the oppoſition of Perdiccas's partiſans, and boldly uſurped the ſovereignty. The friends of that unfortunate prince had recourſe to the juſtice and power of Thebes. Pelopidas entered Macedon at the head of his army; reſtored the numerous exiles whom Ptolemy had baniſhed; aſſerted the juſt rights of Perdiccas to the throne; and, after receiving hoſtages from the contending factions, among whom was Philip, the younger brother of Perdiccas, afterwards king of Macedon, and conqueror of Greece, returned towards Theſſaly, having finally re-eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of the neighbouring kingdom [37].

Is treacherouſly ſeized and impriſoned by Alexander,

In his journey through a country where he had ſo lately acted the part of a judge and maſter, it ſeemed as if little danger could

[36] Diodor. l. xv. c. xvii. & Plut. in Pelopid. [37] Id. ibid.

reaſonably

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in his journey through Theſſaly. Olymp. ciii. 2. A. C. 367.

reaſonably be apprehended. Pelopidas had ſent before him a conſiderable detachment of his army, to conduct the Macedonian hoſtages towards Thebes. With the remainder he marched ſecurely through the territory of his Theſſalian confederates, when he was informed that Alexander had come to meet him at the head of his mercenaries. Even this ſuſpicious circumſtance could not undeceive the ſanguine credulity of the Theban chief. He imagined that the tyrant had taken this meaſure in order to ſhew him reſpect, and to juſtify himſelf againſt ſome recent complaints of his injured ſubjects. With an imprudence which all hiſtorians agree to condemn [38], both Pelopidas and Iſmenias threw themſelves into the hands of a traitor, who gloried in deſpiſing laws human and divine. They were inſtantly ſeized by his order, carried to Pheræ, bound, impriſoned, and expoſed to the inſulting eyes of an invidious multitude.

Delivered by Epaminondas.

It might be expected that the Theban ſoldiers ſhould have been animated with indignation and rage at the unexampled treatment of their beloved chiefs. But their numbers were too ſmall to contend with the Theſſalian mercenaries; and when a powerful reinforcement arrived from Bœotia, they fatally experienced, in the firſt encounters with the enemy, the abſence of Pelopidas, and the degradation of his magnanimous friend. The army was reduced to the utmoſt difficulties, encompaſſed on every ſide, unwilling to fight, and unable to fly. The troops juſtly accuſed the inexperience of their commanders, remembering their glorious campaigns in the Peloponneſus, where they contended with far more formidable enemies. Epaminondas, who had commanded them on thoſe memorable occaſions, actually ſerved in the ranks. The ſoldiers with one accord ſaluted him general. The ſingular abilities of this extraordinary man ſoon changed the poſture of affairs; the tyrant

[38] Beſides Diodorus and Plutarch, the ſage Polybius ſeverely arraigns the imprudent confidence of Pelopidas. Polyb. Casaub. t. ii. p. 98. Polybius in that paſſage ſpeaks of the expedition as an embaſſy. I have carefully compared the different writers, and adopted the account that ſeemed moſt probable and conſident.

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was defeated in his turn, and compelled to retire. Epaminondas, inſtead of puſhing him to extremity, which might have turned his deſperate fury againſt the valuable lives of the Theban priſoners, hovered round with a victorious army, oſtentatiouſly diſplayed the advantages of military ſkill and conduct; and while he kept Alexander in continual reſpect and fear, yet left him ſufficient time for repentance and ſubmiſſion. This judicious plan of operations was attended with ſucceſs. The tyrant implored peace; but he only received a truce of thirty days, on condition of reſtoring the perſons of Pelopidas and Iſmenias[39].

Interview of Pelopidas, during his confinement, with Thebé queen of Theſſaly.

Thoſe who love to find in hiſtory events extraordinary and romantic, would not eaſily excuſe my omitting to mention the interview of Pelopidas, during his impriſonment, with the Theſſalian queen. The daughter of the heroic Jaſon united the beauty of the one ſex with the courage of the other, and was beloved by her huſband with ſuch love as a tyrant can feel, which is always corrupted by ſuſpicion. At her earneſt and repeated entreaties, Thebé was permitted to ſee, and converſe with, the Theban general, whoſe merit and fame ſhe had long admired. But his appearance did not anſwer her expectation. At beholding his neglected and ſquallid figure, ſhe was ſeized with an emotion of pity, and exclaimed, "How much, Pelopidas, do I lament your wife and family." "*You*, Thebé! are more to be lamented," replied the Theban hero, "who, without being a priſoner, continue the voluntary ſlave of a perfidious and cruel tyrant." The expreſſion is ſaid to have ſunk deep into the heart of the queen, who remembered the reproach of Pelopidas, when, ten years afterwards, ſhe ſupported the courage, and urged the hand, of the aſſaſſins of Alexander[40]. But this moral narrative, however ſtrongly authenticated, cannot be attentively read without occaſioning ſome degree of ſcepticiſm concerning the hiſtory

[39] Plut. in Pelopid. & Diodorus, ibid.

[40] Xenoph. p. 601.

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of Alexander. Had he been the monſter which reſentment or credulity have taken pleaſure to delineate, who never entered the apartment of his wife without an armed attendant, who ſlept in a lofty inacceſſible tower, to which he mounted by a ladder, and which was guarded by a fierce dog[41], it is incredible that he ſhould have permitted an interview between a ſecret and open enemy.

Anecdote of Pelopidas and Alexander.

Nor will it be eaſy to reconcile with the fierceneſs of the Theſſalian, another anecdote, which has probably been invented to diſplay the magnanimity of Pelopidas, but which diſplays ſtill more ſtrongly the patience of Alexander. During the confinement of the former at Pheræ, the latter is ſaid to have exceeded his uſual cruelties towards the inhabitants of that city. Pelopidas conſoled their affliction, and encouraged them to hope for vengeance. He even ſent to reproach the abſurdity of the tyrant, in deſtroying daily ſo many innocent men, from whom he had nothing to fear, while he allowed an enemy to live, who would employ the firſt moment of freedom to puniſh his manifold enormities. "And is Pelopidas ſo deſirous to die?" was the anſwer of the Theſſalian. "Yes," replied the prifoner, "that *you* may the ſooner periſh, having rendered yourſelf ſtill more obnoxious to gods and men[42]." The reſentment of Pelopidas, if ever it was expreſſed, proved an empty boaſt; for immediately after his deliverance, the Theban army was, for very urgent reaſons, withdrawn from Theſſaly.

Congreſs of Grecian deputies in Elis. Olymp. civ. 2. A. C. 367.

The Theban expedition in the north had allowed the Spartans, in ſome degree, to recover their influence in the ſouth of Greece. Archidamus had obtained a complete victory over the Arcadians, the braveſt and moſt powerful of the confederates. The crafty[43] Antalcidas, with Euthycles[44], a Spartan of abilities and intrigue, had

[41] Cicero de Offic. l. 2. Plut. in Pelopid. But the ſtory, as related by Xenophon, is divelled of ſuch improbable fictions; and Xenophon ſeems hardly to believe all that he relates. He ſays, [illegible], and repeat, that it was a hearſay, a few ſentences below.

[42] Plutarch. ibid.

[43] Plut. in Artaxerx.

[44] Xenoph. Hellen.

been

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been ſent as ambaſſadors to Perſia, in order to haſten the ſupplies of troops, or money, expected from that country. It was time for Thebes to aſſert her intereſt in the Peloponneſus, and to counteract the dangerous negotiations of her enemies with Artaxerxes. Epaminondas, whoſe recent and illuſtrious merit had ſilenced the unjuſt clamours of faction, was confirmed in his military command; and Pelopidas, whoſe unfortunate adventure in Theſſaly was aſcribed leſs to his own imprudence than to the treachery of Alexander, was diſpatched to the Eaſt, as the perſon beſt qualified to conduct a negotiation with the miniſters of the great king. He was accompanied by the ambaſſadors of Elis, Argos, and Arcadia; thoſe of Athens followed ſoon afterwards; ſo that there appeared, for the firſt time, a general congreſs of the Grecian ſtates, to ſettle and adjuſt their intereſts at the court of a foreign prince. It might be expected, that a ſcene ſo new and intereſting, ſhould have excited the attention of hiſtorians; yet they have left us ignorant in what city of his dominions Artaxerxes received the Greeks. At their arrival, the king treated Antalcidas with that partial kindneſs due to an ancient gueſt and favourite; but at their public audience, the appearance, the fame, and the eloquence of Pelopidas, more majeſtic than that of Athens, more nervous than that of Sparta[45], entitled him to a juſt preference, which the king, whoſe rank and temper alike diſdained reſtraint, was at no pains to conceal.

Repreſentations of Pelopidas to the Perſian monarch.

The Theban repreſented, that in the battle of Platæa, fought above a century ago, and ever ſince that memorable engagement, his countrymen had uniformly adhered to the intereſt of Perſia, at the riſk of loſing whatever men hold moſt precious. That the dangerous war in which they were actually engaged, had been occaſioned by their open and ſteady oppoſition to the meaſures of the Spartans, previous to their deſtructive invaſions of Aſia. The im-

[45] Plut. in Pelopid.

† perious

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perious pride of Ageſilaus could never forget the affront offered him at Aulis, when, in imitation of Agamemnon, he intended to offer ſacrifice before his embarkation. He had begun hoſtilities without juſtice, and carried them on without ſucceſs. The field of Leuctra had been alike fatal to the ſtrength and glory of Sparta; nor would that ambitious republic have reaſon to boaſt of its recent ſucceſs in Arcadia, if, at that unfortunate juncture, the Thebans had not been prevented, by reaſons equally important and honourable, from aſſiſting their Peloponneſian confederates." Timagoras the Athenian, guided by motives which ancient [46] hiſtory has not condeſcended to explain, ſeconded, with vigour and addreſs, the arguments of the illuſtrious Theban. In vain did Leon, the colleague of Timagoras, remonſtrate againſt his perfidy. The other deputies were confounded by his impudence; and before they had time to expreſs their aſtoniſhment and indignation, the king deſired Pelopidas to explain the object of his commiſſion, and the demand of his countrymen. The Theban replied, that he had been ſent to propoſe and ratify a treaty between his republic and Perſia, on conditions equally advantageous to both, ſince the carrying of them into execution would deſtroy the power of thoſe ſtates which had

Behaviour of the other deputies.

[46] The extraordinary behaviour of Timagoras deſerves attention. He co-operated with the enemy of his country, and the ambaſſador of a ſtate actually at war with it. We may gueſs his motives by his reward. He received from the king of Perſia, at his departure, gold and ſilver, and other valuable preſents, particularly a bed of curious conſtruction, with Perſian ſlaves to make it, the Greeks being little acquainted with that operation; and he was carried in a ſedan to the ſea-ſhore at the king's expence. Yet this man had the effrontery to return to Athens, and to appear in the public aſſembly. He knew the force of eloquence and intrigue over the capricious minds of his countrymen; he knew that the practice of receiving bribes was ſo uſual, that the Athenians had loſt the proper ſenſe of its baſeneſs. He perhaps remembered the pleaſant propoſal of Epicrates, that inſtead of nine Archons, the Athenians ſhould annually elect nine ambaſſadors, choſen from the pooreſt citizens, who might return rich from Perſia. Epicrates had acquired a very undue proportion of wealth by this infamous means, as we learn from an oration of Lyſias. Yet the Athenians were leſs indignant at his guilt, than delighted with his humour. Timagoras, however, was not ſo fortunate; he was accuſed by his colleague Leon, and condemned to death, not, if we may credit Plutarch, becauſe he had betrayed his truſt, and accepted bribes, but becauſe the Athenians were extremely diſpleaſed that Pelopidas had effected the object of his commiſſion at the Perſian court. Plut. in Pelopid.

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hitherto occaſioned ſo much diſturbance and danger to all their neighbours. His propoſals were, that the Athenians ſhould be commanded to lay up their fleet, and that the fertile country of Meſſenia ſhould be declared totally independent of Sparta. If any oppoſition to the treaty were made by theſe powers, that war ſhould be levied againſt them by Perſia, Thebes, and their allies; and if the inferior cities of Greece declined to engage in ſo juſt a cauſe, that their obſtinacy ſhould be puniſhed with an exemplary ſeverity. The king approved theſe articles, which were immediately conſigned to writing, confirmed by the royal ſeal, and read aloud to the ambaſſadors. On hearing the clauſe which related to Athens, Leon exclaimed, with the freedom peculiar to his country, "The Athenians, it ſeems, muſt look out for ſome other ally, inſtead of the king of Perſia." After this daring threat, the ambaſſadors took leave, and returned to Greece with all poſſible expedition [47].

Overtures of the Perſians and Thebans rejected in a convention of the Grecian ſtates;

Pelopidas was accompanied by a Perſian of diſtinction, intruſted with the inſtrument containing the treaty. On his arrival in Thebes, the people were immediately aſſembled, and being acquainted with the happy fruits of his embaſſy, they commended his diligence and dexterity. Without loſing a day, meſſengers were diſpatched to demand the attendance of repreſentatives from the Grecian ſtates, whoſe intereſts were all alike concerned in the late important negotiation. It does not appear that either Athens or Sparta condeſcended to obey the ſummons. The convention, however, was very numerous. The Perſian read the treaty, ſhewed the king's ſeal, and, in the name of his maſter, required the agreement to be ratified with the formality of oaths uſually employed on ſuch occaſions. The repreſentatives almoſt unanimouſly declared that they had been ſent to hear, not to ſwear; and that before the treaty could be ratified by general conſent, its conditions muſt be

[47] Xenoph. p. 621, & ſeqq.

previouſly diſcuſſed in the particular aſſembly of each independent republic. Such was the firm, but moderate anſwer of the other deputies; but the high-ſpirited Lycomedes went farther than his colleagues. His friend and countryman, Antiochus, who had lately acted as the ambaſſador of Arcadia at the Perſian court, returned diſguſted by the contempt ſhewn towards his country by the great king, who heſitated not to prefer Elis to Arcadia. In giving an account of his embaſſy to the Ten thouſand (the name uſually beſtowed on the Arcadians ſince the re-union of their tribes in Mantinæa and Megalopolis), he indulged himſelf in many contumelious expreſſions againſt Artaxerxes and his ſubjects, which were greedily liſtened to by the reſentment and envy of his hearers. "Neither the wealth nor the power of the great king were ſo great in reality as flattery and falſehood repreſented them. The golden plane-tree, which had often been ſo oſtentatiouſly deſcribed, could ſcarce afford ſhade to a graſhopper. He himſelf had been an attentive obſerver; yet all he could find in Perſia was the idle retinue of vice and luxury, bakers, butlers, and cooks, a uſeleſs and ſervile train; but men fit to contend with the Greeks, he neither himſelf ſaw, nor thought it poſſible for others to diſcover." The proud diſdain of Antiochus had been communicated entire to the breaſt of Lycomedes. He declared, that Arcadia needed not any alliance with the great king; and that were ſuch a matter in agitation, Thebes would not be the proper place to determine it, ſince every convention tending to a general peace ought to be held in that country which had been the principal ſcene of war.

and by each republic in particular.

The Theban magiſtrates diſcovered the mingled ſymptoms of diſappointment, indignation, grief, and rage. They accuſed Lycomedes as a traitor to Thebes, and an enemy to his country; but he deſpiſed their empty clamours, and, without deigning an anſwer, walked from the aſſembly, and was followed by all the deputies of Arcadia. Notwithſtanding this ſevere mortification, the Thebans did

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not abandon the ambitious project at which they had long aimed. Nothing favourable, they perceived, could be expected in the general congress of the states, so that they allowed the assembly to break up without insisting farther on their demands. But at the distance of a short time, they renewed the same proposal to the several republics, beginning with Corinth, one of the weakest, yet most wealthy, in hopes that whatever opposition the overtures of the king of Persia, and their own, had found in the united strength and confidence of the assembled confederacy, few single states at least would venture to provoke the indignation of such powerful adversaries. But in this, too, they were disappointed. The Corinthians declined entering into any alliance with the king of Persia, and set his power at defiance. The magnanimous example was imitated by their neighbours; the secret practices of the Thebans were equally fruitless with their open declarations and demands.

Epaminondas invades the Peloponnesus. Olymp. ciii. 3. A. C. 366.

Epaminondas encouraged his countrymen to acquire, by arms, that pre-eminence which they had vainly expected to obtain by negociation. His renown, justly increased by the recent transactions in Thessaly, rendered his influence irresistible. He was again intrusted with the command of a powerful army, with which, for the third time, he invaded the Peloponnesus. The Elians and Arcadians, though hostile to each other, were alike disposed for rebellion against Thebes; but instead of marching into their territories, a measure which might have engaged them to settle their private differences, and to unite against the common enemy, Epaminondas endeavoured to quash their disaffection by the rapid conquest of Achaia, which, stretching along the Corinthian gulph, skirted the northern frontiers of Elis and Arcadia. From the nature of their government the

Compels the Achæans to accept the Theban alliance.

Achæans usually enjoyed more tranquillity than their neighbours. They possessed not any great town, whose needy and turbulent inhabitants, seduced by popular demagogues, could rouse the whole province to arms and ambition. Towards the east and the isthmus

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of Corinth, the cities of Sicyon and Phlius had long been regarded as ſeparate republics, unconnected with the general body of the Achæan nation. Ægium enjoyed the prerogative of conſtituting the uſual place of convention for the ſtates of Achaia; but Dymé, Tirtæa, and Pellené, ſcarcely yielded to Ægium in populouſneſs and power, and ſeem, with ſeveral places of inferior note, to have formed ſo many ſeparate and independent communities, all alike ſubject to the ſame equitable ſyſtem of Achæan laws. Immediately before the Theban invaſion the ariſtocracy had acquired an undue weight in the conſtitution of Achaia, ſo that the principal nobles and magiſtrates were no ſooner informed of the approach of an enemy, than they flocked from all quarters of the province to meet Epaminondas, ſoliciting his favour and friendſhip, and little anxious about the independence of their country, provided they might preſerve their perſonal privileges and private fortunes. The people perceiving themſelves betrayed by thoſe who ought to have been their protectors, abandoned all thoughts of reſiſtance. Epaminondas accepted the ſubmiſſion of the magiſtrates, and received pledges of their engagement, that Achaia ſhould thenceforth adhere to the intereſt of Thebes, and follow the ſtandard of that republic [48].

Revolutions in Achaia.

This conqueſt, which was effected without ſtriking a blow, and without producing any internal revolution of government, was deſtructive and bloody in its conſequences. Epaminondas, for reaſons not ſufficiently explained, returned with his army to Thebes; but before he arrived there, various complaints againſt his conduct had been made in the Theban aſſembly. The Arcadians and Argives complained that a people, who knew by their own recent experience the inconveniencies of ariſtocracy, ſhould have confirmed that ſevere form of government in a dependent province. The democratic faction in Achaia ſecretly ſent emiſſaries to ſecond the complaint. The ene-

[48] Xenoph. p. 622.

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mies of Epaminondas ſeized the favourable opportunity of accuſing and calumniating that illuſtrious commander, and the capricious multitude were perſuaded to condemn his proceedings, and to ſend commiſſioners into Achaia, who, with the aſſiſtance of the populace, as well as of a conſiderable body of mercenaries, diſſolved the ariſtocracy, baniſhed or put to death the nobles, and inſtituted a democratic form of policy. The foreign troops had ſcarcely left that country, when the exiles, who were extremely numerous and powerful, returned with common conſent, and, after a bloody and deſperate ſtruggle, recovered their ancient influence in their reſpective cities. The leaders of the populace were now, in their turn, put to death or expelled; the ariſtocracy was re-eſtabliſhed; and the magiſtrates, knowing that it was dangerous to depend on the unſteady politics of Thebes, craved the protection of Sparta, which was readily granted them. The Achæans approved their gratitude by ravaging the northern, while the Lacedæmonians infeſted the ſouthern frontier of Arcadia; and that unhappy province felt and regretted the inconvenience of its ſituation between two implacable enemies [49].

Euphron uſurps the government of Sicyon. Olymp. cin. 3. A. C. 366.

Sicyon, though governed by the Achæan laws, did not follow, on this occaſion, the example of its neighbours. That unfortunate city, which had long been the ſeat of luxury and the arts, was reſerved for peculiar calamities. Euphron, a bold, crafty, and ambitious demagogue, having already acquired great credit with the Lacedæmonians, was deſirous of obtaining equal conſideration among the enemies of that people, hoping, by ſo many foreign connexions, to render himſelf abſolute maſter of his little republic. For this purpoſe he ſecretly reminded the Arcadians and Argives, that "Sicyon, having the ſame laws and government, would naturally embrace the ſame alliance with the neighbouring cities; but the danger of

[49] Xenoph. p. 623.

this

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this event he would undertake to remove, with very ſlender aſſiſtance from Argos and Arcadia." The admonition was not loſt; a body of armed men arrived at Sicyon; Euphron aſſembled the people; the government was changed; new magiſtrates were appointed, and Euphron was entruſted with the command of the national force, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries. Having obtained this, he obtained all. By careſſes, bribes, and flattery, the troops were gained over to his party, and became attached to his perſon. His colleagues in the government were removed by ſecret treachery or open violence. His private enemies were held the enemies of the ſtate, accuſed, condemned, and baniſhed; and their confiſcated eſtates augmented the wealth of Euphron, whoſe rapacity knew no bounds, ſparing neither the property of individuals nor the public treaſury, nor the conſecrated gold and ſilver which adorned the temples of Sicyon. The ſums amaſſed by ſuch impious means enabled him to confirm his uſurpation. He augmented the number of his mercenary guards, who, while they oppreſſed the republic, were uſeful auxiliaries to the Argives and Arcadians. Whatever theſe nations thought proper to command, the ſoldiers of Euphron were ready to obey; and partly by this alacrity in their ſervice, partly by bribing [50] the principal men in Argos and Arcadia, the crafty tyrant expected to prevent thoſe neighbouring communities from interfering in the domeſtic affairs of Sicyon.

His uſurpation overturned by Æneas, the Stymphalian.

Such was the venality and corruption of the Greeks, that this deteſtable policy was attended with ſucceſs, until Æneas, the Stymphalian, obtained the command of the Arcadians. This man, availing himſelf of the vicinity of Sicyon to Stymphalus, the place of his birth and reſidence, had formed a connexion with the oppreſſed citizens of the former. Æneas, perhaps, had not ſufficiently ſhared the largeſſes

[50] Παρὰ τὰ ἐκ χρημάτων ἐπράττετο. Xenoph. p. 624.

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geſſes of Euphron; perhaps the humanity of his nature [51] lamented the ſufferings of the Sicyonians. Whatever was his motive, it is certain that he endeavoured to expel their tyrant, and to reſtore their liberty.

Euphron is aſſaſſinated at Thebes.

Euphron, however, had the dexterity to engage ſucceſſively in his favour the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and Thebans. He ſpared neither pains, nor promiſes, nor bribes. He was commonly his own ambaſſador; and his activity and abilities muſt have riſen far above the ordinary pitch, to engage the principal ſtates of Greece, one after another, to ſupport, in direct oppoſition to their principles, the tyranny of a ſingle man. Inſurrections at home, and hoſtilities from abroad, at length occaſioned his downfal. He eſcaped to Thebes with the greateſt part of his treaſure. His enemies ſent proper perſons to counteract his intrigues there. The money, however, and the addreſs of Euphron, prevailed with the Theban magiſtrates, and he expected to be reſtored in triumph by the Thebans, as he had already been by the Athenians. But the Sicyonians, who followed him to Thebes, perceiving his familiarity [52] with the principal men of that city, had recourſe to the only expedient that ſeemed capable of fruſtrating his deſigns, and aſſaſſinated Euphron in the Cadmæa, while the Theban archons and ſenators were aſſembled within the walls of that edifice [53].

This action publicly juſtified.

The murderers were ſeized, and the atrocity, as well as the indignity of their crime, was ſtrongly repreſented to the ſenate by one of the archons, who probably regretted the death of Euphron, as the loſs of a wealthy client. The criminals denied the fact, till one, bolder than the reſt, not only avowed but juſtified the aſſaſſination as equally lawful, advantageous, and honourable. And ſo little

[51] Xenophon ſeems to approve this reaſon. He ſays Æneas, the Stymphalian, νομισας ουκ ανεκτας ειχειν τας υβρεις. "Thinking the grievances of the Sicyonians intolerable."

[52] Ω δι ισχυν αυτου εικειας τοις πραγμασιν ειχε. Xenoph. p. 6 0.

[53] Xenoph. l. vii. p. 630.

horror

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horror do men feel at crimes which prevail in their own age, and with which their fancies are familiar, that the aſſaſſins were unanimouſly acquitted by the Theban ſenate, whoſe award was approved by the aſſembly [54].

The allies of Sparta aſk permiſſion of that republic to negociate a peace with Thebes. Olymp. ciii. 3. A. C. 366.

Meanwhile the war languiſhed on both ſides, and the hoſtile confederacies were on the point of being diſſolved. The Athenians and Arcadians, equally diſguſted with their reſpective allies, concluded a treaty of peace and mutual defence, by the intervention of Lycomedes, the Mantinean, who was ſlain in his return from Athens by a party of Arcadian exiles. This negociation gave general alarm; the Arcadians, who had entered into treaty with Athens were the allies of Thebes; and the united ſtrength of theſe three republics was at that time ſufficient to ſubdue and enſlave the reſt of Greece. The terror was increaſed when it appeared that the Athenians had little inclination to evacuate ſeveral places in the Corinthian territory which they had undertaken to defend againſt the Arcadians and Thebans. By ſeaſonable vigilance the Corinthians anticipated a deſign, too unjuſt to be publicly avowed; they cautiouſly diſſembled their fears; graciouſly thanked Chares, who had arrived with an Athenian fleet on pretence of offering them his ſervice, but took care not to admit him within their harbours; and by extreme kindneſs and condeſcenſion, accompanied with warm profeſſions of gratitude for the protection hitherto afforded them, they got rid of the foreign garriſons, without coming to an open rupture with the Athenians. But the narrow eſcape which they had made, and the dread of being expoſed in future to any ſimilar danger, made them extremely ſolicitous to promote a general peace on the terms propoſed by Artaxerxes and the Thebans. Motives of the ſame kind influenced the cities of Achaia, and the little republic of Phlius, which, together with Corinth, were the only allies that remained

[54] Xenoph. l. vii. p. 631. & ſeqq.

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faithful to Sparta. A ſimilarity of intereſts occaſioned a cloſe communication of views and meaſures among all thoſe communities; who agreed, by common conſent, to diſpatch an embaſſy to Sparta, requeſting that ſhe would accept the conditions of peace lately offered by Thebes, or if ſhe thought it inconſiſtent with honour to cede her juſt pretenſions to Meſſené, that ſhe would allow her faithful but helpleſs allies to enter into a ſeparate negociation with the Theban republic.

Reaſonableneſs of this demand.

The reaſonableneſs, and even modeſty, of this requeſt, muſt have been apparent to the Spartans, when they reflected on the uſeful ſervices of the allies, and conſidered how much they had already ſuffered in their cauſe. The Phliaſians, in particular, had, during five years, given ſuch illuſtrious proofs of their unſhaken adherence to Sparta, as ſtand unrivalled in the hiſtory of national honour and fidelity. Situated in the midſt of enemies, they had continually, ſince the battle of Leuctra, ſuffered the invaſions and aſſaults of the Thebans, Arcadians, and Argives. Their territory was totally waſted; their city cloſely beſieged; their citadel, more than once, ſurpriſed and taken; their wealth, public and private, was exhauſted, and they ſubſiſted precarioufly on proviſions brought from Corinth, for the payment of which they had pledged their beaſts of burden and inſtruments of agriculture. Yet, under the preſſure of theſe multiplied calamities, they had preſerved their fidelity inviolate; they had diſdained to accept the peace which the Thebans offered them on condition of their forſaking Sparta: even, at laſt, they were determined to negociate with Thebes for neutrality alone; nor had they humbly ſolicited permiſſion to embrace this meaſure, until Corinth, the only ſource of their ſubſiſtence, ſeemed ready to forſake them [55].

The Spartans deliberate on that ſubject.

The ſtrength of ſuch arguments urged by the eloquence of Patrocles, the Phliaſian, might have ſoftened, if any thing could have

[55] Xenoph. 624. & 634.

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ſoftened, the inflexible temper of the Spartan ſenate, and diſpoſed that aſſembly to prefer the intereſt of their allies, and their own immediate ſafety, to the inſiſting on a fruitleſs claim to Meſſené, which, unaided and alone, they could never expect to maintain. But the pretenſions of this extraordinary people ſeem to have become more lofty, in proportion to their inability to ſupport them; and, on that particular occaſion, the proud obſtinacy, natural to the Spartans, was increaſed by an animated ſpeech of Archidamus, full of the moſt confident hopes, and glowing with all the warmth of his age and character.

Speech of Archidamus.

He ſpoke with contempt concerning the defection of the confederates. "The Phliaſians, the inhabitants of Corinth and Achaia, may, without exciting ſurpriſe, expreſs an anxiety for peace; ſafety, not glory, is their aim. But the Spartans have a character to ſuſtain, which it would be infamous to relinquiſh. They expect not barely to exiſt, but to enjoy fame and honour, the true ſweeteners of exiſtence; and, if that be impoſſible, they muſt periſh! Yet is not their ſituation deſperate: A nation cannot be reduced to any condition of diſtreſs, in which a warlike genius, and a well-regulated government, may not afford relief. But in military experience and abilities, we are ſtill unrivalled; and ſuch a ſyſtem of policy as we enjoy, no other people can boaſt. We enjoy, beſides, temperate and laborious habits, the contempt of pleaſure and wealth, an ardour for martial glory, and an ambition of honeſt fame. Theſe are powerful auxiliaries, when protected by the immortal gods, whoſe oracles anciently approved our juſt conqueſt of Meſſené. Nor, though the Corinthians and Achæans forſake us, ſhall we be deſtitute of warlike allies. The Athenians, ever jealous of Thebes, their moſt formidable neighbour, will again take arms in our cauſe. Dionyſius, the tyrant of Sicily, gives us hope of farther aſſiſtance; the king of Egypt, and many princes of Aſia, declared enemies of Artaxerxes, are all naturally our friends. We poſſeſs, beſides, though not the perſons and actual

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ſervice, the hearts and affections at leaſt, of whatever is moſt eminent in Greece. In all the republics, whoever is diſtinguiſhed by his fame, his wealth, or his virtues, though he may not accompany our ſtandard, ſecretly wiſhes ſucceſs to our arms. I am of opinion, too, that the crowd [56] of Peloponneſus, that mob on which we at firſt too vainly relied, will at length return to their duty. They have obtained none of thoſe advantages, the vain proſpect of which urged them to revolt. Inſtead of acquiring the independent government of their own laws, they have fallen a prey to lawleſs anarchy, or been ſubjected to the inhuman cruelty of tyrants. The bloody ſeditions, of which they once knew the nature by report only, they have long experienced; and there are actually more exiles from particular cities, than were formerly from all Peloponneſus. But even baniſhment is happineſs to thoſe who, while they remained at home, butchered each other at the altars; and who, inſtead of that peaceful abundance which they enjoyed under the Spartan government, periſhed for want of bread. Such is the condition of the Peloponneſians, whoſe lands have been laid waſte, their cities deſolated, and that conſtitution and thoſe laws, under which they once lived the happieſt of men, overturned from the foundation. We might ſubdue them by force; but that is not neceſſary; they will voluntarily return to their allegiance, and ſolicit our protection, as alone capable to alleviate their miſery, and prevent their total ruin.

" But had we nothing of this kind to expect, and were the one half of Greece not more diſpoſed to injure us, than the other to abet their injuſtice, I have ſtill one reſolution to propoſe, harſh indeed and ſevere, but becoming thoſe ſentiments which have ever animated the Spartans. Proſperity, that conceals the infamy of cowardice, robs fortitude of half its glory. It is adverſity alone that can diſplay the full

[56] Οχλος. Iſocrat. in Archid. He means the Arcadians, Elians, &c. formerly allies of Sparta.

luſtre

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luſtre of a firm and manly character. I propoſe, therefore, that rather than cede a territory, which your anceſtors acquired by the blood and labour of twenty victorious campaigns, you ſhould remove from Sparta your wives, children, and parents, who will be received with kindneſs in Italy, Sicily, Cyrené, and many parts of Aſia. Thoſe who are fit to bear arms muſt alſo leave the city, and carry nothing from thence that may not eaſily be tranſported. They muſt, then, fix on ſome poſt well fortified by nature, and which art may render ſecure againſt every hoſtile aſſault. This, thenceforth, muſt be their city and country; and from this, as a centre, they muſt on all ſides infeſt the enemy, until either the Thebans remit their arrogance, or the laſt of the Spartans periſh [57]."

The Spartans determine to perſevere in the war.

The ſpeech of Archidamus expreſſed the general ſenſe of his country. The allies were diſmiſſed with permiſſion to act as beſt ſuited their convenience, but with aſſurance that Sparta would never liſten to any terms of accommodation while deprived of Meſſené. With this anſwer the ambaſſadors returned to their reſpective cities. Soon afterwards they were diſpatched to Thebes, where, having propoſed their demands, they were offered admiſſion into the Theban confederacy. They anſwered, that this was not peace, but only a change of the war; and at length, after various propoſitions and reaſonings, they obtained the much deſired neutrality [58].

Ambitious views of Epaminondas and the Thebans. Olymp. civ. 1. A. C. 364.

The Spartans, thus deſerted on every ſide, would probably have been the victims of their pride and obſtinacy, if circumſtances, unforeſeen by Archidamus, had not prevented the Thebans and Arcadians from carrying on the war with their uſual animoſity. Projects of glory and ambition had diſarmed the reſentment of Epaminondas. That active and enterpriſing leader, who thought that nothing was done, while any thing was neglected, had ſet himſelf to render

[57] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

[58] Xenoph. ubi ſupra.

Thebes

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Thebes miſtreſs of the ſea. The attention and labour of the republic was directed to this important object; preparations were made at Aulis with ſilence and celerity; and when the deſign ſeemed ripe for execution, Epaminondas ſailed to Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium, to concert meaſures with thoſe maritime ſtates, which had already begun to feel the ſevere yoke of the Athenians, and become eager to ſhake it off. But the vigilance of the latter, who had ſent out a ſtrong fleet under Laches, a commander of reputation and ability, prevented the dangerous conſequences of this defection; and the Theban arms were, at the ſame time, ſummoned to a ſervice, which more immediately concerned their intereſt and honour.

Diſconcerted by the activity of Athens.

Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, began once more to diſplay the reſources of his fertile genius, and the inhuman cruelty of his temper. His numerous mercenaries, whom he collected and kept together with ſingular addreſs, and the ſecret aſſiſtance of Athens, enabled him to over-run the whole territory, and to gain poſſeſſion of all the principal cities, of Theſſaly [59]. The oppreſſed Theſſalians had recourſe to Thebes, whoſe powerful protection they had ſo happily experienced on former occaſions, and whoſe ſtandard they had uniformly followed, with an alacrity which afforded a ſufficient pledge of their gratitude. The Thebans decreed to aſſiſt them with ten thouſand men, and the command was entruſted to Pelopidas, the perſonal enemy of Alexander. But the day appointed for the march was darkened by an eclipſe of the ſun, which greatly diminiſhed the army, as Pelopidas was unwilling to exact the reluctant ſervices of men diſpirited by the imaginary terrors of ſuperſtition. Such only as deſpiſing vain omens, deſired to follow their beloved general, were conducted into Theſſaly; and being joined by their allies in that country near the town of Pharſalus, they encamped at the foot of the mountains of Cynoſcephalæ.

Laſt expedition of Pelopidas into Theſſaly. Olymp. civ. 1. A. C. 364.

[59] Plutarch. in Pelopid.

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He is ſlain in the battle of Cynoſcephalæ.

The tyrant approached with an army twenty thouſand ſtrong, boldly offering them battle. Nor did Pelopidas decline the engagement, though his foot were, in number, inferior to the enemy. The action began with the cavalry, and was favourable to the Thebans; but the mercenaries of Alexander having gained the advantage of the ground, preſſed with vigour the Theban and Theſſalian infantry. In this emergency, Pelopidas rode up, and encouraging the retiring troops with his voice and action, gave them ſuch freſh ſpirits, that Alexander did not doubt their having received a conſiderable reinforcement. The mercenaries were preſſed in their turn, and thrown into diſorder. Pelopidas darting his eye through their broken ranks, eſpied Alexander in the right wing rallying his men, and preparing to advance with his uſual intrepidity. At this ſight the Theban was no longer maſter of his paſſion. Naturally a foe to tyrants, he beheld a perſonal foe in the tyrant Alexander. Accompanied by a few horſemen, he impetuouſly ruſhed forward, calling aloud to his adverſary, and challenging him to ſingle combat. Alexander, fearing to meet the man whom he had injured, retired behind his guards, who received, firſt with a ſhower of javelins, and then with their ſpears, the little band of Pelopidas; who, after producing ſuch carnage[60] as Homer aſcribes to the rage of Diomed or Achilles, fell a victim to the blindneſs of his own ungovernable fury. Meanwhile, his troops advancing to the relief of their general, the guards of the tyrant were repelled; the Thebans, with their allies, proved victorious in every part of the battle; the enemy were diſperſed in flight, and purſued with the loſs of three thouſand men.

Honours paid to his memory.

But the death of Pelopidas threw a gloom over the victory. He was lamented by the Thebans and Theſſalians with immoderate demonſtrations of ſorrow. Accompanied by an innumerable crowd

[60] Diodorus ſays, that the bodies of thoſe whom he ſlew covered a long tract of ground. Plutarch is equally hyperbolical. The battles of Homer rendered the marvellous in military deſcription too familiar to the Greek hiſtorians, I mean, Diodorus, Plutarch, Pauſanias; Thucydides and Xenophon knew their duty better.

of

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of real mourners, his body was carried in proceſſion to Thebes. The Theſſalians, in whoſe ſervice he had fallen, requeſted the honour of ſupplying the expences of his funeral, which was celebrated with every circumſtance of ſad magnificence. The multitude recollected the eclipſe which preceded his departure, and which, as they believed, announced his misfortune; and, in alluſion to that fatal omen, exclaimed, "that the ſun of Thebes was ſet, and her glory departed for ever." The Thebans appointed Malcitas and Diogeiton to the command in Theſſaly. The tyrant was again defeated, and ſtripped of all his conqueſts. But what appears extraordinary, he was allowed to live and reign in Pheræ[60], while the neighbouring cities entered into a cloſe alliance with Thebes.

The tyrant ſtripped of all his conqueſts.

The foreign expeditions which have been deſcribed, were not the only cauſes that diverted the attention of the Thebans from the affairs of Peloponneſus. While Epaminondas was employed abroad in the fleet, and Pelopidas in Theſſaly, the government of Thebes was on the point of being overturned by an ariſtocratical faction. The inhabitants of Orchomenus, the ſecond city in Bœotia, and anciently the rival of Thebes[61], entered into this conſpiracy, which was to be executed at the annual review of the Orchomenian troops. But the plot was diſcovered by the fears or the repentance of ſome accomplices, who became informers. The cavalry of Orchomenus, to the number of three hundred, were ſurrounded and cut to pieces in the Theban market-place. Nor did this vengeance ſatisfy the enraged multitude, who marched in a body to Orchomenus, beſieged and took the city, raſed it to the ground, put the men of full age to the ſword, and dragged their wives and children into captivity[62].

The Thebans demoliſh Orchomenus.

While operations, deſtructive or fruitleſs, employed the activity of Thebes, her allies in Arcadia were occupied with deſigns ſtill more blameable. Their own ſtrength and numbers, together with a con-

The Arcadians ſeize Olympia, and prepare to celebrate the games. Olym. civ. 1. A. C. 364.

[60] Diodor. l. xv. c. 20. [61] Pauſanias Bœotic. [62] Diodor. l. xv. c 20.

ſidence

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fidence in Athens, their new confederate, encouraged the Arcadians to give full ſcope to their ambition, by which they had been long animated. To pave the way for the total conqueſt of the Peloponneſus, in which they had already obtained a dangerous aſcendant, they began by wreſting ſeveral places from the Elians, the leaſt warlike, and moſt wealthy, of their neighbours. The Elians, worſted in every encounter with the enemy, craved the aſſiſtance of Sparta, which being reinforced by the Achæans (notwithſtanding the neutrality ſo recently ſtipulated), made ſeveral vigorous, but unſucceſsful efforts, for the defence of the Elian territory. The Arcadians ſtill puſhed their conqueſts in that country, gaining one town after another, and at length Olympia itſelf, the moſt precious jewel of the Elians, and the greateſt ornament of the Peloponneſus. As poſſeſſors of the ſacred city, and by virtue of a pretended right derived from the inhabitants of Piſa, an ancient but decayed place in the neighbourhood of Olympia, the Arcadians prepared to celebrate the hundred and fourth Olympiad, the time of which was at hand. At the approach of this auguſt ſolemnity, the concourſe, as uſual, was great from every part of Greece; hoſtilities were ſuſpended; and all parties united in common amuſements, and common ceremonies of religion.

The prayers and ſacrifices were performed, and the military games had begun, when the performers and ſpectators were alarmed by the ſudden claſhing of armour, and the ſight of a *real* battle. The Elians had marched forth with their whole forces, and ſurpriſed the Arcadians, who, with two thouſand Argives, and a body of Athenian cavalry amounting to four hundred, guarded the ſacred groves and temples of Olympia. The vigour of their unexpected aſſault ſucceſſively repelled theſe intruders, who fled in diſorder through the ſtreets, and were purſued by the Elians with an *inſpired* valour, "ſince," ſays Xenophon, "Heaven alone can do, in one day, what no other power can accompliſh but in great length of time;

Which are interrupted by the arrival of the Elians in arms.

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make cowards courageous[64]." The Arcadians, however, recovering from their conſternation, began to rally. The aſſailants were reſiſted with obſtinacy; but did not retire, till having loſt Stratolas their commander, with other brave men, they retreated in good order, after giving a conſpicuous proof of their courage and intrepidity to thoſe who had long deſpiſed the ſoftneſs of their unwarlike character. The Arcadians renewed the guard with double vigilance; fortified the avenues that led to the Stadium and Hippodrome; and having taken theſe neceſſary precautions againſt a ſecond ſurpriſe, proceeded with the remaining ceremonies of the feſtival, which, though brought to an undiſturbed concluſion, was never acknowledged in the records of the Elians[65].

The Arcadians ſeize the Olympic treaſure.

After celebrating the Olympic games, the mixed concourſe of people returned to their reſpective homes, and the Arcadians found themſelves ſole maſters of the city and temple of Jupiter, containing the collected treaſures of many centuries, the rich gifts of vanity and ſuperſtition. Opportunity, joined to want, is naturally the mother of injuſtice. The Arcadians, who, to promote their ambitious deſigns, had raiſed a body of ſtanding troops called Eparitoi, laid hold of the ſacred treaſure, in order to pay thoſe mercenaries, whoſe demands they were otherwiſe incapable of ſatisfying, without great inconvenience. The Mantineans firſt proteſted againſt this unwarrantable rapacity. Inſtead of accepting their proportion of the plunder, they impoſed, for the payment of the mercenaries, a tax on themſelves, of which they tranſmitted the produce to the archons, or magiſtrates, appointed by the Ten Thouſand to adminiſter the general concerns of the Arcadian nation. The archons, who had themſelves freely handled the ſacred money, repreſented to their

The Mantineans proteſt againſt this impiety.

[64] Τουτο γενομενον ουκ την αρετην δηλον μονον αλλα και ρωμης δυναμιν και το ἑαυτων ἑκαστον ἀνδρειον ἀπεργαζεται και τους πολλω χειρονα την φυσιν ανθρωπους τουτους. P. 639.

[65] Xenoph. l. vii. p 638, & ſeqq. & Diodorus, l. xv. c. 21.

conſtituents

conſtituents the affected delicacy of the Mantinæans as an obſtinacy extremely dangerous to the ſtates of Arcadia, and inſinuated that this unſeaſonable regard for juſtice and piety moſt probably concealed ſome very criminal deſign.

The States-General of Arcadia approve the reſolution of the Mantinæans;

The Ten Thouſand, or, as we ſhould ſay, the States-General, liſtened to this inſidious acculation; and ſummoned the municipal magiſtrates of Mantinæa, to appear and anſwer for their conduct. They refuſed to obey; a detachment of the Eparitoi was ſent to bring them by force; the Mantinæans ſhut their gates. This firmneſs rouſed the attention of the States; and many members of weight in that aſſembly began to ſuſpect that the Mantinæans muſt poſſeſs ſome ſecret ground of confidence, that encouraged them to ſet at defiance an authority which they were bound to revere. They reflected firſt on the alarming conſequences to which Arcadia might be expoſed by plundering the ſhrines of Jupiter; and then on the injuſtice and impiety of the deed itſelf. Theſe ſentiments, enforced by the ſuperſtition of the age, ſpread with rapidity in the aſſembly; it was determined thenceforth to abſtain from a conſecrated fund, the violation of which might prove dangerous to themſelves, and entail a curſe on their poſterity; and, to prevent the bad conſequences of the deſertion of the Eparitoi, whoſe pay muſt thereby be diminiſhed, many wealthy Arcadians, who could ſubſiſt on their private incomes, enrolled themſelves in their ſtead.

and reſtore Olympia to the Eleans.

Theſe meaſures, though approved by the States, gave great uneaſineſs to the archons, to the mercenaries, and to all who had ſhared the Olympic ſpoil, leſt they might be called to account for their rapacity, and compelled to refund the ſums which they had embezzled. To prevent this danger, they had recourſe to the Thebans, from whom they requeſted immediate aſſiſtance, on pretence that the States of Arcadia were ready to revolt to Sparta. The States, on the other hand, ſent an embaſſy requeſting the Thebans not to paſs the Iſthmus, until they ſhould receive farther in-

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vitation. Nor were they ſatisfied with barely counteracting the negociations of their enemies. Having determined not to derive any benefit from the wealth of Olympia, they thought proper to reſtore that city, as well as the direction of the games, to thoſe who had, from time immemorial, enjoyed both, and to conclude a peace with the Elians, who ſolicited it with much earneſtneſs, as a meaſure highly conducive to the general intereſt of the Peloponneſus.

Thoſe who had embezzled the Olympic treaſure ſeize their opponents by aſſiſtance of the Thebans.

The congreſs, aſſembled for this beneficial purpoſe, was held at Tegea, and conſiſted of deputies from Elis, and from many cities of Arcadia. When matters were ſeemingly adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of all parties, entertainments, as uſual, were prepared; and the deputies, except thoſe of Mantinæa, moſt of whom were invited home by the vicinity of their city, remained at Tegea to celebrate the feaſt of peace. While they were employed in drinking and merriment, the archons, and ſuch others as dreaded the conſequences of this haſty accommodation, addreſſed themſelves to a Theban general, who commanded a conſiderable body of Bœotian troops that had long garriſoned Tegea, in order to ſecure the fidelity of that place and the adjacent territory. The Theban had himſelf made free with the ſacred treaſure, and was therefore eaſily prevailed on to embrace any meaſure that might prevent an inquiry into that enormous crime. Nothing appeared ſo proper for this purpoſe as to ſeize and detain the unſuſpecting deputies, who conſiſted of the leading men from moſt cities of Arcadia. This ſcheme was no ſooner propoſed, than carried into execution. The gates of Tegea were ſecured; a body of armed men ſurrounded the place of entertainment; the deputies, who had prolonged to a late hour the joys of feſtivity, were taken unprepared, and conducted to various places of confinement, their number being too great for one priſon to contain[66].

[66] Xenoph. p. 640.

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The prisoners set at liberty.

Next day, the Mantinæans, being apprised of this unexpected event, dispatched messengers, demanding some few of their citizens who happened to remain at Tegea, after the departure of their companions; and at the same time acquainting the magistrates of that place, the archons, and the Theban general, that no Arcadian could be put to death without a fair and open trial. They, likewise, without loss of time, dispatched an embassy to the several cities of Arcadia, rousing them to arms in their own defence, and exhorting them to rescue their imprisoned citizens, and to avenge the insult offered to the general body of their nation. When those who had committed the outrage, and especially the Theban general, were acquainted with the vigour of these proceedings, they began to be more alarmed than before. As they had seized but few Mantinæans, they could derive little advantage from the hostages of that city, whose resentment they had most reason to fear. They were sensible of deserving the indignation of Arcadia; and that the general voice of Greece must condemn the irregularity and violence of their measures. Intimidated by such reflections, the Theban commander at once set the prisoners at liberty; and appearing next day before an assembly as numerous as could be collected in such troublesome times, endeavoured to excuse his conduct, by saying, that he had heard of the march of the Lacedæmonian army towards the frontier, and that several of the deputies, whom he had seized, were prepared to betray Tegea to the public enemy. The Arcadians were not the dupes of this shallow artifice; yet they abstained from punishing their own wrongs, and sent ambassadors to Thebes, who might describe the injury that had been committed, and impeach the criminals[67].

Epaminondas prepares to march into the Peloponnesus, at the head of the Bœotians and their confederate.

Upon hearing the accusation, Epaminondas, who was then general of the Bœotians, declared, that his countrymen had done better in seizing, than in discharging the Arcadians, whose conduct was highly

[67] Xenoph. p. 641.

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highly blameable in making peace without the advice of their confederates. "Be aſſured," continued he to the ambaſſadors, "that the Thebans will march into Arcadia, and ſupport their friends in that province." This reſolution, which expreſſed the general ſenſe of the republic, was heard with great indignation by the Arcadian ſtates, and their allies of Elis and Achaia. They obſerved, that the Thebans could not have felt, much leſs have expreſſed, any diſpleaſure at the peace of Peloponneſus, if they had not deemed it their intereſt to perpetuate the diviſions and hoſtilities of a country which they wiſhed to weaken and to ſubdue. They entered into a ſtricter alliance with each other, and prepared for a vigorous defence; ſending ambaſſadors to Athens and Sparta, that the former might be ready to thwart the meaſures of a neighbouring and rival ſtate, and that the latter might take arms to maintain the independence of that portion of Greece, of which the valour of Sparta had long formed the ſtrength and bulwark.

Olym. civ. 2. A. C. 363.

His laſt expedition into that country.

Olym. civ. 2. A. C. 363.

During theſe hoſtile preparations, Epaminondas took the field with *all* the Bœotians, with the Euboeans, and with a ſtrong body of Theſſalians, partly ſupplied by Alexander, and partly raiſed by the cities which Pelopidas had recently delivered from the yoke of that cruel tyrant. Upon his arrival in the Peloponneſus, he expected to be joined by the Argives, the Meſſenians, and ſeveral communities of Arcadia, particularly the inhabitants of Tegea and Megalopolis. With theſe hopes, he proceeded ſouthward to Nemea, an ancient city in the Argive territory, diſtinguiſhed by the games celebrated in honour of Hercules. There he encamped for ſeveral days, with an intention to intercept the Athenians, whoſe neareſt route into Peloponneſus lay through the diſtrict of Nemea; convinced that nothing could more contribute, than an advantage over that people in the beginning of the campaign, to animate the courage, as well as to increaſe the number of the Theban partiſans in every part of Greece. But this ſcheme was defeated by the prudence

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dence of the Athenians, who, inſtead of marching through the Iſthmus, ſailed to the coaſt of Laconia, and proceeded from thence to join their confederates at Mantinæa. Appriſed of this deſign, Epaminondas moved his camp, and marched forward to Tegea, which being ſtrongly fortified, and enjoying a lofty and central ſituation, was judiciouſly choſen as the place of rendezvous for his Peloponneſian confederates. Having continued ſeveral weeks at Tegea, he was much diſappointed that none of the neigbbouring towns ſent to offer their ſubmiſſion, and to ſolicit the protection of the Theban arms. This waſte of time gave him the more uneaſineſs, as his command was limited to a ſhort term. The ſtrength of the enemy at Mantinæa was continually increaſing. Ageſilaus had already conducted the Lacedæmonians to the frontier of Arcadia. If *they* likewiſe ſhould join, the combined forces would prove ſuperior to the army of Epaminondas, which amounted to thirty thouſand in number, and of which the cavalry alone exceeded three thouſand. Conſidering their circumſtances, he ſuddenly determined on an enterpriſe, which, if crowned with ſucceſs, would render the preſent hitherto fruitleſs expedition not unworthy of his former fame.

Fails in his attempt to ſurprize Sparta;

Having decamped with his whole army in the night, he performed a haſty march of thirty miles, in order to ſurpriſe Sparta; and had not the extraordinary ſwiftneſs of a Cretan deſerter appriſed Ageſilaus of the danger, that city would have been taken unprepared, and totally incapable of defence[68]. The bulk of the Lacedæmonian army had proceeded too far on the road to Mantinæa, to anticipate the deſign of the enemy; but the aged king, with his ſon Archidamus, returned with a ſmall, but valiant band, to the defence of Sparta. The engagement which followed, as related by Xenophon, appears one of the moſt extraordinary that hiſtory records. Epaminondas had employed every precaution which his peculiar ſa-

[68] Xenophon ſays, [illegible] "An adequate defence of its defend-ers was not left." Xenophon, p. 644. ed.

gacity

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gacity could ſuggeſt; he did not approach Sparta by thoſe narrow roads, where a ſuperiority of numbers would afford him ſmall advantage; he did not draw up his forces in the plain, in which, while entering the town, they might have been annoyed with miſſile weapons; nor did he allow an opportunity of ſurpriſing him by ſtratagem or ambuſcade, in the management of which the Spartans were at all times ſo dexterous. Seizing an eminence which commanded the town, he determined to deſcend into it with every advantage on his ſide, and without the ſeeming poſſibility of being expoſed to any inconvenience. But the iſſue of ſo well-concerted an enterprize, the hiſtorian heſitates whether to refer to a particular providence of the gods, or to aſcribe to the invincible courage of men actuated by deſpair. Archidamus, with ſcarcely an hundred men, oppoſed the progreſs of the enemy, cut down the firſt ranks, and advanced to aſſault the remainder. Then, ſtrange to relate! thoſe Thebans, ſays Xenophon, who breathed fire, who had ſo often conquered, who were far ſuperior in number, and who poſſeſſed the advantage of the ground, ſhamefully gave way. The Spartans purſued them with impetuoſity, but were ſoon repelled with loſs; for the divinity, whoſe aſſiſtance had produced this extraordinary victory, ſeems alſo to have preſcribed the limits beyond which it was not to extend [69]."

and in that againſt Mantinæa;

Epaminondas, foiled in an attempt which promiſed ſuch a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, did not ſink under his diſappointment. As he had reaſon to believe that the whole forces at Mantinæa would be withdrawn from that place to the defence of Sparta, he immediately ſounded a retreat, returned to Tegea with the utmoſt expedition,

[69] Plutarch tells a ſtory on this occaſion, Plut. in Ageſil. To a modern reader, Xenophon's account of the battle will appear a pompous deſcription of the effect of panic terror with which the Thebans were inſpired by finding, inſtead of [illegible], "a defenceleſs neſt," the vigorous oppoſition of men in arms.

and

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and allowing his infantry to take time for reſt and refreſhment, he, with admirable preſence of mind, ordered the horſe to advance forward to Mantinæa (which was diſtant only twelve miles), and to maintain their ground until his arrival with the reſt of the army. He expected to find the Mantinæans totally unprepared for ſuch a viſit; and as it was then autumn, he doubted not that moſt of the townſmen would be employed in the country, in reaping and bringing in the corn. His plan was wiſe, and well executed. The ſituation of the Mantinæans correſponded to his hopes. But it ſeemed as if fortune had delighted to baffle his ſagacity. Before the Theban forces arrived at Mantinæa, a numerous and powerful ſquadron of Athenian cavalry entered that place, commanded by Hegelochus, who then firſt learned the departure of the allies to protect the Lacedæmonian capital. He had ſcarcely received this intelligence, when the Thebans appeared, and advancing with great rapidity, prepared to effect the purpoſe of their expedition. The Athenians had not time to refreſh themſelves; they had eat nothing that day; they were inferior in number; they knew the bravery of the Theban and Theſſalian cavalry, with whom they muſt contend; yet, regardleſs of every conſideration but the ſafety of their allies, they ruſhed into the field, ſtopped the progreſs of the aſſailants, and, after a fierce and bloody engagement, which diſplayed great courage on both ſides, obtained an acknowledged victory. The enemy craved the bodies of their dead; the victors erected a trophy of their uſeful valour, which had ſaved the corn, cattle, ſlaves, women, and children[79] of Mantinæa from falling a prey to the invaders.

which is ſaved by the Athenian cavalry.

The repeated misfortunes, which would have broken the ſpirit of an ordinary commander, only determined Epaminondas to a general engagement, in which he might either wipe off the memory of his late diſgrace, or obtain an honourable death, fighting

Epaminondas determines to riſk a general engagement.

[79] Xenophen, l. vii. p. 644.

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to render his country the ſovereign of Greece. The confederates had re-aſſembled at Mantinæa, ſtrengthened by conſiderable reinforcements. Freſh ſuccours had likewiſe arrived to the Thebans. Never had ſuch numerous armies[71] taken the field during the perpetual wars in which thoſe unhappy republics were engaged. But battles become really intereſting, not ſo much by the number of the troops, as by the conduct of the generals. It is worth while, ſays the military hiſtorian[72], to obſerve the operations of Epaminondas on this memorable occaſion. Having ranged his men in battalions, he led them, not along the plain, which was the neareſt road to Mantinæa, but turning to the left, conducted them by a chain of hills which joined that city and Tegea, and ſkirted the eaſtern extremity of both. The enemy, appriſed of his march, drew up their forces before the walls of Mantinæa; the Lacedæmonians, and ſuch Arcadians as had embraced the more honourable cauſe, in the right wing, the Athenians in the left, the Achæans and Elians forming the main body. Meanwhile Epaminondas marched ſlowly along, extending his circuit, as if he wiſhed to decline the engagement. Having approached that part of the mountain which faced the hoſtile army, he ordered his men to halt, and to lay down their arms. His former movements had occaſioned great doubt and perplexity; but now it ſeemed evident that he had laid aſide all thoughts of fighting that day, and was preparing to encamp. This opinion, too lightly conceived, proved fatal to the enemy. They abandoned their arms and their ranks, diſperſed in their tents, and loſt not only that external arrangement, but that inward preparation[73], that martial ardour of mind, which ought to animate ſoldiers at the near proſpect of an engagement. Epaminondas ſeized the deciſive moment of attack. Facing to the right, he converted the column of march into an order of battle. His

His movements preceding the battle of Mantinæa.

[71] Diodorus, l. xv. c. 21.

[72] Xenoph. p. 645.

[73] Ελυσε μεν των πολιμιων την εν ταις ψυχαις προς την μαχην παρασκευην· ελυσε δε την εν ταις συνταξισιν. Xenoph. ibid.

troops were thus diſpoſed inſtantaneouſly in the ſame order in which he meant to fight. At the head of his left wing, which conſiſted of the flower of the Bœotians, and which, as at the battle of Leuctra, he formed into a firm wedge, with a ſharp point, and with ſpreading flanks, he advanced againſt the Spartans and Mantinæans; and truſting the event of the battle to the rapid impulſe of this unexpected onſet, he commanded the center and right wing, in which he placed leſs confidence, to proceed with a ſlow pace, that they might not come up and grapple with the oppoſing diviſions of the enemy, until the victory of his left wing had taught them to conquer. CHAP. XXXI.

Battle of Mantinæa. Olymp. civ. 2. A. C. 363.

This judicious deſign was crowned with merited ſucceſs. The enemy, perceiving the dreadful ſhock to which they were expoſed, flew to their arms, put on their bucklers and helmets, bridled their horſes, and ſuddenly reſumed their ranks; but theſe different operations were performed with the trepidation of ſurpriſe and haſte, rather than with the ardour of hope and courage; and the whole army had the appearance of men prepared rather to ſuffer, than to inflict, any thing cruel or terrible[74]. The Spartans and Mantinæans, drawn up in firm order, ſternly waited the firſt brunt of the aſſailants. The battle was fierce and bloody, and after their ſpears were broken, both parties had recourſe to their ſwords. The wedge of Epaminondas at length penetrated the Spartan line, and this advantage encouraged his center and right wing to attack and repel the correſponding diviſions of the enemy. The Theban and Theſſalian cavalry were equally ſucceſsful. In the intervals of their ranks Epaminondas had placed a body of light infantry, whoſe miſſile weapons greatly annoyed the enemy's horſe, who were drawn up too deep. He had likewiſe taken the precaution to occupy a riſing ground on his right with a conſiderable detachment, which might

[74] Πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιήσουσιν ἐῴκεσαν. Xenoph. p. 646.

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take the Athenians in flank and rear, ſhould they advance from their poſt. Theſe prudent diſpoſitions produced a victory, which Epaminondas did not live to complete or improve. In the heat of the battle he received a mortal wound [75], and was carried to an eminence, which was afterwards called the Watch-tower [76], probably that he might the better obſerve the ſubſequent operations of the field. But with the departure of their leader was withdrawn the ſpirit which animated the Theban army. Having impetuouſly broke through the hoſtile ranks, they knew not how to profit of this advantage. The enemy rallied in different parts of the field, and prevailed in ſeveral partial encounters. All was confuſion and terror. The light infantry, which had been poſted amidſt the Theban and Theſſalian horſe, being left behind in the purſuit, were received and cut to pieces by the Athenian cavalry, commanded by Hegilochus. Elated with this ſucceſs, the Athenians turned their arms againſt the detachment placed on the heights, conſiſting chiefly of Eubœans, whom they routed and put to flight, after a terrible ſlaughter. With ſuch alternations of victory and defeat ended this memorable engagement. Both armies, as conquerors, erected a trophy; both craved their dead, as conquered [77]: and this battle, which being certainly the greateſt, was expected to have proved the moſt deciſive, ever fought among the Greeks, produced no other

[75] Pauſanias in Arcad. ſays, that Epaminondas was killed by Gryllus, the ſon of Xenophon, the Athenian; and as a proof of this aſſertion, mentions a beautiful picture of the battle of Mantinæa, in the Ceramicus of Athens, as well as the monument of Gryllus, erected by the Mantinæans on the field of battle; both ſubſiſting in the time of Pauſanias, and both aſcribing to this Athenian the honour of killing Epaminondas. Plutarch, in Ageſilao, ſays, that Anticrates, a Spartan, killed Epaminondas with a ſword; that his poſterity were thence called Machairionides; and that, as late as the days of Plutarch, they enjoyed certain immunities and honours as a recompence for the merit of their anceſtor Anticrates in deſtroying the worſt enemy of Sparta. Gryllus the ſon of Xenophon fell in the battle of Mantinæa; and the words, or rather the ſilence of his father, is very remarkable concerning the death of Epaminondas: "The Theban column broke the Spartans, *but when Epaminondas fell*, the reſt knew not how to uſe the victory." What ſublimity in this paſſage, if Gryllus really ſlew Epaminondas!

[76] Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

[77] Xenoph. l. vii. ad fin.

conſequence

conſequence but that general languor and debility long remarkable in the ſubſequent operations of thoſe hoſtile republics.

Death of Epaminondas.

When the tumult of the action ceaſed, the moſt diſtinguiſhed Thebans aſſembled around their dying general. His body had been pierced with a javelin; and the ſurgeons declared, that it was impoſſible for him to ſurvive the extraction of the weapon. He aſked whether his ſhield was ſafe? which being preſented to him, he viewed it with a languid ſmile of melancholy joy. He then demanded, whether the Thebans had obtained the victory? Being anſwered in the affirmative (for the Lacedæmonians indeed had firſt ſent to demand the bodies of their ſlain), he declared himſelf ready to quit life without regret, ſince he left his country triumphant. The ſpectators lamented, among other objects of ſorrow, that he ſhould die without children, who might inherit the glory of his name, and the fame of his virtues. "You miſtake," ſaid he with a cheerful preſence of mind, "I leave two fair daughters, the battles of Leuctra and Mantinæa, who will tranſmit my renown to the lateſt ages." So ſaying, he ordered the weapon to be extracted, and immediately expired. The awful ſolemnity of his death correſponded with the dignified ſplendor of an active and uſeful life. He is uſually deſcribed as a perfect character[78]; nor does the truth of hiſtory oblige us to detract any thing from this deſcription, except that in ſome inſtances, and particularly in his laſt fatal invaſion of the Peloponneſus, he allowed the blaze of patriotiſm to eclipſe the mild light of juſtice and benevolence. He was buried in the field of battle, where his monument ſtill exiſted, after four centuries, in the time of Pauſanias, with an inſcription in elegiac verſe, enumerating his exploits. Hadrian, then maſter of the Roman world, added a ſecond column, with a new inſcription[79], in honour of a

[78] Cicero Acad. Quæſt. l. i. & paſſim. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos. Pauſan.
[79] Vid. Pauſan. in Arcad. & Bœotic.

character,

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character, whom that unſteady emperor had genius to admire, but wanted firmneſs to imitate.

An elegant Roman writer gives a brief but comprehenſive panegyric of Epaminondas, that during his lifetime Thebes was the arbiter of Greece; whereas both before and afterwards, that republic continually languiſhed in ſervitude or dependence [80]. But this obſervation betrays the inaccurate partiality of a biographer, who often exalts the glory of a favourite hero, at the expence of hiſtoric truth. By the death of Epaminondas, Thebes was deprived of her principal ornament and defence, the ſource of her confidence, and the ſpring of her activity; and her councils were thenceforth leſs ambitious, and her arms leſs enterpriſing [81]. But ſix years after that event, ſhe controuled the deciſions of the Amphictyonic council, and, inſtead of being reduced to a condition of dependence, her power was ſtill formidable to the moſt warlike of her neighbours.

Ageſilaus's expedition into Egypt. Olymp. civ. 3. A. C. 362.

Soon after the battle of Mantinæa, a general peace was propoſed under the mediation of Artaxerxes, who wanted Grecian auxiliaries to check the inſurrections in Egypt and Leſſer Aſia, which diſturbed the two laſt years of his reign. The only condition annexed to this treaty was, that each republic ſhould retain its reſpective poſſeſſions. The Spartans determined to reject every accommodation until they had recovered Meſſenia; and as Artaxerxes had uniformly oppoſed this demand, they tranſported forces into Egypt, to foment the defection of that province. At the head of a thouſand heavy-armed Lacedæmonians, and ten thouſand mercenaries, Ageſilaus ſupported one rebel after another, having ſucceſſively ſet on the throne Taches and Nectanebus [82]. In this diſhonourable war he amaſſed conſider-

[80] Hujus de virtutibus vitaque ſatis erit dictum, ſi hoc unum adjunxero, *quod nemo eat inficias*; Thebas & ante Epaminondam natum, & poſt ejus interitum, perpetuo alieno paruiſſe imperio; contra ea, quamdiu ille præfuerit reipublicæ, caput fuiſſe totius Græciæ. Corn. Nepos, in Epam.

[81] Vid. Polyb. Hiſt. l. vi. c. xli.

[82] Plut. in Ageſilao. Diodorus, l. xv. c. xxii.

able

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His death. Olymp. civ. 4. A. C. 361.

able wealth, by means of which he probably expected to retrieve the affairs of his country. But returning home by Cyrenaica, he died on that coaſt, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and forty-firſt of his reign[83]. His character has been ſufficiently illuſtrated in the courſe of this work. He was the greateſt, and the moſt unfortunate of the Spartan kings. He had ſeen the higheſt grandeur of Sparta, and he beheld her fall. During the time that he governed the republic, his country ſuffered more calamities and diſgrace than in ſeven centuries preceding his reign. His ambition and his obſtinacy, doubtleſs, contributed to her diſaſters; yet ſo natural were the principles from which he acted, ſo probable his hopes of ſucceſs, and ſo firm and manly his ſtruggles for victory, that a contemporary writer, who could ſee through the cloud of fortune, ventured to beſtow on Ageſilaus a panegyric[84], which exalts him beyond the renown of his moſt illuſtrious predeceſſors.

[83] Diodor. l. xv. c. xxii.

[84] Ὁ λογος εις Αγεσιλαον, by Xenophon.

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CHAP. XXXII.

State of Greece after the Battle of Mantinæa.—The Amphictyonic Council.—Returning Prosperity of Athens.—Vices resulting from its Government.—Abuses of the judiciary Power.—Of the Theatre.—Degeneracy of Grecian Music.—Extreme Profligacy of the Athenians.—The Vices of Chares render him the Idol of the Multitude.—The Social War.—Banishment of Timotheus and Iphicrates.—Disgraceful Issue of the War.—Philosophy.—Statuary. Praxiteles. The Cnidian Venus.—Painting. Pamphilus, Nicias, Zeuxis.—Literature. Xenophon. His Military Expeditions. Religious and Literary Retreat. Lysias. Isocrates. Plato. His Travels. He settles in the Academy. His great Views. Theology. Cosmogony. Doctrine of Ideas. Of the Human Understanding. The Passions. Virtues. State of Retribution. Genius, and Character.

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State of Greece after the battle of Mantinæa.

WITH the battle of Mantinæa ended[a] the bloody struggle for dominion, which had long exhausted Thebes and Sparta. In that, or in the preceding engagements, they had lost their ablest generals,

[a] Xenophon's Greek history likewise ends with that battle. Henceforth we follow Plutarch and Diodorus, from whom we learn the principal circumstances of great events, which the orators Isocrates and Demosthenes, Aristotle's Treatise of Politics, and Xenophon's Discourses on the Revenues and Government of Athens will enable us more fully to explain.

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generals, and the flower of their troops. No Theban aroſe to emulate the magnanimity of Epaminondas, and to complete the deſigns of that illuſtrious patriot. Archidamus, who ſucceeded to the Spartan throne, imperfectly juſtified the high opinion conceived of his early wiſdom and valour. Weakened by their wounds, and fatigued by exertions long and fruitleſs, thoſe republics ſunk into ſuch weakneſs, as encouraged pretenſions of their neighbours that had long lain dormant.

The Amphictyonic council reſumes its ancient authority. Olymp. civ. 4. A. C. 361.

During the *ſuperiority*, or, in the language of ancient writers, during the *empire* of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, the majeſty of the amphictyonic council had degenerated into an empty pageant. Its deliberations were confined to matters of mere form; it regulated ſome ceremonies of ſuperſtition; it ſuperintended games and ſpectacles; it preſerved peace and good order among the crowd of ſtrangers who aſſembled, at ſtated times, to conſult the oracle of Apollo. But for more than a century paſt, the public meaſures of the Greeks had been directed by councils held, not at Delphi, the reſidence of the Amphictyons, but in Athens, Sparta, or Thebes, in one or other of which the allies convened on every important emergency, acknowledging by their preſence there, the reſpective authority of thoſe capitals which were regarded as the heads of their ſeveral confederacies. But when firſt the Peloponneſian, then the Bœotian war, and laſt of all the battle of Mantinæa, had levelled the greatneſs, and overthrown the proud tyranny of thoſe domineering republics, the Amphictyonic council once more emerged from obſcurity; and the general ſtates of Greece having aſſembled according to their national and hereditary forms, ſpurned the imperious dictates of any ſingle community.

The Athenians recover many of their maritime poſſeſſions. Olymp. cv. 1.—cv. 3. A. C. 360—358.

While this event ſtrengthened the fœderal union, and tended to reſtore the primitive equality of the Grecian ſtates, various circumſtances concurred to revive the aſpiring ambition of Athens. During the Bœotian war, the Athenians had acted as auxiliaries only; without making ſuch efforts as enfeebled their ſtrength, their arms had

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had acquired great luſtre. Their powerful rivals were humbled and exhauſted: experience had taught them the danger of attempting to ſubdue, and the impoſſibility of keeping in ſubjection, the territories of their warlike neighbours: but the numerous iſlands of the Ægean and Ionian ſeas, the remote coaſts of Thrace and Aſia, invited the activity of their fleet, which they might now employ in foreign conqueſts, fearleſs of domeſtic envy. It appears, that ſoon after the death of Epaminondas, Eubœa again acknowledged the authority [2] of Athens; an event facilitated by the deſtruction of the Theban partiſans, belonging to that place, in the battle of Mantinæa. From the Thracian Boſphorus to Rhodes, ſeveral places along both ſhores ſubmitted to the arms of Timotheus, Chabrias, and Iphicrates; men, who having ſurvived Ageſilaus and Epaminondas, were far ſuperior, in abilities and in virtue, to the contemporary generals of other republics. The Cyclades and Corcyra courted the friendſhip of a people capable to interrupt their navigation, and to deſtroy their commerce. Byzantium had become their ally, and there was reaſon to hope that Amphipolis would ſoon be rendered their ſubject. Such multiplied advantages revived the ancient grandeur of Athens, which once more commanded the ſea, with a fleet of near three hundred ſail, and employed the beſt half of her citizens and ſubjects in ſhips of war or commerce [3].

The vices aſcribed to the ſuppoſed degeneracy of the Athenians, refuted from the nature of their government.

This tide of proſperity, which flowed with moſt apparent force immediately after the battle [4] of Mantinæa, has been ſuppoſed productive of very important conſequences. While Epaminondas lived,

[2] Comp. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 513. & Demoſthenes de Cherſoneſo ſub fine, & Æſchines in Cteſiphont. It appears, however, from theſe authors that the Thebans ſoon afterwards endeavoured to recover Eubœa. The Athenians again reſcued it from their power, at the exhortation of Timotheus, whoſe pithy ſpeech is commended by Demoſthenes: "What, my countrymen, the Thebans in the iſland, and you ſtill deliberating! Why not already in the harbour? why not embarked? why is not the ſea covered with your navy?" Demoſthen. ubi ſupra.

[3] Xenoph. Hellen. l. vii. p. 615. Diodorus, l. xv. c. xi. Iſocrat. Panegyr. & de Pace.

[4] Juſtin. l. vi. c. ix. firſt made this obſervation, which has been ſo frequently repeated.

the

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the Athenians, it is ſaid, were kept vigilant in duty through jealouſy and fear; but after the death of this formidable enemy, they ſunk into thoſe vices which occaſioned their ruin. This ſplendid remark is not founded in truth. Two centuries before the birth of Epaminondas, the injuſtice, the avarice, the total corruption of the Athenians, is forcibly deſcribed by one of the moſt reſpectable of their countrymen[5], who compoſed a ſyſtem of wiſe laws in order to aſcertain their rights, and to reform their manners. But it was difficult to correct abuſes that ſeem inherent in the nature of democracy, which, even as regulated by Solon, but ſtill more as new-modelled by Pericles, left the citizens tyrants in one capacity, and ſlaves in another. The diviſion of the executive power of government among the archons, the ſenate, aſſembly, and even various committees of the aſſembly, rendered it impoſſible to perceive, or prevent, the hand of oppreſſion. Men knew not from what quarter their ſafety might be aſſailed; and being called to authority in their turn, they, inſtead of making united oppoſition to the injuſtice of their magiſtrates, contented themſelves with inflicting the ſame injuries which they had either previouſly ſuffered, or ſtill apprehended, from the malice of their enemies. Nor is this inconvenience peculiar to the Greek republics. While human nature remains unchanged, and the paſſions of men run in their ordinary channel, the right to exerciſe power will commonly be attended with a ſtrong inclination to abuſe it. Unleſs power, therefore, be counteracted by liberty; unleſs an impervious line of ſeparation be drawn between prerogative and privilege, and that part of the conſtitution which ſuſtains its political life, be kept ſeparate and diſtinct from that which tends to corruption, it is of little conſequence whether a country be governed by one tyrant or a thouſand; in both caſes alike the condition of man is precarious, and force prevails over law.

[5] See above vol. i. c. xiii. p. 456, and the elegiac verſes of Solon preſerved in Demoſthenes Orat. [illegible]; a title that can only be tranſlated by a paraphraſe, "the miſconduct of Athenians in his embaſſy."

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This ſubject illuſtrated;

This radical defect in the Grecian policies produced many ruinous conſequences in affairs foreign and domeſtic, which were commonly directed by the ſelfiſh paſſions of a few, or the fluctuating caprices of the multitude, rather than by the rational and permanent intereſt of the community. But as diſeaſes and other accidents often bring to light the latent weakneſs and imperfections of the body, ſo the vices of the Athenian government firſt appeared in their full magnitude after the unfortunate war of Peloponneſus; and, although the exceſs of the malady ſometimes checked itſelf, and returns of eaſe and proſperity ſometimes concealed its virulence, yet the deep-rooted evil ſtill maintained its deſtructive progreſs, till it wrought the ruin of the conſtitution.

in the abuſes of the judiciary power;

In the tumultuary governments of Greece, where the judiciary power frequently prevailed over the legiſlative, the ſources of diſſention were innumerable; while the feeble reſtraint of laws, ill adminiſtered, was unable to counteract their force. Although hereditary diſtinctions were little known or regarded, the poor and rich formed two diſtinct parties, which had their particular views and ſeparate intereſts. In ſome republics the higher ranks bound themſelves, by oath, to neglect no opportunity of hurting their inferiors[6]. The populace of Athens commonly treated the rich as if they had entered into an engagement not leſs atrocious[7]. During the intervals of party rage, private quarrels kept the ſtate in perpetual fermentation. Beſide the ordinary diſputes concerning property, the competitions for civil offices, for military command, for obtaining public honours, or eluding puniſhments or burthens, opened an ever-flowing ſource of bitter animoſity. Among this litigious people, neighbours were continually at variance. Every man was regarded as a rival and enemy, who had not proved himſelf a friend[8]. Hereditary reſentments were perpetuated from one generation to another; and the ſeeds of

[6] Ariſtot. Polit. Iſocrat. & Lyſias, paſſim.
[7] Xenoph. de rep. Athen.
[8] See Lyſias paſſim. & Xenoph. Memorab. l. ii. p. 74[9], & ſeqq.

diſcord

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diſcord being ſown in ſuch abundance, yielded a never-failing crop of libels, invectives, and legal proſecutions. The uſual employment of ſix thouſand Athenians conſiſted in deciding law-ſuits, the profits of which afforded the principal reſource of the poorer citizens. Their legal fees amounted annually to an hundred and fifty talents; the bribes, which they received, ſometimes exceeded that ſum; and, both united, formed a ſixth part of the Athenian revenues[9], even in the moſt flouriſhing times. As the moſt numerous but moſt worthleſs claſs of the people commonly prevailed in the aſſembly, ſo they had totally ingroſſed the tribunals, and it was to be expected that ſuch judges would always be more ſwayed by favour and prejudice than by law and reaſon. The law puniſhed with death the man guilty of giving bribes; but "we," ſay the Athenian writers[10], "advance him to the command of our armies; and the more criminal he becomes in this reſpect, with the higher and more lucrative honours is he inveſted." Thoſe who courted popular favour, laviſhed not only their own, but the public wealth, to flatter the paſſions of their adherents; an abuſe which began during the ſplendid adminiſtration of Pericles[11], extended more widely under his unworthy ſucceſſors; and, though interrupted during the calamities of the republic, revived with new force on the firſt dawn of returning proſperity[12].

In the licence of democratic freedom, the citizens, poor and rich, thought themſelves alike entitled to enjoy every ſpecies of feſtivity. Pericles introduced the practice of exhibiting not only tragedies, but comedies, at the public expence, and of paying for the admiſſion of the populace. At the period of which we write, a conſiderable portion of the revenue was appropriated to the theatre; and ſome years afterwards[13], a law was propoſed by the demagogue Eubulus, and

and in those of the theatre.

[9] Ariſtoph. Veſp.

[10] Iſocrates de pace, & Demoſthenes, paſſim.

[11] Thucydides, p. 108, & ſeqq.

[12] Plut. in Pericle.

[13] Before Chriſt 349, according to S. Petitus, de Leg. Attic. p. 385.

enacted

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enacted by the ſenate and people, rendering it capital to divert, or even to propoſe diverting, the *theatrical* money to any other end or object[14].

Circumſtances which rendered the Grecian theatre peculiarly liable to abuſe.

Of all amuſements known in poliſhed ſociety, the Grecian theatre was, doubtleſs, the moſt elegant and ingenious; yet ſeveral circumſtances rendered it peculiarly liable to abuſe. The great extent of the edifices in which plays were repreſented, naturally introduced maſques, the better to diſtinguiſh the different *perſons*[15], or characters, of the drama; ſince the variations of paſſion, with the correſpondent changes of countenance, which form the capital merit of modern performers, could ſcarcely have been obſerved by an immenſe crowd of people, many of whom muſt have been placed at a great diſtance from the ſcene. The ſame cauſes, together with the inimitable harmony of the Greek language, gave riſe to muſical declamation[16], which might ſometimes fortify paſſion, but always rendered ſpeech more ſlow and articulate, and therefore more eaſily heard by the remote part of the audience. In combining the different parts of a tragic fable, the poet naturally rejects ſuch incidents as are improper for repreſentation. Theſe, if neceſſary for carrying on the action of the piece, are ſuppoſed to be tranſacted elſewhere, and barely related on the theatre. The time required for ſuch events, when they are not ſimultaneous with thoſe exhibited on the ſtage, neceſſarily interrupts the repreſentation, and leaves room for the choral ſongs, which being incorporated with the tragedy, heightens its effect, and increaſes the ſpectator's delight; conſequences extremely different from thoſe attending the act tunes and detached airs of modern plays and operas, univerſally condemned by good judges, as ſuſpending the action, and deſtroying the intereſt of

[14] Plutarch. in Lit. & Demoſthen. Orat. Fun.

[15] It is well known that the ſtage [illegible] originally, light diſtant [illegible], from [illegible], becauſe the ancient maſques, both Greek and Roman, were ſo made as to increaſe and invigorate ſound.

[16] The Greeks never embraced the [illegible] cuſtom of dividing, the [illegible] between two perſons. This is aſcribed by Livy, as the invention of Titus Lucretius, who flouriſhed 240 years before Chriſt.

The

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the drama, and only affording opportunities to effeminate throats to ſhine in trills and diviſions, at the expence of poetry and good ſenſe. But in ancient, as well as modern times, the corrupt taſte of the licentious vulgar was ever at variance with the diſcerning judgment of the wiſe and virtuous. The form and arrangement of the Grecian tragedy was exactly imitated in the extravagant pieces of Ariſtophanes, and his profligate contemporaries and ſucceſſors[17]. Theſe pernicious productions formed the favourite entertainment of the populace. The maſque, diſguiſing the countenance of the performer, allowed him to indulge in the moſt unbluſhing licence of voice and geſture; the declamation was effeminate and vicious; above all, the muſic became glaring, tawdry, voluptuous, and diſſolute in the higheſt degree, and ſuited only that perverſe debauchery of ſoul from which it originally ſprung, and which it ſerved afterwards to inflame and nouriſh[18].

Extreme profligacy of the Athenians.

A myſterious cloud hangs over the Grecian muſic, to which effects are aſcribed far tranſcending the actual power of that art. Yet we cannot refuſe our aſſent to the concurring teſtimony of ancient writers, who refer to this principle the extreme degeneracy and corruption which almoſt univerſally infected the Athenians at the period now under review. Cauſes which operate on the many, are not eaſily miſtaken; but ſhould we ſtill doubt the cauſe, the effect at leaſt cannot be denied. The Athenian youth are ſaid to have diſſipated their fortunes, and melted the vigour of mind and

[17] See above, Vol. I. c. xiii. p. 484.

[18] Ariſtotle, l. viii. de Republ. ſays ironically, "Every kind of muſic is good for ſomething; that of the theatres is neceſſary for the amuſement of the mob; being well ſuited to the perverſion of their minds and manners, and let them enjoy it." Plato, Ariſtoxenus, and Plutarch, bitterly complain of the corruption of muſic, as the main ſource of vice and immorality. That art, which had anciently been uſed as the vehicle of religious and moral inſtruction, was employed in the theatres to excite every voluptuous and diſſolute paſſion. Plato de Legibus, l. iii. Ariſtoxenus, quoted by Athenæus, l. xiv. & Plutarch. de Muſica. In ſpeaking of the vices of Lycidas, a writer, who had the ſpirit of an ancient legiſlator, ſays, "That were a man permitted to make all the ballads of a nation, he needed not care who ſhould make its laws." Fletcher of Saltoun's Works, p. 266.

body,

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body, in wanton and expenſive dalliance with the female performers on the theatre[19]. Weary and faſtidious with exceſs of criminal indulgence, they loſt all capacity or reliſh for ſolid and manly occupations; and at once deſerted the exerciſes of war, and the ſchools of philoſophers. To fill up the vacuities of their liſtleſs lives, they, as well as perſons more advanced in years, loitered in the ſhops of muſicians, and other artiſts[20]; or ſauntered in the forum and public places, idly enquiring after news, in which they took little intereſt, unleſs ſome danger alarmed the inſipid uniformity of their pleaſures[21]. Dice, and other games of chance, were carried to a ruinous exceſs; and are ſo keenly ſtigmatiſed by the moral writers of the age, that it ſhould ſeem they had begun but recently to prevail, and prove fatal[22]. The people at large were peculiarly addicted to the ſenſual gratifications of the table; and, might we believe a poet quoted by Athenæus, had lately beſtowed the freedom of their city (once deemed an honour by princes and kings[23]) on the ſons of Chærephilus, on account of the uncommon merit of their father in the art of cookery[24].

Their idleneſs, poverty, and ignorance.

Idleneſs, indulgence, and diſſipation, had reduced the greater part of the Athenian citizens to extreme indigence. Although landed property was more equally divided in Greece than in any modern country, we are told that about one fourth of the Athenians were totally deſtitute of *immoveable* poſſeſſions[25]. Their dreſs was

[19] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534. who gives a general deſcription of Athenian profligacy.

[20] Iſocrat. in Areopag. and Lyſias's defence of a poor man accuſed before the ſenate, tranſlated in the Life of Lyſias, p. 114.

[21] Demoſthen. Philipp. paſſim.

[22] Athenæus, l. xii. Lyſias in Alcibiad.

[23] Demoſthen. de Republic. Ordinand.

[24] Athenæus, l. iii. p. 119.

[25] See the Diſcourſe of Lyſias upon a propoſal for diſſolving the ancient government of Athens. Lyſias's orations were chiefly written in the ſpace of twenty years, between 404 and 384 before Chriſt. They afford an uniform picture of the poverty, miſery, and vices of his contemporaries; which the reader will find abridged in the introduction to my tranſlation of that writer. The Athenian affairs became more flouriſhing after the fall of Thebes and Sparta. Their reſources were again exhauſted by the war with their allies. The revenues were greatly raiſed by the conqueſts of Timotheus, Phocion, &c. and the good management of Lycurgus and Demoſthenes. Plut. in Lycurg. in lib. de Dec. Orator.

frequently

frequently ſo mean and dirty, that it was difficult, by their external appearance, to diſtinguiſh them from ſlaves; a circumſtance which aroſe not from ſlovenlineſs, but from poverty, ſince we are aſſured that ſuch as could afford the expence ſpared no pains to adorn their perſons; and that many who danced during ſummer in embroidered robes, ſpent the winter in places too ſhameful to be named [25]. And how is it poſſible (to uſe the words of their own authors [27]) that wretches, deſtitute of the firſt neceſſaries of life, ſhould adminiſter public affairs with wiſdom? We find accordingly, that they were extremely ill qualified for executing thoſe offices with which they were intruſted. As the lower ranks had in a great meaſure ingroſſed the adminiſtration of juſtice, it was not uncommon to bribe the clerks employed in tranſcribing the laws of Solon, to abridge, interpolate, and corrupt them. What is ſtill more extraordinary, ſuch a groſs artifice frequently ſucceeded; nor was the deceit diſcovered until litigant parties produced in court contradictory laws [28]. When their negligence could not be ſurpriſed, their avarice might be bribed; juſtice was ſold; riches, virtue, eminence of rank or abilities, always expoſed to danger, and often ended in diſgrace [29]. For thoſe needy Athenians, who formed the moſt numerous claſs in the republic, endeavoured to alleviate their miſery by a very criminal conſolation; perſecuting their ſuperiors, baniſhing them their country, confiſcating their eſtates, and treating them on the ſlighteſt provocation, and often without any provocation at all, with the utmoſt injuſtice and cruelty [30]. Though occaſionally directed by the equity of an Ariſtides, or the magnanimity of a Cimon, they, for the moſt part, liſtened to men of an oppoſite character. He who could beſt flatter and deceive them obtained moſt of their confidence. With ſuch qualifications, the turbu-

[26] Iſocrates on reforming the government of Athens.

[27] Iſocrat. & Xenoph. de Repub. Athen.

[28] Life of Lyſias, preſixed to his orations, p. 116.

[29] See Life of Ariſtides, Cimon, &c.

[30] Iſocrates de Pace, and the ſame cuſtom exiſted in other countries, which have already occurred in this hiſtory.

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lent, licentious, and diſſolute, in a word, the orator who moſt reſembled his audience, commonly prevailed in the aſſembly; and ſpecious or hurtful talents carried off the rewards due to real merit. Iſocrates [31] aſſures us of the fact; and Xenophon [32] affirms, that it is perfectly conformable to the nature and principles of the Athenian form of government.

The vices of Chares render him the favourite of the multitude.

With ſuch principles and manners, the Athenians required only a daring and profligate leader, to involve them in deſigns the moſt extravagant and pernicious. Such a perſonage preſented himſelf in Chares, whoſe ſoldier-like appearance, blunt addreſs, and bold impetuous valour, maſked his ſelfiſh ambition, and rendered him the idol of the populace. His perſon was gigantic and robuſt, his voice commanding, his manners haughty; he aſſerted poſitively, and promiſed boldly; and his preſumption was ſo exceſſive, that it concealed his incapacity not only from others, but from himſelf. Though an enterpriſing and ſucceſsful partiſan, he was unacquainted with the great duties of a general; and his defects appear the more ſtriking and palpable, when compared with the abilities of Iphicrates and Timotheus, his contemporaries, who prevailed as often by addreſs as by force, and whoſe conqueſts were ſecured to the republic by the moderation, juſtice, and humanity, with which they had been obtained, and with which they continued to be governed. Chares propoſed a very different mode of adminiſtration; he exhorted his countrymen to ſupply the defects of their treaſury, and to acquire the materials of thoſe pleaſures which they regarded as eſſential to their happineſs, by plundering the wealth of their allies and colonies. This counſel was too faithfully obeyed; the vexations, anciently exerciſed againſt the tributary and dependent ſtates, were renewed and exceeded [33]. The weaker communities complained, and remonſtrated, againſt this intolerable rapacity and oppreſſion; while

[31] In his oration on reforming the government of Athens.

[32] In his treatiſe de Republic. Athen.

[33] Diodor. l. xvi. & Iſocrat. de Pace.

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the iſlands of Chios, Coos, Rhodes, as well as the city of Byzantium, prepared openly to revolt, and engaged with each other to repel force by force, until they ſhould obtain peace and independence [34].

The ſocial war. Olymp. cv. 3. A. C. 358.

Chares, probably the chief inſtrument, as well as the adviſer of the arbitrary meaſures which had occaſioned the revolt, was ſent out with a powerful fleet and army, to quaſh at once the hopes of the inſurgents. He ſailed towards Chios, with an intention to ſeize the capital of that iſland, which was ſuppoſed to be the centre and prime mover of rebellion. The confederates, informed of his motions, had already drawn thither the greateſt part of their force. The city of Chios was beſieged by ſea and land. The iſlanders defended themſelves with vigour. Chares found it difficult to repulſe their ſallies. His fleet attempted to enter their harbour without ſucceſs; the ſhip of Chabrias alone penetrated thus far; and that able commander, whoſe valour and integrity merited a better fortune, though deſerted by the fleet, yet forſook not the ſhip intruſted to him by the republic. His companions threw away their ſhields, and ſaved themſelves by ſwimming to the Athenian ſquadron, which was ſtill within their reach. But Chabrias, fighting bravely, fell by the darts of the Chians, preferring an honourable death to a diſgraceful life [35].

Encouraged by advantages over an enemy who had at firſt affected to deſpiſe them, the inſurgents augmented their fleet, and ravaged the iſles of Lemnos and Samos. The Athenians, indignant that the territories of their faithful allies ſhould fall a prey to the depredations of rebels, fitted out, early in the next year, a new armament under the command of Mneſtheus, the ſon of Iphicrates, and ſon-in-law of Timotheus, expecting that the new commander would reſpectfully liſten to the advice of thoſe great men, who perhaps declined acting as principals in an expedition where Chares poſſeſſed any ſhare of authority. That general had raiſed the ſiege of Chios,

[34] Diodor. l. xvi. pp. 413. 423.
[35] Nepos in Chabr. & Diodor. l. xvi. p. 423, & ſeqq.

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and now cruiſed in the Helleſpont; where, being joined by Mneſtheus, the united ſquadrons amounted to an hundred and twenty ſail. It was immediately determined to cauſe a diverſion of the enemy's forces from Samos and Lemnos, by laying ſiege to Byzantium. The deſign ſucceeded; the allies withdrew from theſe iſlands, collected their whole naval ſtrength, and prepared vigorouſly for defending the principal city in their confederacy.

Chares accuſes Timotheus and Iphicrates.

The hoſtile armaments approached each other, with a reſolution to join battle, when a ſudden and violent ſtorm aroſe, which rendered it impoſſible for the Athenians to bear up to the enemy, or even to keep the ſea, without being expoſed to ſhipwreck. Chares alone confidently inſiſted on commencing the attack, while the other commanders, more cautious and experienced, perceived the diſadvantage, and declined the unequal danger [36]. His impetuoſity, thus over-ruled by the prudence of his colleagues, was converted into reſentment and fury; he called the ſoldiers and ſailors to witneſs their oppoſition, which he branded with every odious epithet of reproach; and, with the firſt opportunity, diſpatched proper meſſengers to Athens, to accuſe them of incapacity, cowardice, and total neglect of duty. The acculation was ſupported by venal orators in the pay of Chares.

Their trial;

Timotheus and Iphicrates were tried capitally. The former truſted to his innocence and eloquence; the latter uſed a very extraordinary expedient to ſway the judges, conformable, however, to the ſpirit of that age, when courts of juſtice were frequently inſtruments of oppreſſion, governed by every ſpecies of undue influence, eaſily corrupted and eaſily intimidated. The targeteers, or light infantry, who had been armed, diſciplined, and long commanded, by Iphicrates, enjoyed the ſame reputation in Greece, which the

[36] We are not informed by Diodorus or Nepos, why the diſadvantage and danger were on the ſide of the Athenians; probably, being better ſailors, they expected to profit of their ſkill in *manœuvre*, which the ſtorm rendered uſeleſs and unavailing.

Fabian

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Fabian ſoldiers afterwards did in Italy. They were called the *Iphicratenſian* troops, from the name of their commander, to whom they owed their merit and their fame, and to whoſe perſon (notwithſtanding the ſtrictneſs of his diſcipline) they were ſtrongly attached by the ties of gratitude and eſteem. The youngeſt and braveſt of this celebrated band readily obeyed the injunctions of their admired general; ſurrounded, on the day of trial, the benches of the magiſtrates; and took care ſeaſonably to diſplay the points of their daggers[37].

and baniſhment.

It was the law of Athens, that, after preliminaries had been adjuſted, and the judges aſſembled, the parties ſhould be heard, and the trial begun and ended on the ſame day; nor could any perſon be twice tried for the ſame offence. The rapidity of this mode of procedure favoured the views of Iphicrates. The magiſtrates were overawed by the imminence of a danger, which they had neither ſtrength to reſiſt, nor time to elude. They were compelled to an immediate deciſion; but, inſtead of the ſentence of death, which was expected, they impoſed a fine[38] on the delinquents, which no Athenian citizen in that age was in a condition to pay. This ſeverity drove into baniſhment thoſe able and illuſtrious commanders. Timotheus ſailed to Chalcis in Eubœa, and afterwards to the iſle of Leſbos, both which places his valour and abilities had recovered for the republic, and which, being choſen as his reſidence in diſgrace, ſufficiently evince the mildneſs of his government, and his moderation in proſperity. Iphicrates travelled into Thrace, where he had long reſided. He had formerly married the daughter of Cotys, the moſt conſiderable of the Thracian princes; yet he lived and died in ob-

[37] It was probably during this trial, that Iphicrates being reproached with betraying the intereſts of his country, aſked his accuſer, "Would you, on a like occaſion, have been guilty of that crime?" "By no means," replied the other. "And can you then imagine," replied the hero, "that Iphicrates ſhould be guilty?" Quintilian. l. v. c. xii.

[38] One hundred talents, about twenty thouſand pounds.

ſecurity;

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ſcurity[39]; nor did either he or Timotheus thenceforth take any ſhare in the affairs of their ungrateful country[40]. Thus did the ſocial war deſtroy or remove Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus, the beſt generals whom Greece could boaſt; and, the brave and honeſt Phocion excepted, the laſt venerable remains of Athenian virtue[41].

Chares entruſted with the ſole conduct of the war; Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

By the removal of thoſe great men, Chares was left to conduct, uncontrouled, the war againſt the allies; and to diſplay the full extent of his worthleſſneſs and incapacity. His inſatiable avarice rendered him intolerable to the friends of Athens; his weakneſs and negligence expoſed him to the contempt of the inſurgents. He indulged his officers and himſelf in a total neglect of diſcipline; the reduction of the rebels was the leaſt matter of his concern; he was attended by an effeminate crowd of ſingers, dancers, and harlots[42], whoſe luxury exhauſted the ſcanty ſupplies raiſed by the Athenians for the ſervice of the war[43]. In order to ſatisfy the clamorous demands of the ſoldiers, Chares, regardleſs of the treaties ſubſiſting between Athens and Perſia, hired himſelf and his forces to Artabazus, the wealthy ſatrap of Ionia, who had revolted from his maſter Artaxerxes Ochus, the moſt cruel and deteſtable tyrant that ever diſgraced the throne of Cyrus. The arms of the Greeks ſaved Artabazus from the implacable reſentment of a monſter incapable to pity or forgive; and their meritorious ſervices were amply rewarded by the laviſh gratitude of the ſatrap.

Which ends diſgracefully for the Athenians. Olym. cvi. 1. A. C. 356.

This tranſaction, how extraordinary ſoever it may appear to the modern reader, neither ſurpriſed nor diſpleaſed the Athenians. They

[39] Diodorus only ſays, that he was dead before the battle of Chæronæa, which happened twenty years after his baniſhment.

[40] Nepos ſays, that after the death of Timotheus, the Athenians remitted nine parts of his fine; but obliged his ſon Conon to pay the remaining tenth, for repairing the walls of the Piræus, which his grandfather had rebuilt from the ſpoils of the enemy.

[41] *Military* virtue. Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Athenienſium, Iphicratis, Chabrias, Timotheus; neque poſt illorum obitum quiſquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria. Nepos in Timoth. The biographer forgets Phocion.

[42] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

[43] Demoſthen. Philipp. 1.

were

were accuſtomed to allow their commanders in foreign parts to act without inſtructions or controul; and the creatures of Chares loudly extolled his good management in paying the Grecian troops with Perſian money. But the triumph of falſe joy was of ſhort duration. Ochus ſent an embaſſy to remonſtrate with the Athenians on their unprovoked infraction of the peace; and threatened, that unleſs they immediately withdrew their forces from Aſia, he would aſſiſt the rebels with a fleet of three hundred ſail. This juſt menace, want of ſucceſs againſt the confederates, together with a reaſon ſtill more important, which will ſoon come to be fully explained, obliged the Athenians to recal their armament from the Eaſt, and to terminate the ſocial war, without obtaining any of the purpoſes for which it had been undertaken. The confederates made good the claims which their boldneſs had urged; regained complete freedom and independence[44]; and lived twenty years exempt from the legal oppreſſion of ſubſidies and contingents, till they ſubmitted, with the reſt of Greece, to the arms and intrigues of Philip, and the irreſiſtible fortune of the Macedonians.

State of philoſophy.

Notwithſtanding the decay of martial ſpirit, the extravagance of public councils, and the general corruption of manners, which prevailed in Athens, and in other cities of Greece, the arts and ſciences were ſtill cultivated with ardour and ſucceſs. During the period now under review, the ſcholars of Hippocrates and Democritus enriched natural philoſophy with many important diſcoveries[45]. The different branches of mathematics, mechanics, and aſtronomy, received great improvements from Eudoxus[46] of Cnidus, Timæus[47] of Locri, Archytas of Tarentum, and Meton of Athens[48]. The Megaric ſchool flouriſhed under Stilpo, the moſt learned and acute of that diſputatious ſect, which, from its continual wranglings, incurited

[44] Diodor. p. 424.

[45] Galenus. de Natur. facultat. & Hippocrat. Περι αιρεσ., &c.

[46] Laert. l. viii. ſect. 86. & Suid. in Eudox.

[47] Jambl. de Pythagor.

[48] Cenſorin. de Die natal.

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rited the epithet of contentious [49]. The doctrines of Ariſtippus were maintained by his daughter Areté, and improved by Hegeſias and Anneceris, who paved the way for Epicurus [50]. The ſevere philoſophy of Antiſthenes had fewer followers [51]. But Diogenes alone was equal to a ſect [52].

Of the fine arts. Statuary.

Statuary was cultivated by Polycletus and Canachus of Sicyon, by Naucydes of Argos, and by innumerable artiſts in other cities of Greece, Italy, and Ionia. The works of Polycletus were the moſt admired. His greateſt work was the coloſſal ſtatue of Argive Juno, compoſed of gold and ivory. Bronze and marble, however, ſtill furniſhed the uſual materials for ſculpture. The Grecian temples, particularly thoſe of Delphi and Olympia, were enriched with innumerable productions of this kind, during the period to which our preſent obſervations relate. One figure of Polycletus acquired peculiar fame. From the exactneſs of the proportions [53], it was called the rule, or ſtandard. Even Lyſippus, the contemporary and favourite of Alexander, regarded it as a model of excellence, from which it was imprudent to depart.

The works of Praxiteles. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 460.

Between Polycletus and Lyſippus flouriſhed Praxiteles, whoſe works formed the intermediate ſhade between the ſublime ſtyle, which prevailed in the age of Pericles, and the beautiful, which attained perfection under Lyſippus and Apelles, in the age of Alexander. The ſtatues of Praxiteles bore a ſimilar relation to thoſe of Phidias, which the paintings of Guido and Corregio bear to thoſe of

[49] Lucian. Laert. l. vi. ſect. 107.

[50] Laertius & Suidas.

[51] Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. l. x. c. xvi.

[52] We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully of Diogenes hereafter.

[53] Winckelmann, p. 653, and his tranſlator Mr. Huber, vol. iii. p. 34. differ from Pliny, l. 35. c. 19. They confound the ſtatue, called the Rule, or Canon, with another called the Doryphorus, becauſe graſping a ſpear. Pliny's words are, "Polycletus Sicyonius Diadumenum fecit molliter juvenem, centum talentis nobilitatum; Idem et Doryphorum viriliter puerum. Fecit et quem canona artifices vocant, lineamenta artis ex eo petentes, velut a lege quadam; ſolusque hominum artem ipſe (forſe ipſam) feciſſe, artis opere judicatur." They have followed Cicero de Clar. Orator. c. 86.—yet Cicero, ſpeaking incidentally on the ſubject, might more naturally miſtake than Pliny, writing expreſsly on ſculpture.

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Julio Romano, and Raphael. The works of the earlier artiſts are more grand and more ſublime, thoſe of the later more graceful and more alluring; the firſt claſs being addreſſed to the imagination, the ſecond to the ſenſes. The works of Praxiteles were in the Ceramicus of Athens; but neither in the Ceramicus, nor in any part of the world, was a ſtatue to be ſeen equal to his celebrated Venus, which long attracted ſpectators from all parts to Cnidus. Praxiteles made two ſtatues of the goddeſs at the ſame time, the one clothed, the other naked. The decent modeſty of the Coans preferred the former; the latter was purchaſed by the Cnidians, and long regarded as the moſt valuable poſſeſſion of their community. The voluptuous Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, languiſhed after this ſtatue; to purchaſe ſuch unrivalled charms he offered to pay the debts of Cnidus, which were immenſe; but the Cnidians determined not to part with an ornament from which their republic derived ſo much celebrity. "Having conſidered," ſays an ancient author[54], "the beautiful avenues leading to the temple, we at length entered the ſacred dome. In the middle ſtands the ſtatue of the goddeſs, in marble of Paros. A ſweet ſmile ſits on her lips; no garment hides her charms; the hand only, as by an inſtinctive impulſe, conceals thoſe parts which modeſty permits not to name. The art of Praxiteles has given to the ſtone the ſoftneſs and ſenſibility of fleſh. O Mars, the moſt fortunate of the gods!" But it is impoſſible to tranſlate his too faithful deſcription into the decency of modern language; a deſcription more animated and voluptuous than even the chiſel of Praxiteles.

The Cnidian Venus.

The honour which Polyeletus and Praxiteles acquired in ſculpture, was, during the ſame age, attained in painting by Eupompus and Pamphilus of Sicyon, by Euphranor of Corinth, by Apollodorus and Nicias of Athens; above all by Zeuxis and Timanthes[55]. The

The Arts of Painting.

[54] Lucian. Amor.

[55] Pliny, in his 35th book. I have paid little attention to his pretended Epochs of Art, when inconſiſtent with the information of more ancient authors. The Greek hiſtorian, from whom he copied the beſt part of his work,

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The works of Eupompus are now unknown, but in his own times his merit and celebrity occaſioned a new diviſion of the ſchools, which were formerly the Grecian and the Aſiatic; but after Eupompus, the Grecian ſchool was ſubdivided into the Athenian and Sicyonian. Pamphilus, and his ſcholar Apelles, gave freſh luſtre to the latter ſchool, which ſeems to have flouriſhed longer than any other in Greece, ſince the paintings exhibited at the celebrated proceſſion of Ptolemy Philadelphus were all the productions of Sicyonian maſters[56].

Works of Pamphilus.

Few works of Pamphilus are deſcribed by ancient authors. His picture of the Heraclidæ, carrying branches of olive, and imploring the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, has not, however, eſcaped the vigilant eye of national vanity[57]. He was by birth a Macedonian, but well verſed in literature and ſcience, which he thought indiſpenſably neceſſary to a painter. He received about two hundred pounds from each of his ſcholars, and ſeems to have been the firſt who put a high price on his works. He lived to enjoy his fame, and rendered his profeſſion ſo faſhionable, that it became cuſtomary in Sicyon, and afterwards in other parts of Greece, to inſtruct the ſons of wealthy families in the art of deſign. This liberal profeſſion was forbidden to ſlaves; nor, during the exiſtence of Grecian freedom, did any celebrated production in ſculpture or painting come from ſervile hands[58].

Of Euphranor.

Euphranor the Corinthian excelled both in painting and ſtatuary. The dignity of his heroes was admired. He painted

work, found it convenient, at every pauſe in their narrative, to give ſome account of men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the arts and ſciences, of whom they had no opportunity to make mention in relating public tranſactions, and deſcribing wars and negociations. The æra of every peace furniſhed a proper reſting-place to the hiſtorian; from which he looked back, and collected the names worthy to be handed down to poſterity. Every ſuch æra, therefore, Pliny, and after him Winkelmann, have conſidered as an epoch of art; not reflecting, that arts do not ſuddenly ariſe and flouriſh, and when once they flouriſh, do not ſuddenly decay, ſince the mind long retains the impulſe which it has received; and the active powers of man, when once directed to their proper objects, are not eaſily lulled to repoſe.

[56] Athen. Deipn. l. v. p. 196.

[57] Ariſtoph. Plut. v. 385.

[58] Plin. l. xxxv. c. xxxvi. ſect. 8.

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the twelve gods. He ſaid that *his* Theſeus had fed on fleſh, that of Parrhaſius on roſes. He wrote on colours and ſymmetry. Apollodorus the Athenian was deemed the firſt who knew the force of light and ſhade[59]. His prieſt in prayer, and his Ajax ſtruck with lightning, were held in high eſtimation. Nicias, his fellow-citizen, excelled in female figures, and in all the magic of colouring. His Calypſo, Iö, and Andromeda, claimed juſt fame; but his greateſt compoſition was the Necromanteia of Homer[60]. Attalus king of Pergamus (for Nicias lived to a great age) offered twelve thouſand pounds for this picture; but the artiſt, who was extremely wealthy, gave it in a preſent to his native country. Praxiteles, when aſked which of his ſtatues he moſt valued, anſwered, "Thoſe of which the models were retouched by Nicias."

Apollodorus.

Nicias.

Zeuxis is ſaid to have been born at Heraclæa, but it is uncertain in which of the cities known by that name. He acquired great wealth by his works; at length he refuſed money, boaſting that no price could pay them. The modeſty of his Penelopé was equal to a leſſon of morality. He painted Hercules ſtrangling the ſerpents in the preſence of the aſtoniſhed Amphitryon and Alcmena. His picture dedicated in the temple of Juno Lucina, at Agrigentum, has been often mentioned. Being allowed to view the naked beauty of that populous city, it is known that he choſe

Zeuxis.

[59] This is the commendation of Plutarch. Pliny ſpeaks more highly of Apollodorus. "Feſtinans ad lumina artis, in quibus primus refulſit Apollodorus Athenienſis .... neque ante eum tabula ullius oſtenditur, quæ teneat oculos." Pliny's praiſes often claſh with each other. He frequently calls different perſons the firſt in the art, and even in the ſame branch of it. The warmth of his fancy leaves him no time for calculating the weight of his expreſſions. His credulity, love of wonder, and inaccuracy, cannot be defended. Yet his judgments on pictures and ſtatues are not without their merit: ſince the perfection of thoſe works of art conſiſts in making a deep impreſſion, in tranſporting and elevating the affections, and in raiſing that glow of ſentiment, which Pliny is ſo happy in communicating to his readers.

[60] Long before all the celebrated works of art, Homer had viewed nature with a pictureſque eye. For the innumerable pictures copied from him, ſee Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. l. ii. c. vi. p. 345. Homer gave the idea of what is grand and pathetic in intellect, which painters and ſtatuaries tranſlated into what is touching and awful to the eye.

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as models five virgins, whoſe united charms were expreſſed in this celebrated piece. His greateſt work was Jupiter ſitting on his throne, and ſurrounded by the gods [61].

Timanthes.

Timanthes reached the higheſt perfection of his art; but his genius ſurpaſſed the art itſelf. In his ſacrifice of Iphigenia, a gradation of ſorrow was ſeen in the faces of the ſpectators. It was carried to the utmoſt height, conſiſtent with beauty, in the countenance of her uncle Menelaus. But Agamemnon, who was ſtill more deeply afflicted with the unhappy fate of his daughter, veiled his face with his robe. In ſeveral others of his pieces, Timanthes diſcovered the power of tranſporting the mind beyond the picture. He painted to the fancy rather than to the eye. In his works, as in the deſcriptions of Homer and Milton, more was underſtood than expreſſed.

Expreſſion of Greek painting.

The power of expreſſion was carried to a degree of perfection which it is not eaſy to believe, and ſcarcely poſſible to comprehend. The civil

[61] Valerius Maximus, l. iii. c. vii. ſpeaks of his Helena painted for the city of Crotona. On his naked Helen Zeuxis inſcribed the following lines of Homer:

Ου νεμεσις, Τρωας και ευκνημιδας Αχαιους
Τοιη δαμφι γυναικι πολυν χρονον αλγεα πασχειν
Αινως αθανατησι θεης εισωπα εοικεν.
Il. iii. v. 154.

"They cry'd, No wonder ſuch celeſtial charms,
For nine long years have ſet the world in arms:
What winning graces! what majeſtic mien!
She moves a goddeſs, and ſhe looks a queen." POPE.

Pope has paraphraſed the laſt line, "For ſhe is wonderfully like to the immortal gods." This muſt have ſounded nobly to the Greeks, who would doubtleſs have conſidered "looking a queen," as a ſinking in poetry. But I have cited the lines, to ſhew by what different means poetry and painting attain the ſame end. Both Homer and Zeuxis convey an high idea of Helen's beauty; but Homer does it by the effects of this beauty, which could animate the cold age of Priam, Panthoos, &c. whom he has juſt inimitably deſcribed:

Γηραι δη πολεμοιο πεπαυμενοι, αλλ' αγορηται
Εσθλοι, τεττιγεσσι εοικοτες οιτε καθ' υλην
Δενδρεω εφ' υψηλω οπα λειριοεσσαν ιεισι.

When the Greek monk, Conſtantinus Manaſſes (Chron. p. 20.) deſcribes the beauty of Helen,

Η δε γυνη περικαλλης ευπρεπης ευχαριτωτατη
Ευπαρειος ευμορφος βοωπις, χιονοχρους;

and ſo on, through a dozen of lines, the imagination of the reader cannot follow him: each epithet of beauty drives the preceding from the memory; and we fancy that we ſee a man laboriouſly rolling ſtones up one ſide of a hill, which immediately roll down the other. Arioſto's deſcription of the beauty of Alcina (cant. viii.), is in the ſame bad taſte. How different is Virgil's "Pulcherrima Dido." Virgil knew the difference between poetical and pictureſque images. Our Engliſh romances abound with examples of this ſpecies of bad taſte, ariſing from miſtaking the boundaries of diſtinct, though kindred, arts. See above, vol. i. c. xiv. p. 50).

and

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and military arrangements of the Greeks gave, doubtleſs, great advantages to their artiſts in this reſpect. Ariſtides, a Theban painter, repreſented the ſacking of a town; among other ſcenes of horror, a child was painted clinging to the breaſt of its wounded mother, who "*felt and feared*[62], that after ſhe was dead, the child ſhould ſuck blood inſtead of milk." Parrhaſius of Epheſus, in an earlier age, perſonified the people of Athens, in a figure that characteriſed them as at once cruel and compaſſionate, proud and humble, brave and cowardly, elevated and mean. Such diſcriminations, as well as ſuch complications of paſſion, are unqueſtionably beyond the reach of modern art, and will therefore be pronounced imaginary. It is worthy of remark, that the ſame Parrhaſius, who ſeems to have united the excellencies of Dominichino, Raphael, and Correggio, was diſtinguiſhed by the gliding motion of his outline, and the ſweetneſs with which it melted into the ground[63].

Ideal beauty, juſt proportion, natural and noble attitudes, an uniform greatneſs of ſtyle, are acknowledged to have equally belonged to the ancient painters and ſtatuaries. But the vanity or envy of modern times is unwilling to allow any merit to the former, which the remains of the latter do not juſtify and confirm. The Greek painters, therefore, have been ſuppoſed deficient in colouring; and this ſuppoſition has been ſupported by the words of Pliny. Colouring.

[62] Theſe are the words of Pliny.

[63] Pliny conſiders this as the perfection of art. "Hæc eſt in pictura ſumma ſublimitas. Corpora enim pingere et media rerum, eſt quidem magni operis; ſed in quo multi gloriam tulerint. Extrema corporum facere, & definentis picturæ modum includere, rarum in ſucceſſu artis invenitur. Ambire enim debet ſe extremitas ipſa, & ſic definere, ut promittat alia poſt ſe; oſtentatque etiam quæ occultat." Ibid. c. xxxvi. ſect. 5. Mr. Falconet, in his obſervations on this paſſage, is of a different opinion. He thinks it more difficult to paint the middle parts, than the ſhades and tones which round the extremities of objects; becauſe the former, though expoſed to the light, muſt have their form, relief, depth, and all the tints of nature. He inſtances the heads painted by Rubens and Vandyck ſeen in front. Pliny, had he lived in later times, might have inſtanced, in his turn the ſweet outlines and inimitable ſoftneſs of Correggio.

"With

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" With four colours only Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, and Nicomachus produced thoſe immortal works, which were ſingly purchaſed by the commonwealth of cities and republics." The colours were white, red, yellow, and black. It has been often ſaid that with theſe only on his palette, a painter cannot colour like nature, far leſs attain the magic of the *clair obſcure*. Yet a great artiſt of our own country thinks that four colours are ſufficient for every combination required. " The fewer the colours, the cleaner, he obſerves, will be their effect. Two colours mixed together will not preſerve the brightneſs of either of them ſingle, nor will three be as bright as two [64]." Pliny ſays, that Apelles ſpread over his pictures, when finiſhed, a tranſparent liquid like ink, which increaſed the clearneſs and brilliancy of the whole, while it ſoftened the glare of too florid colours. This, according to the ſame excellent painter, is a true and artiſt-like deſcription of a ſcambling or glazing, as practiſed by the Venetian ſchool, and by Correggio, in whoſe works, as well as thoſe mentioned by Pliny, it was perceptible only to ſuch as cloſely examined the picture. He very reaſonably concludes, therefore, that if the maſter-pieces of ancient painting remained, we ſhould probably find them as correctly drawn as the Laocoon, and as admirably coloured as the glowing productions of Titian.

Clair obſcure.

That the Greeks were acquainted with the effect of the clair obſcure, or the diſtribution of all the tones of light and ſhade relatively to the different plans of the picture, has been denied by thoſe who allow them the higheſt excellence in colouring ſingle figures. They might excel, it has been ſaid, in a ſolo, but were incapable of producing a full piece for a concert of different inſtruments. Whether this obſervation be well founded can only be diſcovered by carefully examining ancient authors, from whom it

[64] See Sir Joſhua Reynolds's notes on Mr. Maſon's tranſlation of Freſnoy's Art of Painting.

would

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would appear that even in this branch the Greek painters were not deficient [65].

Literary compoſition.

Of all the arts cultivated during the period now under review, none attained higher proficiency than compoſition in proſe. The hiſtory of Thucydides was continued by Xenophon; but we ſhould form a very imperfect notion of this amiable writer were we to judge him by his Grecian hiſtory, to which he ſeems not to have put the laſt hand. Yet in this, as well as in his more finiſhed works, we ſee the ſcholar of Socrates; and, of all others, the ſcholar who moſt reſembled his maſter in his ſentiment and expreſſion [66], in the excellencies as well as in the reſpectable weakneſſes [67] of his character. The ſame undeviating virtue, the ſame indefatigable ſpirit, the ſame erect probity, the ſame diffuſive benevolence, the ſame credulity, the ſame enthuſiaſm, together with that unaffected propriety of thought and diction, whoſe native graces outſhine all ornaments of art.

Xenophon.

His character.

His military expeditions.

This admirable perſonage, who, had he lived before the Athenians were grown too conceited to learn, and too corrupt to mend, might have proved the ſaviour of his country, reached his fiftieth year in a happy obſcurity, enjoying the confidential ſociety of Socrates and

[65] In ſpeaking of Nicias, Pliny ſays, "Lumen et umbras cuſtodivit, atque ut eminerent è tabulis picturæ maxime cuſtodivit." Unleſs the *clair obſcure* be meant, the ſecond member of this ſentence is a pleonaſm. Another paſſage is highly to the purpoſe, l. xxxv. c. xi. "Tandem ſe ars ipſa diſtinxit, et invenit lumen atque umbras, differentia colorum alterna vice ſeſe excitante. Deinde adjectus eſt ſplendor, alius hic quam lumen: quem, quia inter hoc & umbram eſſet, appellaverunt tonon: commiſcuras verò colorum et tranſitus, harmogen." *Clair obſcure* in painting is ſomething like counterpoint in muſic; and if the ancients cultivated neither of them, perhaps the more ſubſtantial parts of the arts loſt nothing by the neglect. In melody and deſign, effect and expreſſion, they probably excelled the moſt boaſted productions of later ages.

[66] See the deſcription which Alcibiades gives of Socrates's eloquence in Plato's Sympoſium.

[67] It is remarkable that the ſuperſtitious belief of Xenophon in celeſtial warnings, of which ſee innumerable examples, particularly Anabaſ. l. iii. c. i. l. v. c. vii. and l. vi. c. i. never encouraged him to any thing imprudent or hurtful, and never reſtrained him from any thing uſeful or virtuous. The admonitions likewiſe of Socrates's demon were always the ſame with the dictates of right reaſon.

a few

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a few ſelect friends. Of theſe Proxenus, an illuſtrious Theban exile, who well knew the worth of Xenophon, invited him to Sardis, from a deſire to introduce him to Cyrus, the brother of Artaxerxes, and governor of Lower Aſia, whoſe friendſhip he himſelf had found more valuable than the precarious honours of his capricious and ungrateful republic. Xenophon communicated the propoſal to Socrates, who, ſuſpecting that the Athenians might not reliſh his friend's deſign, becauſe the Perſians were then allied with Sparta, deſired him to conſult the oracle of Delphi [68]. This counſel was but partially followed; for Xenophon, who ſeems to have been fond of the journey, aſked not the oracle whether it ought to be undertaken, but only by virtue of what prayers and ſacrifices it might be rendered ſucceſsful. Socrates approved not this precipitation; yet as the god had anſwered, he thought it neceſſary for Xenophon to obey. The important conſequences of this reſolution to the Ten thouſand Greeks who followed the ſtandard of Cyrus, have been related in a former part of this work. After his glorious retreat from Upper Aſia, Xenophon remained ſeveral years on the weſtern coaſt, and ſhared the victories of his admired Ageſilaus, with whom he returned to Greece, and conquered in the battle of Coronæa.

His religious and literary retreat.

Meanwhile a decree of baniſhment paſſed againſt him in Athens. But having acquired conſiderable riches in his Aſiatic expedition, he had depoſited them at Epheſus with the Sacriſtan of Diana's temple, with this injunction, that if he periſhed in battle, his wealth ſhould be employed in honour of the goddeſs. Having ſurvived the bloody engagement of Coronea, which he afterwards ſo affectingly deſcribed in his Hellenica, he ſettled in the town of Scillus, a new eſtabliſhment formed by the Lacedæmonians, ſcarce three miles diſtant from Olympia. Megabyzus, the Sacriſt of Diana, came to behold the games, and faithfully reſtored his depoſit, with which Xenophon, as enjoined

[68] Anabaſ. l. v. p. 356. & ſeqq.

In

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by an oracle, purchaſed in that neighbourhood a beautiful ſpot of ground, watered by the Sellenus, a name which coincided with that of the river near Epheſus. On the banks of Elian Sellenus, Xenophon erected a temple, incomparably ſmaller indeed, yet ſimilar in form to the great temple of Diana. His image of the goddeſs reſembled that at Epheſus, as much as a figure in cypreſs could reſemble a ſtatue of gold. The banks of the river were planted with fruit trees. The ſurrounding plains and meadows afforded excellent paſture. The adjoining foreſts and mountains abounded in wild boar, red deer, and other ſpecies of game. There Xenophon's ſons often hunted with the youth of the neighbouring towns and villages; and the whole inhabitants of the country round were invited and entertained by him at an annual feſtival ſacred to Diana. A modeſt inſcription on a marble column, erected near the temple, teſtified the holineſs of the place. "This ſpot is dedicated to Diana. Let him, whoever ſhall poſſeſs it, employ the tenth of its annual produce in ſacrifice, and the remainder in keeping in repair, and in adorning the temple. His neglect will not be overlooked by the [69] goddeſs." By this inſcription, wherein Xenophon ventures not to mention the name of the founder, his mind ſeems to forebode the calamities which at laſt befel him. In the war between the Lacedæmonians and Elians, the town of Scilluns, together with the circumjacent territory, was ſeized by Elian troops; and the amiable philoſopher and hiſtorian, who had, in this delightful retreat, compoſed thoſe invaluable works, which will inſpire the laſt ages of the world with the love of virtue, was compelled, in the decline of life, to ſeek refuge in the corrupt and licentious city of Corinth.

His works.

His expedition, his Grecian hiſtory, his deſcription of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian governments, have been noticed in their proper place. The Cyropædeia, or inſtitutions of the elder Cyrus, is a philoſophical romance, intended to exemplify the doctrines taught

[69] Xenoph. Anabaſ. l. v. p. 356. & ſeqq.

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by Socrates in the Memorabilia, and to prove the ſucceſs which naturally attends the practice of wiſdom and virtue in the great affairs of war and government. The higheſt panegyric of this work is, that many learned men have miſtaken it for a true hiſtory, and, deceived by the inimitable *naiveté* and perſuaſiveneſs of the narrative, have believed it poſſible that, during the various ſtages of a long life, Cyrus ſhould have invariably followed the dictates of the ſublimeſt philoſophy. In his Oeconomics, Xenophon undertakes the humbler but not leſs uſeful taſk, of regulating the duties of domeſtic life. The dialogue, intituled Hiero, paints the miſery of tyrants contraſted with the happineſs of virtuous princes, in colours ſo lively, and in lines ſo expreſſive, that an admirer of the ancients might challenge the ingenuity of modern ages to add a ſingle ſtroke to the picture. In ſpeaking of the works of Xenophon, we muſt not forget his treatiſe on the Revenues of Athens. It was written long after his baniſhment. Inſtead of reſenting the obdurate cruelty of his countrymen, he gave them moſt judicious and ſeaſonable advice concerning the improvement of the public revenues, which, there is reaſon to believe, was in part adopted.

The orators Lyſias and Iſocrates.

The orators Lyſias and Iſocrates flouriſhed in the period now under review. The former was diſtinguiſhed by the refined ſubtilty of his pleadings; the latter by the poliſhed elegance of his moral and political orations [70]. Iſocrates ventured not to ſpeak in public, neither his conſtitution nor his voice admitting the great exertions neceſſary for that purpoſe. His ſchool of oratory and compoſition was frequented by the nobleſt youths of Athens, of the neighbouring republics, and even by foreign princes; and as his maxims were borrowed from the Socratic ſchool, his long and honourable labours tended to keep alive ſome ſparks of virtue among his degenerate countrymen [71].

[70] See the lives of Lyſias and Iſocrates, prefixed to my tranſlation of their works.
[71] Idem, ibid.

But

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Plato. His birth and education.

But the man of learning in that age, whoſe abilities, if properly directed, might have moſt benefited his contemporaries, was the celebrated Plato, a man juſtly admired, yet more extraordinary than admirable. The ſame memorable year which produced the Peloponneſian war gave birth to Plato. He was deſcended from the Codridæ, the moſt illuſtrious as well as the moſt opulent family in Athens. His education was worthy of his birth. The gymnaſtic formed and invigorated his body; his mind was enlarged and enlightened by the ſtudies of poetry [72] and geometry, from which he derived that acuteneſs of judgment, and that warmth of fancy, which, being both carried to exceſs, render him at once the moſt ſubtile and the moſt flowery writer of antiquity [73]. In his twentieth year he became acquainted with Socrates; and having compared his own poetical productions with thoſe of his immortal predeceſſors in this walk of literature, he committed the former to the flames, and totally addicted himſelf to philoſophy. During eight years he continued an aſſiduous hearer of Socrates; an occaſional [74] indiſpoſition prevented him from aſſiſting at the laſt converſations of the ſage, before he drank the fatal hemlock. Yet theſe converſations, as related to him by perſons who were preſent, Plato has delivered down to the admiration of poſterity; and the affecting ſenſibility with which he minutely deſcribes the inimitable behaviour of Socrates, on this trying occaſion, proves how deeply the author was intereſted in his ſubject.

[72] Diogen. Laert. l. ii.

[73] Plato's Dialogues are ſo different from each other, in point of thought and expreſſion, that, if we knew not the verſatility of his genius, it would be difficult to believe them the works of one man. He is over-refined, wire-drawn, and trifling in the Cratylus, Parmenides, Meno, Theætetus, and Sophiſtes. He is flowery, pompous, and tumid in his Timæus, Panegyric, Sympoſium, and Phædrus. But in thoſe invaluable writings, the Apology, Crito, Alcibiades, Gorgias, Phædo, and the greater part of his books of laws, in which he adheres to the doctrines of Socrates, and indulges, without art or affectation, the natural bent of his own genius, his ſtyle is inimitably ſweet and attractive, always elegant, and often ſublime. His Republic, which is generally conſidered as his greateſt work, abounds in all the beauties, and in all the deformities, for which he is remarkable. See Dionyſ. Halicarn. de Platon.

[74] Πλατων δε (μαλα) ασθενων. Phædo, 2.

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His travels.

Fear or diſguſt removed the ſcholar of Socrates from the murderers of his maſter. Having ſpent ſome time in Thebes, Elis, and Megara, where he enjoyed the converſation of ſeveral of his fellow diſciples, the love of knowledge carried him to Magna Græcia; from thence he ſailed to Cyrené, attracted by the fame of the mathematician Theodorus; Egypt next deſerved his curioſity, as the country to which the ſcience of Theodorus owed its birth, and from which the Pythagoreans in Magna Græcia derived ſeveral tenets of their philoſophy.

He ſettles in the academy.

At his return to Athens, Plato could have little inclination to engage in public life. The days were paſt when the virtues of a Solon, or of a Lycurgus, could reform the manners of their countrymen. In early periods of ſociety, the example and influence of one able and diſintereſted man may produce a happy revolution in the community of which he is a member. But in the age of Plato, the Athenians had fallen into dotage and imbecillity. His luxuriant fancy compares them ſometimes to old men, who have outlived their ſenſes, and with whom it is vain to reaſon; ſometimes to wild beaſts, whom it is dangerous to approach; ſometimes to an unfruitful ſoil, that choaks every uſeful plant, and produces weeds only [75]. He prudently withdrew himſelf from a ſcene, which preſented nothing but danger or diſguſt, and purchaſed a ſmall villa in the ſuburbs near the academy or gymnaſium, that had been ſo elegantly adorned by Cimon [76]. To this retirement, his fame attracted the moſt illuſtrious characters in his age: the nobleſt youths of Athens daily frequented the ſchool of Plato; and here he continued above forty years, with little interruption except from his voyages into Sicily, inſtructing his diſciples, and compoſing his Dialogues, to which the moſt diſtinguiſhed philoſophers in ancient and modern times are greatly indebted, without excepting thoſe who reject his doctrines, and affect to treat them as viſionary.

[75] Republic, l. vi. p. 38.

[76] See above, vol. i. p. 431.

The

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General character of his philoſophy.

The capacious mind of Plato embraced the whole circle of ſcience. The objects of human thought had, previouſly to his age, been reduced, by the Pythagoreans, to certain claſſes or genera [77]; the nature of truth had been inveſtigated; and men had diſtinguiſhed the relations [78], which the predicate of any propoſition can bear to its ſubject. The ſciences had already been divided into the natural and moral; or, in the language of Plato, into the knowledge of divine and human things. The frivolous art of ſyllogiſm was not as yet invented; and the logic of Plato [79] was confined to the more uſeful ſubjects of definition and diviſion, by means of which he attempted to fix and aſcertain not only the practical doctrines of morals and politics, but the abſtruſe and ſhadowy ſpeculations of myſtical theology. It is much to be regretted that this great and original genius ſhould have miſtaken the proper objects as well as the natural limits of the human underſtanding, and that moſt of the enquiries of Plato and his ſucceſſors ſhould appear extremely remote from the public tranſactions of the times in which they lived. Yet the ſpeculations in which they were engaged, how little ſoever they may be connected with the political revolutions of Greece, ſeem too intereſting in themſelves to be entirely omitted in this hiſtorical work, eſpecially when it is conſidered that the philoſophy of Plato and his

[77] Many leſs perfect diviſions had probably been made before Archytas of Tarentum diſtinguiſhed the ten Categories. Simplicius & Jamblichus apud Fr. Patricium. Diſcuſſ. Peripatet. t. ii. p. 182. This diviſion, the moſt perfect of any that philoſophers have yet been able to diſcover, Plato learned from Archytas. It conſiſted in ſubſtances and modes. The former are either primary, as all individual ſubſtances, which neither are in any other ſubject, nor can be predicated of it; or ſecondary, which ſubſiſt in the firſt, and can be predicated of them, to wit, the genera and ſpecies of ſubſtances. Of modes there are nine kinds, quantity, quality, relation, habit, time, place, having, doing, and ſuffering. Ariſtot. de Categor.

[78] Theſe are called by logicians the five Predicables, or, more properly, the five claſſes of Predicates. They are the genus, ſpecies, ſpecific difference, property, and accident. The uſe of theſe diſtinctions is univerſal in every ſubject requiring definition and diviſion; yet it meant to comprehend whatever may be affirmed of any ſubject, the enumeration is doubtleſs incomplete.

[79] The ſcience properly called Logic was invented by Ariſtotle; the diviſion of the ſciences into Logic, Phyſics, and Ethics, was firſt given by his contemporary Xenocrates. Vid. Brucker. de Ariſtot. & Xenocrat. Of Ariſtotle more hereafter.

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disciples has been very widely diffused among all the civilised nations of the world; that during many centuries, it governed with uncontrouled sway the opinions of the speculative part of mankind; and that the same philosophy still influences the reasonings, and divides the sentiments, of the learned in modern Europe.

Difficulty of explaining and abridging his doctrines.

The lively, but immethodical, manner in which the opinions of Plato are explained by himself, renders it difficult to collect and abridge them. The great number of interlocutors in his dialogues, the irony of Socrates, and the continual intermixture of Plato's own sentiments with those of his master, heighten the difficulty, and make it impossible, from particular passages, to judge of the scope and tendency of the whole. The works of Xenophon, however, may enable a diligent student to separate the pure ore of Socrates from the adventitious matter with which it is combined in the rich vein of Platonism; and by carefully comparing the different parts of the latter, he may with certainty determine the principal designs of its author.

The great views of that philosopher.

From this view of the subject, it would appear that Plato aimed at nothing less, than to reconcile the appearances of the natural and moral world with the wise government of a self-existent unchangeable cause; to explain the nature and origin of the human mind, as well as of its various powers of perception, volition, and intellect; and, on principles resulting from these discoveries, to build a system of Ethics, which, in proportion as it were followed by mankind, would promote not only their independence and security in the present world, but their happiness and perfection in a future state of existence.

His theology.

Let us look where we will around us, we shall every-where, said Plato, perceive a passing procession[80]: the objects which compose the

[80] This was borrowed from Heraclitus, who expressed the same idea, by saying, that all corporeal things were in a perpetual flux. Vid. Platon. in Theætet. p. 83. & in Sophist. p. 108.

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material world, ariſe, change, periſh, and are ſucceeded by others, which undergo the ſame revolutions[81]. One body moves another, which impels a third, and ſo forwards in ſucceſſion; but the firſt cauſe of motion reſides not in any of them. This cauſe acts not fortuitouſly; the regular motions of the heavenly bodies[82], the beautiful order of the ſeaſons, the admirable ſtructure of plants and animals, announce an intelligent Author[83]. It is difficult by ſearching to find out the nature of the Divinity, and impoſſible by words to deſcribe it; yet the works which he has done, atteſt his power, his wiſdom, and his goodneſs to be greater than human imagination can conceive[84]. In the ſelf-exiſtent cauſe, theſe attributes muſt unite. He is therefore unchangeable[85], ſince no alteration can increaſe his perfections, and it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe him ever inclined to diminiſh them[86].

Impelled by his goodneſs, the Deity, viewing in his own intellect the ideas or archetypes of all poſſible exiſtence, formed the beautiful arrangement of the univerſe from that rude indigeſted matter, which, exiſting from all eternity, had been for ever animated by an irregular principle of motion[87]. This principle, which Plato calls the irrational ſoul of the world, he thought ſufficiently atteſted, in the innumerable deviations from the eſtabliſhed laws of nature, in the extravagant paſſions of men, and in the phyſical and moral evil, which, in conſequence of theſe deviations and paſſions, ſo viſibly prevail in the world. Without admitting a certain ſtubborn intractability, and diſorderly wildneſs, eſſential to matter, and therefore incapable of

Coſmogony.

[81] Timæus, ſub initio.

[82] By theſe he meant the fixed ſtars; the motions of the planets he aſcribed to another cauſe, as will appear below.

[83] Plato de Legibus, l. x. p. 609.

[84] Timæus, p. 477. & de Repub. l. ii. p. 144.

[85] For the immutability of the Deity, Plato, contrary to his general cuſtom, condeſcends to uſe an argument from induction. "Even of material things, the moſt perfect leaſt feel the effects of time, and remain longeſt unaltered." De Repub. p. 150.

[86] Ibid. p. 150.

[87] Politic. p. 120, & ſeqq. & Timæus, paſſim.

being

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being entirely eradicated or ſubdued, it ſeemed impoſſible to explain the origin of evil under the government of Deity[88].

Plato's doctrine of ideas.

From theſe rude materials, God, according to the fanciful doctrine of Plato, formed the four elements, and built the beautiful ſtructure of the heavens and the earth, after the model of thoſe eternal exemplars[89], or patterns, which ſubſiſt in the divine Intelligence[90]. Conſidering that beings poſſeſſed of mental powers were far preferable to thoſe deſtitute of ſuch faculties, God infuſed into the corporeal world a rational ſoul, which, as it could not be immediately combined with body, he united to the active, but irrational principle, eſſentially inherent in matter[91]. Having thus formed and animated the earth,

[88] De Legibus, l. x. p. 608. Philem. p. 160.

[89] Theſe exemplars, or παραδειγματα, are the *ideas* of Plato, which were ſo much miſrepreſented by many of the later Platoniſts, or Eclectics. He names them, indifferently, ἰδεας, εἰδη, εικονας, τα κατα ταυτα, & ὁσαυτως ἐχοντα. The two laſt expreſſions are uſed to diſtinguiſh them from the fleeting and periſhable forms of matter. Plato repreſents theſe ideas as exiſting in the divine intellect, as beings entirely mental, not objects of any of the ſenſes, and not circumſcribed by place or time. By the firſt univerſal Cauſe, theſe ideas were infuſed into the various ſpecies of created beings, in whom (according to Ammonius in Porphyr. Introduct. p. 29.) they exiſted, as the impreſſion of a ſeal exiſts in the wax to which it has been applied. In its pre-exiſtent ſtate, the human mind viewed theſe *intelligible* forms in their original ſeat, the field of truth. But ſince men were impriſoned in the body, they receive theſe ideas from external objects, as explained in the text. Such is the doctrine of Plato. But many of the later Platoniſts, and even ſeveral writers of the preſent age, have imagined that he aſcribed to ideas a ſeparate and independent exiſtence. Vid. Brucker. Hiſtor. Philoſoph. p. 695. & ſeqq. Gedike Hiſtor. Philoſoph. ex Ciceron. collect. p. 183, & ſeqq. Monboddo, Origin of Language. vol. i. c. ix. Of all the abſurdities embraced by philoſophers, this doubtleſs would be the greateſt, to believe eternal unchangeable patterns of the various genera and ſpecies of things exiſting apart, and independent of the mind by which theſe abſtract notions are conceived. It is not extraordinary, therefore, that many writers of the Alexandrian ſchool, whoſe extravagant fancies could fix and embody metaphyſical abſtractions, and realiſe intellectual ideas, ſhould animate and perſonify the λογος τε θεε, the divine intellect, in which, according to Plato, theſe ideas reſided, and from which they were communicated to other intelligences. The ſame viſionary fanatics who diſcovered, in the λογος of Plato, the ſecond perſon of the Trinity, recogniſed the Holy Spirit in his Soul of the World; but as this irrational principle of motion ill correſponded to the third perſon of the Godhead, they invented an hyper-coſmian ſoul, concerning which Plato is altogether ſilent. See the Encyclopedie, article *Eclectique*. Brucker. Hiſt. Philoſoph. vol. i. p. 712, & ſeqq. & Meiner's Beytrag zur geſchichte der denkart der erſten Jahrhunderte nach Chriſti geburt in einigen betrachtungen über die neu Platoniſche Philoſophie.

[90] Timæus, Polit. l. vi. [91] Ib. p. 477, & ſeqq.

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the ſun, the moon, and the other viſible divinities, the great Father of ſpirits proceeded to create the inviſible gods and dæmons[92], whoſe nature and hiſtory Plato deſcribes with a reſpectful reverence for the religion of his country[93]. After finiſhing this great work, the God of gods again contemplating the ideal forms in his own mind, perceived there the exemplars of three ſpecies of beings, which he realiſed in the mortal inhabitants of the earth, air, and water. The taſk of forming theſe ſenſible, but irrational beings, he committed to the inferior divinities; becauſe, had this laſt work likewiſe proceeded from his own hands, it muſt have been immortal like the gods[94]. The ſouls of men, on the other hand, he himſelf formed from the remainder of the rational ſoul of the world. They firſt exiſted in the ſtate of dæmons, only inveſted with a thin æthereal body. Having offended God by neglecting their duty, they were condemned to unite with the groſs corporeal maſs, by which their divine faculties are ſo much clogged and encumbered[95].

Plato's morals.

It was neceſſary briefly to explain the metaphyſical theology of Plato, how viſionary ſoever it may appear, becauſe the doctrine of ideal forms, together with that of the pre-exiſtent ſtate of the human mind, are the main pillars of his philoſophy. Before their incarceration in the body, the ſouls of men enjoyed the preſence of their Maker, and contemplated the unchangeable ideas and eſſences of things in the field of truth. In viewing and examining theſe eternal archetypes of order, beauty, and virtue, conſiſted the nobleſt energy, and higheſt perfection of celeſtial ſpirits[96], which, being emanations of the Deity, can never reſt ſatisfied with objects and occupations unworthy their divine original. But in their actual ſtate, men can perceive with their corporeal ſenſes, only the fleeting images and imperfect repreſentations of theſe immutable eſſences of things, in the fluctuating objects of the material world, which are ſo little ſteady

[92] Timæus, p. 480.
[93] Apolog. Socratis.
[94] Timæus, p. 480, & 481.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Repub. l. vi. Phædrus, Philebus, &c.

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and permanent, that they often change their nature and properties, even while we view and examine them[97]. Beſide this, our ſenſes themſelves are liable to innumerable diſorders; and unleſs we are conſtantly on the watch, never fail to deceive us[98]. Hence the continual errors in our judgments of men and things; hence the improper ends we purſue; hence the very inadequate means by which we ſeek to attain them; hence, in one word, all the errors and miſery of life. Yet even in this degraded ſtate, to which men were condemned for paſt offences, their happineſs ceaſes not to be an object of care to the Deity. As none can riſe ſo high, none can ſink ſo low, as to eſcape the eye and arm of the Almighty[99]. The divine Providence obſerves and regulates the meaneſt, as well as the greateſt, of its productions. But the good of the part being ſubordinate to that of the whole, it is neceſſary that each individual ſhould be rewarded or puniſhed, in proportion as he fulfils the taſk aſſigned him. It is by the performance of his duty alone, that man can regain the favour of his Maker[100]; for it is ridiculous to think that this ineſtimable benefit can be purchaſed by rich preſents, and expenſive ſacrifices. Religion cannot be a traffic of intereſt[101]. What can we offer to the gods, which they have not firſt beſtowed on us? Will they thank us for reſtoring their own gifts? It is abſurd to think it. To pleaſe the Divinity, we muſt obey his will concerning us; nor can we comply with the purpoſe of our creation, and fulfil our deſtiny, without aſpiring at thoſe noble powers with which we were originally endowed[102]; and which, even in our preſent degenerate ſtate, it is ſtill poſſible, by proper diligence, to recover[103].

His account of the origin of human knowledge.

Our ſenſes give us information of external objects, which are ſtored up in the memory, and variouſly combined by the imagina-

97 Phædo, Timæus, &c.
98 Phædo, p. 31. & Repub. l. v.
99 De Legibus.
100 Eutyphron.
101 Repub. l. ii. p. 100, & ſeqq.
102 Minos, p. 510. Timæus, p. 500.
103 Repub. l. v.

tion.

tion [104]. But it is remarkable that thoſe ideas, thus acquired and retained, have the power of ſuggeſting others far more accurate and perfect than themſelves, and which, though excited by material objects, cannot be derived from them, unleſs (which is impoſſible) the effect were more beautiful and perfect than the cauſe. That we poſſeſſed, in a pre-exiſtent ſtate, thoſe ideas which modern philoſophers refer by an eaſy ſolution to the powers of generalization and abſtraction [105], Plato thought evident from the facility with which we recalled them [106]. Of this he gave an example in Meno's ſlave, who, when properly queſtioned by Socrates, eaſily recollected and explained many properties of numbers and figures, although he had never learned the ſciences of arithmetic and geometry [107]. According to Plato, therefore, all ſcience conſiſted in reminiſcence, in recalling the nature, proportions, and relations of thoſe uniform and unchangeable eſſences, about which the human mind had originally been converſant, and after the model of which all created things were made [108]. Theſe intellectual forms, comprehending the true eſſences of things, were the only proper objects of ſolid and permanent ſcience [109]; their fluctuating repreſentatives in the material world,

[104] Theatet. p. 85, & ſeqq. & Philem. 184, & ſeqq.

[105] The ancients were not ignorant of this philoſophy. Simplicius, ſpeaking of the origin of intelligible forms, or ideas, in the human mind, ſays, ἡμεῖς, ἀφιλαίτες αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀπιζίαις ἐνοήσαμεν καθ' ἑαυτὰ ὑπέστησαμεν: "We ourſelves, abſtracting them in our thoughts, have, by this abſtraction, given them an exiſtence in themſelves." Simp. in Prad. p. 17.

[106] Menon. p. 344.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Repub. l. vi.

[109] Ἐπιστήμη, ſcience, in oppoſition to δόξα, opinion. The material world he called τὸ ὁρατὸν, that of which the knowledge admitted of probability only. Republ. l. v. The *ideas* of Plato, which, according to that philoſopher, formed the ſole objects of real and certain knowledge, were powerfully combated by his ſcholar and rival Ariſtotle. Yet the latter, who was ſo ſharp-ſighted to the faults of Plato, never accuſes him of maintaining the ſeparate and independent exiſtence of intellectual forms. The obſcure paſſage in Ariſtotle's Metaphyſics, p. 201, which has been conſtrued into ſuch an accuſation, means nothing more, than that Socrates regarded the τὰ καθ' ὅλου, general ideas, as differing in no reſpect from our notions of the genera and ſpecies of things; whereas Plato made a diſtinction between them, aſſerting theſe ideas to have exiſted in the divine intellect before the creation, &c. as explained in the text. Ariſtotle diſcuſſes the doctrine

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world, the actions and virtues of men, the order and beauty visible in the universe, were only so far real and substantial as they corresponded to their divine archetypes [110]; but as this correspondence never became complete, the examination of the perishing objects of sense could only afford us unsteady and uncertain notions, fleeting and fugitive like themselves [111]. From these observations, Plato thought it evident, that the duty and happiness of men consisted in withdrawing themselves from the material, and approaching the intellectual world [112], to which their own natures were more congenial. To promote this purpose was the great aim of his philosophy. If we were deceived by the senses, he observed, that we were still more fatally endangered by the passions, those flimsy sails of the mind, which were expanded and agitated by every varying gust of imagined good or evil [113]. The pains and pleasures of the body were all of a mixed kind, and nearly allied to each other. The God who arranged the world, desirous to unite and incorporate these seemingly opposite natures, had at least joined their summits; for

Of the powers of perception and intellect.

pleasure was nothing else but a rapid cessation of pain; and the

doctrine of ideas more perspicuously in his Ethics, to Nicomachus, l. i. c. vi. He regards them as mere fictions of the fancy, and the knowledge founded on them as altogether visionary. "The idea of good," he observed, "might be applied to substances, as the Deity, the mind of man; to qualities, as the virtues; to quantity, as mediocrity; to time, as the juncture or nick of time; in short, through all the categories. There is not, therefore, any one general idea of good, common to all these. Were there one idea, the same in all, there could be but one science respecting it. But there are many, physic, gymnastic, the military art, &c. which all have some good in view. Things are good in themselves, or good as means to an end. But even those things which are ultimately good, as wisdom, honour, pleasure, are not comprehended under any one definition of good, though distinguished by the same epithet from some analogy or resemblance, as the understanding is called the eye of the mind. If there is any such general idea, it is surely incapable of being applied to any practical use; not as a model, otherwise the arts and sciences, all of which have some good in view, would continually have this model before them. Yet they all neglect it, and justly; for what benefit could they derive from this abstract idea? A physician, for instance, contemplates not health in that general manner, but the health of man, or rather of a particular man, who happens to be his patient: for with individuals only his art is concerned."

[110] Parmen. p. 140.

[111] Repub. l. vii.

[112] Ibid. p. 134. & Phæd. p. 26.

[113] Phædrus.

Evelid.

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livelieſt of our bodily enjoyments were preceded by uneaſineſs, and followed by languor [114]. To illuſtrate the neceſſity of governing with a ſtrong hand the appetites and paſſions, Plato compared the ſoul to a little republic, compoſed of different faculties, or orders [115]. The judging, or reaſoning faculty, juſtly entitled to the ſupremacy, was ſeated, as in a firm citadel, in the head; the ſenſes were its guards and ſervants; the various deſires and affections were bound to pay it obedience.

Of the paſſions.

Of theſe deſires, which were all of them the natural ſubjects of the ruling faculty, Plato diſtinguiſhed two orders, ever ready to rebel againſt their maſter. The firſt conſiſted of thoſe paſſions which are founded in pride and reſentment, or in what the ſchoolmen called the iraſcible part of the ſoul [116]; and were ſeated in the breaſt. The ſecond conſiſted of thoſe paſſions which are founded in the love of pleaſure, or in what the ſchoolmen called the concupiſcible [117] part of the ſoul, and were ſeated in the belly, and inferior parts of the body. Theſe different orders, though commonly at variance with each other, were alike dangerous to the public intereſt, and unleſs reſtrained by the wiſdom and authority of their ſovereign, muſt inevitably plunge the little republic of man into the utmoſt diſorder and miſery [118].

Of the virtues; and wiſdom the greateſt virtue.

Yet, according to Plato, both theſe ſets of paſſions were, in the preſent ſtate of things, neceſſary parts of our conſtitution; and, when properly regulated, became very uſeful ſubjects. The iraſcible aſſerted our rank and dignity, defended us againſt injuries, and, when duly informed and tempered by reaſon, taught us with becoming fortitude to deſpiſe dangers and death, in purſuit of what is honourable and virtuous. The concupiſcible provided for the ſupport and neceſſities of the body; and, when reduced to ſuch ſub-

[114] Phæd. Philem. & Repub. l. ii. p. 262, & ſeqq.

[115] Repub. l. iv.

[116] The το θυμοειδες, of Plato.

[117] The το επιθυμητικον of Plato. Both are included under what Plato and Ariſtotle call the ορεκτικον, the ſeat of the deſires and paſſions.

[118] Ibid. p. 254.

miſſion.

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miſſion as to reject every gratification not approved by reaſon, gave riſe to the virtue of temperance. Juſtice took place, according to Plato, when reaſon directed and paſſion obeyed, and when each paſſion performed its proper office, and acknowledged due reſpect towards its ſuperior. In the ſtrength, acuteneſs, and perfection of the ruling faculty, conſiſted the virtue of prudence, the great ſource and principle of all other virtues, without which temperance, fortitude, and even juſtice itſelf, were nothing but empty ſhadows, that deluded the ignorant vulgar. In the exerciſe of prudence or wiſdom, man reſembled his Maker, and contemplated thoſe intellectual forms, which taught him to diſcern with certainty the ends proper to be purſued, and the means neceſſary to attain them. The wiſe man compares the mind with the body, eternity with time, virtue with pleaſure. He thus learns to deſpiſe the inferior parts of his nature, to defy its pains, to diſdain its pleaſures. Without attaining this true elevation of mind, he never can be virtuous or happy, ſince whoever depends on the body, muſt conſider death as an evil, the fear of which can only be overcome by ſome greater terror; ſo that in him who is not truly wiſe, fortitude itſelf muſt be the effect of timidity [119]. In the ſame manner, his pretended moderation and temperance will ſpring from the impure ſource of the oppoſite vices. He will deny himſelf ſome pleaſures, to attain others which he regards as more valuable, and will ſubmit to ſmall pains to avoid the greater [120]. He thus continues through life, exchanging one trifle for another; a traffic which never can enrich him, while he rejects wiſdom, the only precious merchandiſe.

Cauſes of the diverſity of moral character.

But the temple of wiſdom is, according to Plato, ſituate on a rock, which few men have the ſtrength to aſcend [121]. This difference of ability proceeds from various cauſes: 1. At their creation, all minds were not alike excellent and perfect [122]. 2. They

[119] Repub. l. vi.
[120] Phædo, p. 26, & ſeqq.
[121] Repub. l. vi. p. 74.
[122] Phædrus.

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were not alike criminal during their pre-exiſtent ſtate[123]. 3. The groſs bodies which they now inhabit are variouſly moulded, ſome being too ſtrong, others too weak, and very few in juſt harmony with the divine principle by which they are animated[124]. 4. Early inſtitution and example occaſion great differences among them. Such, indeeed, is the power of education and habit, that the errors and crimes of men are leſs chargeable on thoſe who commit them, than on their parents, guardians, and inſtructors[125]; and it ſeems hardly poſſible for thoſe who have the misfortune to be born in a licentious age and country, to attain wiſdom and virtue. Even when the moſt favourite circumſtances unite, the mind muſt ſtill, however, have a tendency to degenerate, while united with matter[126]. The body, therefore, muſt be continually exerciſed and ſubdued by the gymnaſtic, the ſoul muſt be purified and ennobled by philoſophy. Without ſuch attention, men can neither reach the perfection of their nature, or, when they have reached it, maintain that elevated poſt, from which they look down with compaſſion on the errors and miſery of their fellow-creatures[127].

Plato's ſage.

In the deſcription of his imaginary ſage, Plato employs the colours which were afterwards borrowed by the Stoics and Epicureans. But neither of theſe ſects, as will appear hereafter, were ſo well entitled as the Platoniſts, to boaſt their philoſophical happineſs, and to aſſert their ſuperiority to the viciſſitudes of time and fortune. Plato was the firſt philoſopher who ſupported the doctrine of a future ſtate, by arguments that ſeemed capable to convince intelligent and thinking men. From the properties of mind, he inferred the ſimplicity and indeſtructibility of the ſubſtance in which they reſide[128]. He deſcribed the mental powers with an eloquence that Cicero[129] and Buffon[130] have not been able to ſurpaſs. And ſince he regarded the ſoul as the prin-

Immortality of the ſoul.

[123] Phædrus.
[124] Timæus.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid. p. 484. & Repub. paſſim.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Phædo, p. 25. & ſeqq.
[129] See Cicer. de Offic. l. i. & paſſim.
[130] Buffon ſur l'Homme.

ciple

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ciple of life and motion, he thought it abſurd to ſuppoſe that the diſeaſes and death of the body ſhould take from this principle ſuch qualities as it eſſentially poſſeſſed in itſelf, and accidentally communicated to matter [131]. It was his firm perſuaſion, that according to the employment of its rational and moral powers, the ſoul, after its ſeparation from the body, would be raiſed to a higher, or depreſſed to a lower ſtate of exiſtence [132].

State of retribution.

His republic.

This belief, which raiſed his hopes to a higher ſcene, gave him not, however, that contempt, affected by a very different claſs of philoſophers, for the periſhing affairs [133] of the preſent world. Like ſome others of the ſcholars of Socrates, he traced the plan of a perfect commonwealth; though his work, known by that title, as has been juſtly obſerved by a great genius [134], is rather a treatiſe of education than a ſyſtem of policy. The real republic of Plato is contained in his books of laws, in which he explains, with no leſs acuteneſs than elegance, the origin and revolutions of civil ſociety, and traces the plan of a republic nearly reſembling the Spartan model.

Genius and character of Plato.

His practical morality, which he borrowed from Socrates, is profuſely ſcattered through his dialogues; and in his own times, Plato was not conſidered as that viſionary ſpeculatiſt which he has appeared to later ages. His ſcholars, Ariſtonymus, Phormio, and Eudoxus, were ſucceſſively ſent by him to regulate the republics of the Arcadians, Elians, and Cnidians [135], at the earneſt requeſt of thoſe communities. From Xenocrates, another of his diſciples, Alexander deſired rules for good government [136]. The fame of Ariſtotle is well known; and it will afterwards appear how much he was indebted to a maſter, whoſe opinions he often combated with

[131] Phædo. [132] Phædrus, & Phædo, paſſim.

[133] The Epicureans.

"Non res humanæ, perituraque regna."
GEORG.

[134] Rouſſeau in his Emile.

[135] Plutarch. adverſ. Colot. Epicur.

[136] Idem, ibid.

Of this more below.

ſeeming

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ſeeming reluctance, and real ſatisfaction. Plato was no leſs capable to diſtinguiſh ideas than to combine images. He united warmth of fancy, and acuteneſs of underſtanding, in a greater degree than perhaps has fallen to the ſhare of any other man. Yet when compared with his maſter Socrates, his genius will appear more ſubtile than ſagacious. He wanted that patient ſpirit of obſervation which diſtinguiſhed the illuſtrious ſage, who in all his reaſonings kept facts ever in his view, and at every ſtep he made, looked back with wary circumſpection on experience. Accompanied by this faithful guide, Socrates trod ſecurely within the bounds of truth and nature; but his adventurous diſciple, truſting to the wings of fancy, often expatiates in imaginary worlds of his own creation.

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History of Macedon.—Reign of Archelaus.—Series of Usurpations and Revolutions.—Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.—Distracted State of Macedon.—First Transactions of Philip.—State of Thrace and Pæonia.—Philip defeats Argæus and the Athenians.—His Treatment of the Prisoners.—His Military Arrangements.—He defeats the Illyrians.—His designs against Amphipolis.—He prevents an Alliance between Athens and Olynthus.—Amuses the Athenians.—Takes Amphipolis.—His Conquests in Thrace.—The Mines of Crenidæ.—Philip marries Olympias.—His Letter to Aristotle.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The kingdom of Macedon founded by Caranus. A. C. 814.

FOUR hundred and sixteen years before the Christian æra, and little more than half a century before Philip assumed the government of Macedon, that country, to a superficial observer, might have appeared scarcely distinguishable from the barbarous kingdoms of Thrace, Pæonia, and Illyricum, which surrounded it on the north, east, and west. Towards the south it was excluded from the sea by a chain of Grecian republics, of which Olynthus and Amphipolis were the most flourishing and powerful. To this inland district, originally confined to the circumference of about three hundred miles, Caranus, an Argive prince of the numerous race of Hercules, eluding the dangers which proved fatal to royalty [1] in

[1] Justin. l. vii. c. i. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. vi.

most

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most communities of Greece[2], conducted a small colony of his adventurous and warlike countrymen, and, having conquered the barbarous natives, settled in Edessa, the capital of the province then named Emathia, and afterwards Macedonia, for reasons equally unknown[3]. The establishment of this little principality, which, under Philip, grew into a powerful kingdom, and, under Alexander, swelled into the most extensive empire known in the ancient world, was adorned (could we believe historic flattery) by many extraordinary circumstances, presaging its future greatness. The gods took care of the infancy of Macedon, and sent, as oracles had announced, a herd of goats to conduct Caranus to his new capital of Edessa, which thence changed its name to Ægæ, the city of goats; a fiction unworthy of record, did it not explain the reason why goats were adopted as the ensigns of Macedon, and why the figures of those animals are still to be seen on the coins of Philip, and those of his successors.

Prudent conduct of its first kings the primary cause of the greatness of Macedon.

Caranus, as well as the princes Cœnus[4] and Thyrimas, who immediately followed him, had occasion to exercise their prudence still more than their valour. Their feeble colony of Greeks might have fallen an easy prey to the unhospitable ferocity of the barbarous tribes, by whom it was on all sides surrounded. But the policy of the first kings of Macedon, instead of vainly attempting to repel or to subdue, endeavoured, with more success, to gain, by good offices, the ancient inhabitants of Emathia and the neighbouring districts. They communicated to them the knowledge of many useful arts; they gave them the Grecian religion[6] and government[7] in that state of happy simplicity which prevailed during the heroic ages; and while, to render intercourse more easy and familiar, they adopted,

[2] See vol. i. p. 77.
[3] Crophius Antiquit. Macedon.
[4] Justin. ubi supra. Syncell. Chronic.
[5] Pausanias Achaic. & Thucyd. l. ii.
[6] Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. iv. p. 83.
[7] Φιλιππῳ μεν παιδι, Ἡρακλειδῃ δε απο γενους, ὁτι οἱ προγονοι ἐξ Ἀργους εις Μακεδονιαν ὡκησαν, ἡ δε ἐλευθερια ἐκ θεου, Μακεδονων ἀρχοντα λεγειν. Arrian, l. iv. p. 80. In another passage of the same book he says, the subjects of Macedon had more liberty than the citizens of Greece.

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in ſome degree, the language and manners of the barbarous natives, they, in their turn, imparted to the latter a tincture of the Grecian language and civility [8]. By this judicious and liberal ſyſtem, ſo unlike to that purſued by their countrymen in other parts of the world, the followers of Caranus gradually aſſociated with the warlike tribes in their neighbourhood, whom it would have been alike impoſſible for them to extirpate or to enſlave; and the ſame generous policy, being embraced by their deſcendants, deſerves to be regarded as the primary cauſe of Macedonian greatneſs.

Tranſactions of the Macedonians preceding the reign of Archelaus I. A. C. 713—416.

Perdiccas, the firſt of that name, ſo far eclipſed the fame of his three predeceſſors, that he is accounted the founder of the monarchy by Herodotus [9] and Thucydides [10]. His hiſtory has been magnified by fable, which has alſo obſcured or diſtorted the actions of the five princes [11] that intervened between him and Alexander I. who filled the Macedonian throne when Xerxes invaded Greece [12]. Here we attain hiſtoric ground. Alexander, as related above [13], took an important and honourable part in the affairs of Greece and Perſia, without neglecting the intereſt of his own kingdom, which he extended to the river Neſſus on the eaſt, and to the Axius on the weſt. His ſon, Perdiccas II. inherited the abilities of his father, without inheriting his integrity. During the Peloponneſian war, the alliance of this prince formed an object of important concern to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He eſpouſed the cauſe of the latter, which he regarded as his own, becauſe the Athenians, who had occaſionally levied tribute on his anceſtors [14], were then maſters of the Greek ſettlements along the Macedonian coaſt, the vicinity of which naturally tempted the ambition of Perdiccas. Under the ſpecious pretence of enabling Olynthus and the other cities of Chalcidice to

[8] Demoſthenes, Arrian, and Curtius.
[9] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxxxvii.
[10] Thucydid. l. ii. p. 168.
[11] Argæus I. Philip I. Æropus I. Alcetas, Amyntas I. Juſtin. l. vii. c. ii.
[12] Herodot. l. v. c. xix.
[13] Vol. i. p. 357.
[14] Thucydid. ubi ſupra, & Demoſthenes paſſim.

recover

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recover their independence, he lent his aid to deſtroy the Athenian influence there, expecting to eſtabliſh the Macedonian in its ſtead. But this deſign failed of ſucceſs. The Olynthian confederacy was broken, its members became ſubject to Sparta, and after the misfortunes of that republic had encouraged the Olynthians to reſume their freedom, they felt themſelves ſufficiently powerful not only to reſiſt the encroachments of Macedon, but to make conſiderable conqueſts in that country [15].

The ſtate of Macedon greatly improved by that prince. A. C. 416—410.

Archelaus I. who ſucceeded to the throne, diſplayed an enlightened policy, far more beneficial to his kingdom than the courage of Alexander, or the craft of Perdiccas. Like thoſe princes, Archelaus was ambitious to enlarge his dominions (having conquered Pydna and other towns in the delightful region of Pieria [16]); but his main care was to cultivate and improve them. He facilitated communication between the principal towns of Macedon, by cutting ſtraight roads through moſt parts of the country; he built walls and places of ſtrength in the ſituations moſt favourable for that purpoſe; encouraged agriculture and the arts, particularly thoſe ſubſervient to war; formed magazines of arms; raiſed and diſciplined a conſiderable body of cavalry; and, in a word, added more to the ſolid grandeur of Macedon than had been done by all his predeceſſors together [17]. Nor was he regardleſs of the arts of peace. His palace was adorned by the works of Grecian painters. Euripides was long entertained at his court; Socrates was earneſtly ſolicited to live there after the example of this philoſophic poet, formed by his precepts, and cheriſhed by his friendſhip: Men of merit and genius, in all the various walks of literature and ſcience, were invited to reſide in Macedon, and treated with diſtinguiſhed regard by a monarch

[15] See above, vol. ii. c. xxix. p. 236. & ſeqq.

[16] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. xvi.

[17] Thucydides ſays, "than the eight kings who preceded him," counting Perdiccas for the firſt. Αρχελαος ὁ Περδικκου υιος, Βασιλευς γενομενος τα τειχη νυν οντα εν τη χωρᾳ ωκοδομησε, και ὁδους ευθειας ετεμε, και ταλλα διεκοσμησε πασαν ἱππικην και ὁπλικην και τη αλλη παρασκευη κρεισσον η ξυμπαντες ὁι αλλοι Βασιλεις ὁκτω ὁι προ αυτου γενομενοι. Thucydides, p. 168.

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narch duly attentive to promote his own glory and the happineſs of his ſubjects [18].

Series of uſurpations and revolutions. A. C. 405—360.

A reign of ſix years was too ſhort a period for accompliſhing the important ends which Archelaus had in view. By his death the proſperity of Macedon was interrupted for almoſt half a century, crowded by a ſucceſſion of ten [19] princes or uſurpers, whoſe hiſtory is a perpetual ſeries of crimes and calamities. Amidſt theſe diſorders, the ſceptre ſtill remained in the family of Hercules; but almoſt every prince of the blood had an ambition to reign. In order to attain their purpoſe, the different competitors courted the aſſiſtance of the Thracians, of the Illyrians, of the Theſſalians, of the Olynthian confederacy, of Athens, of Sparta, and of Thebes; and each of thoſe powers endeavoured to turn to their own immediate profit the diſſentions in Macedon. Bardyllis, an active and daring chief, who by his abilities in acquiring, and his equity [20] in dividing the ſpoil, had riſen from the condition of a private robber to the command of the Illyrian tribes, entered Macedon at the head of a numerous army, diſpoſſeſſed Amyntas II. the father of Philip, and
A. C. 385. placed Argæus on the throne, who conſented to become the tributary of his benefactor [21]. The Thracians ſupported the title of another prince named Pauſanias: but the aſſiſtance of Theſſaly and
A. C. 383. Olynthus enabled Amyntas to reſume the government; the Olynthians refuſing, however, to ſurrender ſeveral places of importance which Amyntas had entruſted to their protection, or which they had

[18] Ariſtot. Rhetor. l. ii. c. xxix. Stobæus Sermon. 237.

[19] Their names, with the dates of their acceſſion or uſurpation, are as follows:

1	Oreſtes,	A. C. 405
2	Æropus II.	402
3	Archelaus II.	394
4	Amyntas II.	392
5	Pauſanias,	391
	Amyntas II.	390
6	Argæus II.	385
	Amyntas again re-eſtabliſhed,	383
7	Alexander II.	372
8	Perdiccas III.	371
9	Ptolemy,	370
	Perdiccas,	368
	Ptolemy,	367
	Perdiccas,	365
10	Amyntas,	360

To him Philip ſucceeded in the ſame year.

[20] Cicero de Offic. l. ii.

[21] Diodor. l, xiv. c. xcii.

conquered

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conquered from his competitor. Amyntas complained to Sparta, and that republic, for reaſons above [22] related, declared war againſt Olynthus, and reinſtated the Macedonian king in full poſſeſſion of his dominions. In conſequence of that event Amyntas eſtabliſhed, and thenceforth held, his court at Pella, where he enjoyed ſeveral years of tranquillity, cultivating the friendſhip of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. A. C. 380.

The ſhort reign of his ſon Alexander was diſturbed by a freſh invaſion of the Illyrians, from whom he purchaſed a precarious peace [23]. He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, of whom the eldeſt was ſtill a minor. Availing himſelf of *their* youth and weakneſs, Pauſanias found means to uſurp the throne, being ſupported not only by the Thracians, but by a conſiderable body of Greek mercenaries, as well as by a powerful party in Macedon. The uſurper Pauſanias.

Iphicrates, the Athenian, happened at this critical juncture to return from Amphipolis, the recovery of which formed the main object of his expedition. In former journies to the coaſt of Thrace, he had been treated with diſtinguiſhed regard by Amyntas, whoſe widow Eurydicé now craved the protection of Iphicrates for the ſons of his friend. This princeſs was deſcended from the Bacchiadæ, the nobleſt family of Corinth, who, rather than live on an equality with their fellow-citizens in that republic, had become the leaders of the Lynceſtæ, a barbarous tribe inhabiting the moſt weſtern diſtrict of Macedon. Eurydicé inherited all the ambition of her race, and was diſtinguiſhed by a bold intriguing ſpirit " ſtill more than by her beauty and accompliſhments. With her young ſons ſhe ſuddenly appeared before Iphicrates, in the ſupplicating form of calamity and woe; preſented the eldeſt to his hand, placed Philip, the younger, on his knee, and conjured him by " the ſincere friendſhip which Amyntas had ever entertained for Athens and for himſelf, Dethroned by Iphicrates at the entreaty of Eurydicé. A. C. 370.

[22] See vol. ii. c. xxix. p. 247.
[23] Diodorus & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.
[24] Juſtin. l. vii. c. iv.

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ſelf, to pity their tender years, oppreſſed by cruel uſurpation." The dignity of her ſorrow prevailed with Iphicrates, who reſpected the ſacred ties of hoſpitality, and who ſaw the advantage that might accrue to Athens by gaining an intereſt in Macedon. We are not informed by what means he eſtabliſhed Perdiccas on the throne. The revolution was effected with ſuch rapidity [25], that we may ſuppoſe a ſudden inſurrection of the people, who, on important emergencies, were accuſtomed, as in the heroic ages, to aſſemble in arms.

Ptolemy dethroned by Pelopidas, who ſends Philip as a hoſtage to Thebes. A. C. 367.

During the minority of the young prince the kingdom was governed by his natural brother Ptolemy, whoſe ambition, unſatisfied with a delegated power, openly aſpired to reign. This uſurper (as we have related above) was dethroned by Pelopidas and the Thebans, who reinſtated Perdiccas in his dominions; and, in order to ſecure the dependence of Macedon on Thebes, carried into that city as hoſtages thirty Macedonian youths, and with them Philip, the younger brother of the king.

Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.

Perdiccas ſeemed proud of his chain. Elated with the protection of the Thebans, then in the height of their proſperity, he forgot the gratitude due to Iphicrates and the Athenians; diſputed the right of that people to Amphipolis, which had been acknowledged by the general council of Greece [26]; and his oppoſition rendered fruitleſs their well-directed endeavours to recover that important eſtabliſhment. The Athenians found an avenger in Bardyllis the Illyrian, to whom Perdiccas had denied the tribute that had been paid by his predeceſſors Argæus and Alexander. Bardyllis maintained his claim by force of arms. The Macedonians met him in the field, but were totally defeated with the loſs of four thouſand men [27]. Perdiccas was taken priſoner, and ſoon after died of his wounds. His ſon Amyntas was an infant. Thebes having loſt her

[25] Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrat. Æſchin. de falſa legatione.

[26] Demoſth. de falſa legat.

[27] Diodor. l. xvi. ſect. 2.

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pre-eminence in Greece, was unable to protect her distant allies. Athens was hostile, and Macedon, surrounded by enemies on every side, already experienced the fury of barbarian invaders.

Macedon distracted by two pretenders to the throne, and desolated by four foreign armies.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis, who ravaged the west, but the Pæonians, a powerful and warlike tribe, having received some cause of offence from Perdiccas, now indulged their revenge, and insulted the northern frontier without interruption or controul. The Thracians still supported the cause of Pausanias, whom they prepared to send back into Macedon at the head of a numerous army. Ptolemy was dead; but Argæus, the ancient competitor of king Amyntas, emboldened by the victory of the Illyrians, who had formerly placed him on the throne, renewed his pretensions to that dignity; and, grown old in intrigue, easily persuaded the Athenians, by the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, to exert themselves in his favour, especially against the son and brother of Perdiccas, by whose insolence and ingratitude they were justly provoked and disgusted. Impelled by such motives, the Athenians launched their fleet, and sailed towards the coast of Macedon, with three thousand heavy-armed men commanded by Mantias [28].

Amidst these calamities Philip arrives in Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

Such were the evils which threatened, and the calamities which oppressed, that unfortunate and distracted kingdom, when Philip appeared, asserting, unterrified, the rights of his infant nephew, against two candidates for the throne, and four formidable armies. A prince of less courage than Philip would have shrunk from a design seemingly desperate and impracticable; and had courage been his principal virtue, he would have only heightened the disorders which he hoped to remedy [29]. But on this emergency, the young Macedonian (for he was only in his twenty-third year [30]) displayed those extraordinary abilities which distinguish his reign, and render it the most interesting spectacle that history can present to those who

[28] Diodorus, ubi supra.
[29] Olivier Vie de Philippe, p. 47.
[30] Comp. Diodor. p. 310. & Justin. l. ix. c. viii.

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His education, and tranſactions preceding that period.

are delighted with ſurveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force and fortune, but the active energies and reſources of a vigorous and comprehenſive mind. Such was the obſcurity in which his merit had hitherto lain concealed from the public, that hiſtorians [31] diſagree as to the place of his reſidence, when he was informed of the defeat and death of his brother Perdiccas. From the age of fifteen he had lived chiefly in Thebes, in the family, and under the direction of Epaminondas [32], whoſe leſſons and example could not fail to excite in a kindred mind the emulation of excellence, and the ardour of patriotiſm [33]. It is probable that, agreeably to the cuſtom of Greece and Rome, where the youth alternately frequented the ſchool and the camp, and might ſometimes find a ſchool of philoſophy in the tent of a general, that Philip accompanied the Theban hero in many of his military expeditions. It is certain that, attended ſuitably to his rank, he viſited the principal republics of Greece, whoſe inſtitutions in peace and war he examined with a ſagacity far ſuperior to his years [34]. The tactics of the Lacedæmonians were the firſt new eſtabliſhment which he introduced into Macedon. Nor was the improvement of his knowledge the only fruit of his travels. The brother of a king found an eaſy acceſs to whomever he had an intereſt to know and cultivate. Even in Athens, then hoſtile to Thebes, and naturally unfavourable to a pupil of Epaminondas, Philip acquired the friendſhip and eſteem of Plato [35], Iſocrates [36], and Ariſtotle [37]; and the early connection which he formed with the principal leaders of Athens, and the neighbour-

[31] Diodorus places him in Thebes; Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506, in Macedon; and adds, Διατρίβειν ἐν ἑκατέραις ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ἀπόβασιν Περδίκκου, ἢ τόπον, ὃς ἂν ὑπαρχόντων, ἐπιτηδείως τοῖς πραγμασι. Words which admirably correſpond to the rapid motions of Philip after the death of Perdiccas.

[32] Plutarch. in Pelopida.

[33] Plutarch ſpeaks with the partiality of a Bœotian for Epaminondas, and the reſentment of a native of Chæronæa againſt Philip. See Plutarch in Pelopid.

[34] Plutarch in Alexand. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

[35] Athenæus, l. xi. Ælian, l. iv. c. xix.

[36] Iſocratis Epiſtolæ, & Oratio ad Philipp.

[37] Ariſtotle at this time lived in the Academy with Plato, where, moſt probably, Philip firſt ſaw him. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. Epiſt. ad Ammæum.

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ing republics, contributed, perhaps, in no ſmall degree, to the ſucceſs of his future deſigns [38].

The Illyrians evacuate Macedon.

His ſeaſonable appearance in Macedon, after the defeat and death of Perdiccas, ſuddenly changed the fortune of that ſeemingly devoted kingdom. Yet our admiration of Philip ought not to make us overlook the favourable circumſtances which ſeconded his abilities, and conſpired to promote his ſucceſs. The places of ſtrength built by Archelaus furniſhed a ſecure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas's army; the Macedonians, though conquered, were not ſubdued; they had conſiderable garriſons in the fortreſſes and walled towns ſcattered over the kingdom [39]; their whole forces had not been engaged in the unfortunate battle with the Illyrians [40]; and thoſe fierce invaders, impatient of delay, and only ſolicitous for plunder, having ravaged the open country, returned home to enjoy the fruits of their violence and rapine. They probably intended ſoon to aſſault Macedon with increaſed numbers, and to complete their devaſtations; but they ſeem to have been alike incapable to concert or to purſue any permanent plan of conqueſt; and being diſtinguiſhed, as hiſtorians relate, by their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity [41], they were not leſs diſtinguiſhed by that irregular and capricious mode of acting, and that inattention to remote conſequences, which characteriſe the manners of barbarians.

State of Thrace and Pæonia.

The warriors of Pæonia and Thrace [42] were leſs formidable by their numbers, and equally contemptible for their ignorance and indocility. In early times, the Pæonians indeed had been regarded as a tribe leſs ſavage, and more conſiderable [43] than their Macedonian neighbours; but the former had remained ſtationary, in the rudeneſs of their primitive ſtate, while the latter had been improved by a Grecian colony, and by frequent communication and inter-

[38] Demoſthen. paſſim.
[39] Thucyd. l. xi. p. 168.
[40] Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.
[41] Lucian. in Macrobiis, & Cornel. Alexand. apud Plinium, lib. vii. cap. clvii.
[42] Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrat. Xenoph. Anab. l. vii. p. 393.
[43] Hippocrat. de Epidem.

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courſe with the Grecian republics. Of the Thracians we have had occaſion to ſpeak in the preceding parts of this work. The deſtructive ravages of Scuthes [44] repreſent the ordinary condition of that unſettled and inhoſpitable country, ſometimes united under one chief, more frequently divided among many, whoſe mutual hoſtilities baniſhed agriculture, induſtry, and every uſeful art. Excluſive of the Grecian ſettlements on the coaſt, Thrace contained not any city, nor even any conſiderable town. The barbarian Cotys, who was dignified with the title of king, led a wandering life, encamping on the banks of rivers with his flocks and followers [45]. War and paſturage formed the only ſources of his grandeur, and even the only means of his ſubſiſtence.

Philip diſarms the reſentment of thoſe countries.

Such were the firſt enemies with whom Philip had to contend. Their own capricious unſteadineſs delivered him from the Illyrians. To the Pæonians, who ravaged the north, he either ſent a deputation, or applied in perſon; and partly by bribes, partly by artful promiſes and flattery, perſuaded the invaders to retire. The ſame arts prevailed with the ſelfiſh king of Thrace [46], whoſe avarice readily ſacrificed the cauſe of Pauſanias, while Philip thought the remaining wealth of Macedon uſefully conſumed in removing theſe barbarous foes, that he might reſiſt, with undivided ſtrength, the more formidable invaſion of Argæus and the Athenians.

Philip declared king of Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

The Athenian fleet already anchored before the harbour of Methoné; Argæus, with his numerous followers, had encamped in the province of Pieria; and their united forces prepared to march northward to Edeſſa, or Ægæ, the ancient capital of Macedon, where they expected to be joined by a powerful party, whom fear or inclination would bring to the ſtandard of the baniſhed king.

[44] See above, c. xxvi. p. 174, & ſeqq.

[45] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 331.

[46] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. ſect. 3. Horace alludes to theſe events:

——— diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo, & ſubruit æmulos
Reges muneribus. Lib. iii. Ode 16.

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The Macedonians who adhered to the intereſt of Perdiccas, or rather of his infant ſon, had been diſpirited by the recent victory of the Illyrians, and the misfortunes conſequent on that event. But the manly exhortations, and undaunted deportment of Philip, rouſed them from their deſpair. They admired the dexterity with which he had diſarmed the reſentment of the Thracians and Pæonians. His graceful perſon, inſinuating addreſs, and winning affability, qualities which he poſſeſſed in a very uncommon degree[47], gained the affections of the Macedonians, who either recollected, or were ſtudiouſly reminded of, a prophecy[48], that announced great glory to their nation under the reign of the ſon of Amyntas. In an aſſembly held at Ægæ, they exclaimed, with one conſent, "This is the man whom the gods point out as the founder of the Macedonian greatneſs. The dangerous condition of the times admits not of an infant reign. Let us obey the celeſtial voice, and entruſt the ſceptre to hands alike worthy to hold, and able to defend it[49]." This propoſal ſeemed not extraordinary in a country, which had been long accuſtomed to interruptions in the lineal order of ſucceſſion. Amyntas was ſet aſide, and Philip, who had hitherto poſſeſſed only the delegated power of regent, was inveſted with the royal title and authority[50].

He defeats the pretender Argæus, and his Athenian auxiliaries.

While all ranks of men were thus animated with affectionate admiration of their young king, the obſolete claims of Argæus could only be maintained by arms. Attended by his Athenian allies, he marched towards Edeſſa; but that city ſhut its gates againſt him. Diſpirited by this repulſe, he made no farther attempts to gain admiſſion into any of the Macedonian cities, but directed his courſe

[47] Æſchin. de Falſa Legatione.

[48] In the Sibylline verſes preſerved in Pauſanias (in Achaic.) Philip is named as the author of the Macedonian greatneſs, and the deſtruction of the kingdom is foretold under another Philip. Theſe verſes, though evidently compoſed after the event, ſerve to confirm the fact, that the ſuperſtition of the multitude was wrought upon for the purpoſes of Philip. Juſtin. l. vii. c. vi.

[49] Ibid. idem.

[50] Diodorus, ibid.

backward

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backward to Methoné. Philip, who had now collected ſufficient ſtrength to take the field, haraſſed his retreat, cut his rear to pieces, and defeated him in a general engagement, in which Argæus himſelf fell, with the flower of his army. The reſt, whether Greeks or Barbarians, were made priſoners of war [51].

Uncommon treatment of the Athenian and Macedonian priſoners.

It was on this occaſion that Philip firſt diſplayed that deep and artful policy, which, in the courſe of a long reign, gained him ſuch a powerful aſcendant over the paſſions of other men, and enabled him uniformly to govern his own by the intereſt of his ambition. In the midſt of proſperity, his proud and lofty ſpirit muſt have been highly provoked by the Athenians, as well as by the followers of Argæus; and the barbarous maxims and practices which prevailed in that age, left him at full liberty to wreck his vengeance on the unhappy priſoners of both, who had fallen into his hands. But the intereſt of Philip required him rather to ſoothe than to irritate the people of Athens, and to obtain by good offices (what he could not command by force) the confidence of his Macedonian ſubjects. The captives of the latter nation were called into his preſence, rebuked with gentleneſs and humanity, admitted to ſwear allegiance to their new maſter, and promiſcuouſly diſtributed in the body of his army. The Athenian priſoners were treated in a manner ſtill more extraordinary [52]. Inſtead of demanding any ranſom for their perſons, he reſtored their baggage unexamined, and entertained them at his table with ſuch condeſcending hoſpitality, that they returned home, full of admiration for the young king, and deeply perſuaded of his attachment and reſpect for their republic [53].

[51] Diodorus, l. xvi. ſect. 3. & Demoſth. in Ariſtocrat.

[52] The fair ſide of Philip's character is deſcribed by Diodor. l. xvi. p. 510, & ſeqq. and p. 559. By Juſt. l. ix. c. viii. The moſt diſadvantageous deſcription of him is given by Demoſthenes, paſſim, and by Athenæus, l. iv. c. xix. l. vi. c. xvii. & l. x. c. x. Cicero ſeems not to have regarded the aſſertions of Demoſthenes, when, in ſpeaking of Philip and Alexander, he ſays, "Alter ſemper magnus, alter ſæpe turpiſſimus." But the artificial character of Philip, which varied with his intereſt, merits neither the panegyrics nor invectives too liberally beſtowed on it.

[53] Demoſthenes in Ariſtocrat.

They

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Philip amuſes the Athenians with a treaty of peace and friendſhip. Olymp. cv. 2. A. C. 359.

They had only time to blaze forth the praiſes of Philip, when his ambaſſadors arrived at Athens[54]. He knew that the loſs of Amphipolis principally excited the reſentment of the Athenians; he knew that the intereſt of Macedon required that reſentment to be appeaſed. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he renounced all juriſdiction over Amphipolis, which was formally declared a free and independent city, ſubject only to the government of its own equitable laws[55]. This meaſure, together with the diſtinguiſhed treatment of the Athenian priſoners, inſured the ſucceſs of his embaſſy. An ancient treaty was renewed, that had long ſubſiſted between his father Amyntas and the Athenians. That capricious and unſteady people, not leſs ſuſceptible of gratitude, than prone to anger, were thus lulled into repoſe, at a time when Fortune having placed them at the head of Greece, both their preſent power and ancient glory urged them to take the front of the battle againſt Philip. Confiding in the inſidious treaty with that prince, they engaged in a ruinous war with their allies[56]; and ceaſed, during ſeveral years, to make any oppoſition to the ambitious deſigns of the Macedonian.

Philip inſtitutes the order of [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]. Olymp. cv. 2. A. C. 359.

The young king, having given ſuch illuſtrious proofs of his abilities in negociation and war, availed himſelf of the affectionate admiration of his ſubjects to eſtabliſh, during a ſeaſon of tranquillity, ſuch inſtitutions as might maintain and extend his own power, and confirm the ſolid grandeur of Macedon. The laws and maxims which prevailed in the heroic ages, and which, as we have already obſerved, had been early introduced into that kingdom, circumſcribed the royal authority within very narrow bounds. The chiefs and nobles, eſpecially in the more remote provinces, regarded themſelves as the rivals and equals of their ſovereign. In foreign war they followed his ſtandard, but they often ſhook his throne by do-

[54] Demoſthen. in Ariſtocrat.

[55] Polyæn. Strategic. lib. iv. c. [illegible].

[56] See above, c. xxxii. p. [illegible].

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meſtic ſedition; and, amidſt the ſcanty materials for explaining the internal ſtate of Macedon in ancient times, we may diſcover ſeveral inſtances in which they diſavowed their allegiance, and aſſumed independent government over conſiderable diſtricts of the country[57]. The moment of glory and ſucceſs ſeemed the moſt favourable for extinguiſhing this dangerous ſpirit, and quaſhing the proud hopes of the nobles. In this deſign Philip proceeded with that artful policy which characteriſes his reign. From the braveſt of the Macedonian youth, he choſe a ſelect body of *companions*[58], who, being diſtinguiſhed by honourable appellations, and entertained at the royal table, attended the king's perſon in war and in hunting. Their intimacy with the ſovereign, which was regarded as a proof of their merit, obliged them to ſuperior diligence in all the ſevere duties of a military life[59]. The noble youth, animated with the hope of glory, vied with each other to gain admiſſion into this diſtinguiſhed order; and while, on one hand, they ſerved as hoſtages[60] for the allegiance of their families, they formed, on the other, an uſeful ſeminary of future generals[61], who, after conquering for Philip and Alexander, at length conquered for themſelves, and divided the ſpoils of the ancient world.

His military arrangements.

It is ignorantly ſaid by ſome writers[62], that Philip, in the firſt year of his reign, invented the phalanx, a body of ſix thouſand men, armed with ſhort ſwords, fit either for cutting or thruſting; ſtrong bucklers, four feet in length, and two and a half in breadth; and pikes fourteen cubits long, which, uſually arranged ſixteen deep,

[57] Strabo, l. vii. p. 326. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. v.

[58] Arrian, & Ælian.

[59] Ælian, l. xiv. c. 47.

[60] Arrian ſays, "παῖδες ἢ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῶν ἀρχόντων," "the ſons of men in office;" which well agrees with the idea of their being hoſtages for the fidelity of their parents. He alſo aſcribes the inſtitution to Philip. Ly Φιλίππου δὲ καθίστηκε. Arrian, l. iv. p. 89.

[61] Curtius, l. viii. c. 6.

[62] Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi. ſ. 3. and all the Roman writers of Greek hiſtory. It was natural for the Romans, who began to know Greece and Macedon almoſt at the ſame time, and who found the phalanx moſt complete in the latter, to ſuppoſe it invented in that country.

formed

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formed the main battle of the Macedonians. But this is nothing different from the armour and arrangement which had always prevailed among the Greeks, and which Philip adopted in their moſt perfect form; nor is there reaſon to think that a prince, who knew the danger of changing what the experience of ages had approved, made any alteration in the weapons or tactics of that people[63]. His attention was more judiciouſly directed to procure, in ſufficient abundance, arms, horſes, and other neceſſary inſtruments of war; in reviewing and exerciſing his troops; and in accuſtoming them to that auſtere and laborious life[64], which is the beſt preparation for the field.

Conquers Pæonia. Olymp. cv. 3. A. C. 358.

The military reſources which his activity had provided, his ambition did not allow to remain long unemployed. The death of Agis, the moſt warlike chieftain, or, as he is called by an hiſtorian[65], king of the Pæonians, drew Philip into the field, to revenge recent injuries which thoſe Barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Among a people where the laws of peace or war are neglected or unknown, almoſt every thing depends on the precarious character of their leaders. Deprived of the valour of Agis, the Pæonians loſt all hopes of defence. Philip over-ran their country without reſiſtance; carried off ſlaves and plunder; impoſed a tribute on their chiefs; took hoſtages; and reduced Pæonia to an abſolute dependence on Macedon.

Defeats the Illyrians, and extends his territory to the Ionian ſea.

It is probable, that, according to the practice of the age, he permitted or required a certain number of the vanquiſhed to follow his ſtandard; but the Pæonians were no ſooner reduced, than Philip, to

[63] The improvement in the countermarch, to which Philip gave the appearance of advancing, inſtead of retreating, mentioned by Ælian in his Tactics, c. xxviii. was borrowed, as this author tells us, from the Lacedæmonians. If Philip increaſed the phalanx, uſually leſs numerous, to ſix thouſand men, this was far from an improvement; and the latter kings of Macedon, who ſwelled it to ſixteen thouſand, only rendered that order of battle more unwieldy and inconvenient. The higheſt perfection of Grecian tactics is to be found in Xenophon's expedition. See above, c. xxvi. p. 154, & ſeqq. See alſo Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764, & Liv. l. xliv. c. 40.

[64] Polyænus, l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Strat. l. iv. c. 1.

[65] Diodorus, l. xvi. ſect. 4.

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whom all ſeaſons ſeemed alike proper for war, undertook a winter's campaign againſt Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and kingdom. He marched towards the frontier of Illyria[66] at the head of ten thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe; and, before entering the country, animated the reſentment and valour of his troops by a military oration, after the cuſtom of the Greeks, whoſe manners, he ſeemed, on every occaſion, ambitious to imitate. Indignation of paſt injuries, the honour of his ſubjects, and the glory of his crown, might be topics proper to influence the Macedonian ſoldiers[67], who could not fully enter into the more refined motives of their ſovereign. Illyria had been extended on the eaſt, to the prejudice of Macedon, which it totally excluded from the excellent harbours on the Hadriatic[68]. This was an important conſideration to a prince who ſeems to have early meditated the raiſing of a naval power. Beſide this, it was impoſſible for Philip to undertake with ſafety the other meaſures which he had in view, ſhould he leave his kingdom expoſed to the predatory incurſions of a neighbouring enemy, who, unleſs they feared Macedon, muſt always be formidable to that country. Directed by ſuch ſolid principles of policy, rather than governed by reſentment, or allured by the ſplendour of victory, Philip proceeded forward, with the caution neceſſary to be obſerved in an hoſtile territory. After a fruitleſs negociation, Bardyllis met him in the field with an adequate body of infantry, but with only four hundred horſe. The preciſe ſcene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the

[66] The Greek name of this country is Ιλλυρις, but more commonly οι Ιλλυριοι, from its inhabitants. Vid. Arrian, l. i paſſim. The Latin name is *Illyricum*; moſt Engliſh writers of ancient hiſtory uſe *Illyria*, probably from the French *Illyrie*. The Greek Ιλλυρις is deſcribed by Strabo, l. vii. p. 317. It comprehended the eaſtern ſhore of the Hadriatic, between Epirus and Iſtria. The Latin *Illyricum* had a ſignification far more extenſive. See Gibbon's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 27.

[67] The heads of the ſpeech are given, indirectly, in the fragments of Theopompus.

[68] Strabo ſays, απαντα τον Ιλλυρικον (ſcilicet γωρον) σφοδρα ευλιμενον ειναι; and adds, that the ſhore of Illyria is as abundant, as the oppoſite coaſt of Italy is defective, in good harbours. Strabo, l. vii.

Illyrian

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Illyrian column[69] in front, while the targeteers and light-armed troops galled its flanks, and the cavalry haraſſed its rear. The Illyrians, thus ſurrounded on every ſide, were cruſhed between two oppoſite aſſaults, without having an opportunity to exert their full ſtrength[70]. Their reſiſtance, however, muſt have been vigorous, ſince ſeven thouſand were left on the field of battle, and with them their gallant leader Bardyllis, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horſeback. The loſs of their experienced chief, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, broke the ſtrength and courage of the Illyrian tribes, who ſent a deputation to Philip, humbly craving peace, and ſubmitting their fortune to the will of the conqueror. Philip granted them the ſame terms[71] which he had lately impoſed on the Pæonians. *That* part of their country which lies eaſt of the lake Lychnidus, he joined to Macedon; and probably built a town, and ſettled a colony on the ſide of the lake, which watered a fertile country, and abounded in different kinds of fiſh, highly eſteemed by the ancients. The town and lake of Lychnidus were fifty miles diſtant from the Ionian ſea; but ſuch was the aſcendant that the arms and policy of Philip acquired over his neighbours, that the inhabitants of the intermediate diſtrict ſoon adopted the language and manners of their conquerors; and their territory, hitherto unconnected with any foreign power, ſunk into

[69] The Illyrians were drawn up in the order of battle called πλινθιον, from πλινθος, a brick; which clearly points out its form.

[70] Frontinus Stratag. l. ii. c. 3.

[71] It ſhould ſeem from Diodorus, that the Illyrians had entertained the ſame ſuperſtitious terror of neglecting the interment of the dead, which prevailed among the Greeks. Yet Diodorus, perhaps, only uſed a privilege too common among hiſtorians, of transferring their own feelings to thoſe concerning whom they write. He ſays, that Philip "reſtored their dead, and erected a trophy." Pauſanias (in Bœotic) denies that either Philip or his ſon Alexander ever erected any of thoſe monuments of victory; which practice, he ſays, was contrary to a Macedonian maxim, eſtabliſhed as early as the time of Caranus, when a lion having overturned one of his trophies, the wiſe founder of the monarchy regarded this event as a warning to forbear raiſing them in future. But the medals of Philip and Alexander, of which the reverſe is ſometimes charged with trophies, refute the aſſertion of Pauſanias; which is likewiſe contradicted by Arrian, Curtius, and all the writers of the life, or expedition, of Alexander.

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such an absolute dependence on Macedon, that many ancient geographers considered it as a province of that country[72].

Philip's designs against Amphipolis. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

Having settled the affairs of Illyria, Philip returned home, not to enjoy the sweets of victory and repose, but to pursue more important and more arduous designs, than those which he had hitherto carried on with such signal success. He had secured and extended the northern and western frontier of Macedon; but the rich southern shores, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, presented at once a more tempting prize, and a more formidable enemy. The confederacy of Olynthus, having thrown off the yoke of Sparta, had become more powerful than ever. It could send into the field ten thousand heavy-armed men, and a large body of well-disciplined cavalry. Most towns of the Chalcidicé had become its allies or subjects; and this populous and wealthy province, together with Pangæus on the right, and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were either independent, or subject to the Athenians, formed a barrier sufficient not only to guard the Grecian states against Macedon, but even to threaten the safety of that kingdom. Every motive concurred to direct the active policy of Philip towards acquisitions immediately necessary in themselves, and essential to the completion of his remote purposes. In the course of twenty years he accomplished his designs, and conquered Greece; often varying his means, never changing his end; and notwithstanding the circumstances and events that continually thwarted his ambition, we behold the opening and gradual progress of a vast plan, every step in which paved the way for that which followed, till the whole ended in the most signal triumph, perhaps ever attained by human prudence, over courage and fortune.

Importance of that place.

The importance of Olynthus and the Chalcidicé could not divert the sagacity of Philip from Amphipolis, which he regarded as a more necessary, though less splendid, conquest. The possession of

[72] Strabo, l. vii. p. 327.

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Amphipolis, which would connect Macedon with the ſea, and ſecure to that kingdom many commercial advantages, opened a road to the woods and mines of Mount Pangæus, the former of which was ſo eſſential to the raiſing of a naval power, and the latter to the forming and keeping on foot a ſufficient military force. The place itſelf, Philip, in the beginning of his reign, had declared independent, to avoid a rupture with the Athenians, who ſtill aſſerted their pretenſions to their ancient colony. But their meaſures to regain Amphipolis had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the caprice or perfidy of Charidemus, a native of Eubœa, who, from the common level of a ſoldier of fortune, had riſen to the command of a conſiderable body of mercenaries, frequently employed by the indolence and licentiouſneſs of the Athenians, a people extremely averſe both to the fatigue and reſtraint of perſonal ſervice. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering their dominion, while the Amphipolitans, having taſted the ſweets of liberty, prepared to maintain their independence.

Amphipolis enters into the Olynthian confederacy.

In this poſture of affairs, the hoſtile deſigns of Philip, which all his artifice had not been able to conceal from the ſuſpicious jealouſy of the new republic, alarmed the magiſtrates of Amphipolis, and obliged them to ſeek protection from the Olynthians, who readily admitted them into their confederacy. Emboldened by this alliance, they ſet at defiance the menaces of their neighbouring, as well as of their more diſtant, enemy; and their imprudent inſolence readily furniſhed Philip with ſpecious grounds of hoſtility. The Olynthians perceived that the indignation of this prince muſt ſoon break forth into action, and overwhelm the Amphipolitans; while they themſelves might be involved in the ruin of their new confederate. To anticipate this danger, they ſent ambaſſadors to Athens, requeſting an alliance with that republic againſt the natural enemy of both ſtates, and an enemy whoſe ſucceſsful activity rendered him a juſt object of terror.

This

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The intrigues of Philip prevent an alliance between Athens and Olynthus.

This alliance, had it taken place, muſt have given a fatal blow to the riſing greatneſs of Macedon, which as yet was incapable to contend with the united ſtrength of Olynthus and Athens. The ſpies and emiſſaries of Philip (for he had already begun to employ thoſe odious, but neceſſary, inſtruments of policy) immediately gave the alarm. The prince himſelf was deeply ſenſible of the danger, and determined to repel it with equal vigour and celerity. His agents reached Athens before any thing was concluded with the Olynthian deputies. The popular leaders and orators were bribed and gained; the magiſtrates and ſenate were flattered and deceived by the moſt plauſible declarations and promiſes. A negociation was immediately ſet on foot, by which Philip ſtipulated to conquer Amphipolis for the Athenians, on condition that they ſurrendered to him Pydna, a place of far leſs importance. He promiſed, beſides, to confer many other advantages on the republic, which it was not proper at preſent to mention, but which time would reveal[73]. Amuſed by the artifices of the Macedonian, deceived by the perfidy of their own magiſtrates, and elated with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, the great object of their ambition, the ſenate of the Five Hundred (for the tranſaction was carried on with ſuch haſte as allowed not time for aſſembling the people) rejected with diſdain the overtures of the Olynthians[74]; who returned home diſguſted and indignant.

Artifices by which he gained the Olynthians.

They had ſcarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the angry paſſions which agitated their own breaſts, when the ambaſſadors of Philip craved audience in the aſſembly of Olynthus. That artful prince affected to condole with the Olynthians on the affront which they had received from the inſolence of Athens; but at the ſame time teſtified his ſurpriſe, that they ſhould condeſcend to court

[73] Και το θρυλλουμενον ποτε απορρητον ενιοις. Demoſthen. Olynth. i. p. 6, edit. Wolfii. It is ſtrange that Wolfius has changed the order of the Olynthian orations, ſo diſtinctly marked by Dion. Halicarn. in his letter to Ammæus.

[74] Demoſthenes expreſſes it in the ſtrongeſt terms, as if they had driven the Olynthians from Athens: "ὁτι Ολυνθιους απηλασατον τοτε, ουδεν δι. Demoſthen. ibid.

the

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the distant protection of that proud republic, when they might find in Macedon an ally near at hand, who wished for nothing more earnestly than to enter into equal and lasting engagements with their confederacy. As a proof of his moderation and sincerity, he offered immediately to put them in possession of Anthemus, a town of some importance in their neighbourhood, the jurisdiction of which had long been claimed by the kings of Macedon[77]; at the same time assuring them of his intentions to deserve their gratitude by still more important services, and particularly by employing his arms to reduce the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, commanding the opposite sides of the Thermaic gulph; places, therefore, of considerable value, which he wished to see dependent on Olynthus, rather than, as at present, subject to Athens.

Philip besieges Amphipolis. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

The immediate offers of Philip, his professions and promises, in which, as they suited his interest, he doubtless was sincere, and still more, his secret practices with some powerful men of Olynthus, effectually prevailed with that republic to abandon the cause of Amphipolis, whose imprudent inhabitants had been at little pains to prevent those offences and complaints which naturally arise between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy. By these intrigues, the Macedonian not only removed all opposition to his views on the part of the Olynthians, but acquired the sincere friendship of that people, who were ready to assist his arms, and to second his most ambitious designs. He therefore prepared for action, because he might now act with safety; marched rapidly towards Amphipolis, and pressed that city with a vigorous siege. The inhabitants, deeply affected by the near prospect of a calamity which they had taken little care to prevent, had recourse, in their distress, to Athens. Thither they dispatched Hierax and Stratocles, two of their most distinguished citizens, to represent the danger of an alliance between Philip and Olynthus; to intreat the Athenians to accept the sincere

[77] Demosthen. Philip. ii. 4.

repentance

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repentance of their unfortunate colony, and once more to take Amphipolis under the protection of their fleet.

Amuſes the Athenians.

At that time the Athenians were deeply engaged in the ſocial war; yet the hopes of recovering ſo important a ſettlement might have directed their attention to Macedon, had not the vigilant policy of Philip ſent them a letter, renewing the aſſurances of his friendſhip, acknowledging their pretenſions to the city which he actually beſieged, and of which he artfully ſaid, that, in terms of his recent engagement, he hoped ſhortly to put them in poſſeſſion. Amuſed by theſe inſinuationg repreſentations, the Athenians treated the deputies of Amphipolis with as little reſpect as they had lately done thoſe of Olynthus. The beſieged city was thus deprived of all hopes of relief; Philip preſſed the attack with new vigour; a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after an obſtinacy of defence which could have no other effect than to provoke the reſentment of the conqueror, at length ſurrendered at diſcretion [76].

Amphipolis ſurrenders. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

Is annexed to Macedon.

The prudent Macedonian always preferred his own profit to the puniſhment of his enemies. It was his intereſt to preſerve and to aggrandiſe, not to depopulate Amphipolis. He baniſhed a few daring leaders, whoſe ſeditious or patriotic ſpirit might diſturb the meaſures of his government. The bulk of the citizens were treated with ſufficient mildneſs. Their territory was reunited to Macedon, from which Philip reſolved that it ſhould never be diſmembered, notwithſtanding his promiſes to the Athenians.

Philip puts the Olynthians in poſſeſſion of Pydna and Potidæa.

That he might arm himſelf againſt the reſentment of a people, whom, if he could not deceive, he was determined to defy, he cultivated, with great earneſtneſs, the Olynthian confederacy; and having beſieged and taken the towns of Pydna and Potidæa, he readily ceded them to the Olynthians, who had but feebly aſſiſted him in making theſe conqueſts. In the whole tranſaction Philip

[76] Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. Demoſth. Olynth. iii. ſect. 4—7.

affected

affected to act merely as an auxiliary. The Athenian garriſon in Potidæa, who had ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, he took under his immediate protection, and diſmiſſed them without ranſom, artfully lamenting that the neceſſity of his affairs, and his alliance with Olynthus, obliged him to oppoſe the intereſts of their republic, for which he entertained the moſt ſincere reſpect[77]. CHAP. XXXIII.

Philip purſues his conqueſts in Thrace.

It is impoſſible that the Athenians, weak and credulous as they were, ſhould have been the dupes of this groſs artifice. But they could not immediately withdraw their exertions from the ſocial war, the events of which grew continually more unproſperous. Philip, ever vigilant and active, profited of this favourable diverſion, to purſue his conqueſts in Thrace, to which the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis afforded him an opening. In the beginning of his reign, he had found it neceſſary to purchaſe a peace from Cotys, who ſtill governed that country, but from whom Philip could not actually apprehend any formidable oppoſition. The late acquaintance of that Barbarian with the Grecian religion and manners, which he had adopted in conſequence of his connection with Iphicrates and the Athenians, ſerved only to deprave his faculties, and to cloud his reaſon. We ſhould pronounce abſolutely mad, the man who fancied himſelf enamoured of Minerva; but the ancients, who believed that the gods often appeared in a human form, regarded with more tenderneſs this frantic enthuſiaſm. Cotys was allowed to poſſeſs his freedom and his crown, whether, with his ambulatory court, he traverſed the inhoſpitable mountains of Thrace, or pitched his tents on the fragrant banks of the Strymon or the Neſſus, or to enjoy with more privacy the favours of his celeſtial miſtreſs, penetrated into the deep receſſes of the beautiful foreſts which adorned his kingdom.

[77] Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. & Demoſth. Philipp ii. & Olynth. i.

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Takes poſſeſſion of the gold mines at Crenidæ, afterwards called Philippi. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

At the approach of the Macedonians, having abandoned the grove of Onocarſis, the favourite ſcene of his wild and romantic enjoyments [78], he endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy by a letter; but a letter from ſuch a man could excite nothing but ridicule or pity. Philip penetrated eaſtward thirty miles beyond Amphipolis, to the town of Crenidæ, ſituated at the foot of Mount Pangæus, and diſtant ten miles from the ſea. He admired the ſolitary beauty of the place, which being bounded on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by lofty mountains, was watered by many ſtreams and rivulets, which, tempering the dryneſs of the ſoil, produced the fineſt and moſt delicious fruit and flowers, eſpecially roſes, of a peculiar hue and fragrancy. But the attention of Philip was attracted by objects more important, by the gold mines in that neighbourhood, formerly wrought by colonies from Thaſos and from Athens, but totally neglected ſince the ignorant Thracians had become maſters of Crenidæ. Philip expelled thoſe Barbarians from a poſſeſſion which they ſeemed unworthy to hold. Having deſcended into the gold mines, he traced, by the help of torches, the decayed labours of the ancient proprietors. By his care the water was drained off; the canals, broken or choaked up, were repaired; and the boſom of the earth was again opened and ranſacked [79] with eager avidity by a prince, who well knew the value of the precious metals. A Macedonian colony was planted at Crenidæ, which thenceforth aſſumed the name of Philippi [80], a name beſtowed alſo on the golden coins ſtruck by or-

[78] Theopomp. apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 531.

[79] Senec. Natur. Quæſt. l. v. p 760, & Demoſthen. in Leptin.

[80] The fatal defeat and death of Brutus and Caſſius have eclipſed, in their melancholy ſplendour, all the preceding events which diſtinguiſh Philippi. There liberty expired, and virtue yielded to force.

Cum fracta virtus, & minaces
Turpe ſolum tetigere mento.

Horat.

der

der of Philip [81], to the annual amount of nearly a thouſand talents, or two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling [82].

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Philip ſettles the affairs of Theſſaly.

Having effected the main purpoſe of his Thracian expedition, the prudence of Philip ſet bounds to his conqueſts in that country, and carried his arms into Theſſaly, which, by the murder of Alexander of Pheræ, had got three tyrants inſtead of one. Theſe were, Tiſiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, the brothers-in-law, the aſſaſſins, and the ſucceſſors of Alexander. The reſentment of the Theſſalians, and the valour of the Macedonian troops, totally defeated thoſe oppreſſors of their country, who were reduced to ſuch humiliating terms as ſeemed ſufficient to prevent them from being thenceforth formidable either to their own ſubjects, or to their [83] neighbours. The Theſſalians, who were ſuſceptible of all impreſſions, but uncapable of preſerving any, concluded, in the firſt emotions of their gratitude, an agreement with their deliverer, by which they ſurrendered to him the revenues ariſing from their fairs and towns of commerce, as well as all the conveniencies of their harbours and ſhipping; and extraordinary as this ceſſion was, Philip found means to render [84] it effectual and permanent.

Advantages which he derived from that country.

He immediately contracted an alliance with Arybbas, king of Epirus, a ſmall principality which ſkirted the weſtern frontier of Theſſaly. In his excurſions from Thebes, Philip had early ſeen Olympias, the ſiſter of that prince, whoſe wit and ſpirit, joined to the lively graces of her youth and beauty, had made a deep impreſſion on his heart. They were initiated, at the ſame time, in the myſteries of Ceres, during the triennial feſtival in the iſle of Samothrace, which had been long as much diſtinguiſhed as [85] Eleuſis

Philip marries Olympias. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

[81] Regale numiſma Philippos.

[82] Diodor. l. xvi. c. ix. Juſtin. l. viii. c. iii. ſpeaks differently; but the whole of that chapter bears evident marks of ignorance and error.

[83] Diodor. l. xvi. c. xiv. & Plut. in Pelopid.

[84] Demoſth. Philip. I. 10. Polyæn. Strat. l. iv. c. xix.

[85] See above, c. xxi. p. 34.

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itſelf, by the peculiar worſhip and protection of this bountiful goddeſs. But the active ambition which employed and engroſſed the firſt years of Philip's reign, had probably baniſhed the memory of his love, when his expedition into Theſſaly recalled the image of Olympias. Their firſt interview naturally revived his tender paſſions; and, as the kings of Epirus were lineally deſcended from Achilles, the match appeared every way ſuitable; Arybbas readily yielded his conſent, and the beautiful princeſs was conducted into Macedon [86].

During the ſolemnities of his nuptials, the neighbouring princes take arms.

The nuptials of Philip were ſolemniſed at Pella with unuſual pomp and ſplendour. Several months were deſtined to religious ſhows and proceſſions, to gymnaſtic games and exerciſes, to muſical and dramatic entertainments. The young and fortunate prince naturally took a principal ſhare in all theſe ſcenes of feſtivity; and it is probable that, amidſt the more elegant amuſements of his court, Philip might diſcover that ſtrong propenſity to vicious indulgence, that delight in buffoons and flatterers, and other diſgraceful miniſters of his more criminal pleaſures, which however counteracted and balanced by his ambition and magnanimity, diſgraced and tarniſhed the ſucceeding glories of his reign. It is certain that the voluptuous inactivity in which he ſeemed ſunk, encouraged the hopes of his enemies [87]. The tributary princes of Pæonia and Illyria prepared to rebel; the king of Thrace engaged in their deſigns, which were concerted with more caution than is uſual with Barbarians; and this general conſpiracy of neighbouring ſtates might have repreſſed for a while the fortune of Macedon, if Philip had not been ſeaſonably informed of the danger by his faithful partiſans and emiſſaries in thoſe countries.

[86] Juſtin. l. vii. c. vi.

[87] Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxii.

Early

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Philip quaſhes their conſpiracy. Olymp. cvi. 1. A. C. 356.

Early in the enſuing ſpring he took the field with the flower of the Macedonian troops. Parmenio, the general in whom he had moſt confidence, cruſhed the rebellion in Illyria. Philip was equally ſucceſsful in Pæonia and Thrace. While he returned from the latter, he was informed of the victory of Parmenio. A ſecond meſſenger acquainted him that his horſes had gained the prize in the chariot races at the Olympic games; a victory which he regarded as far more honourable, and which, as it proved him a legitimate ſon of Greece, he carefully commemorated, by impreſſing a chariot on his coins. Almoſt at the ſame time a third meſſenger arrived to tell him that Olympias had brought forth a prince at Pella; to whom, as born amidſt ſuch auſpicious circumſtances, the diviners announced the greateſt proſperity [88] and glory.

Philip's letter to Ariſtotle, announcing the birth of Alexander.

Such a rapid tide of good fortune did not overſet the wiſdom of Philip, if we may judge by the firſt authentic tranſaction which immediately followed theſe events. This was the correſpondence with Ariſtotle the philoſopher, whoſe merit Philip had early diſcerned at Athens, when he ſtill reſided with his maſter Plato. The firſt letter (fortunately preſerved) is written with a brevity which marks the king and the man of genius. "Know that a ſon is born to us. We thank the gods, not ſo much for their gift, as for beſtowing it at a time when Ariſtotle lives. We aſſure ourſelves that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and worthy of Macedon." Ariſtotle commenced this illuſtrious employment about thirteen years afterwards [89], when the opening mind of Alexander might be ſuppoſed

[88] Plut. in Alexand.

[89] The chronology appears from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus's letter to Ammæus, who, in order to prove that Demoſthenes had attained the higheſt perfection in the practice, before Ariſtotle had delivered the theory, of eloquence, marks, with great exactneſs, the principal events in the lives of the philoſopher and orator. Ariſtotle, a native of Stagira, came to Athens in his eighteenth year, 367 A. C. There he continued twenty years, as the ſcholar or aſſiſtant of Plato, who died 348 A. C. Ariſtotle left Athens on the death of his maſter, and ſpent

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posed capable of receiving the benefit of his instructions. The success of his labours will be explained in the sequel. The fortune of Alexander surpassed that of all other conquerors as much as his virtues surpassed his fortune. Yet the fame of the philosopher abundantly repays the honour reflected on him by his royal pupil, since sixteen centuries after the destruction of Alexander's empire, the writings of Aristotle still maintained an unexampled ascendant over the opinions, and even over the actions of men.

spent three years at Atarneus, and two at Mytelené. From thence he went to Macedon, in the forty-third year of his age, and 343 years A. C. He was employed eight years in the education of Alexander. He returned to Athens 335 A. C. taught twelve years in the Lycæum, and died the year following at Chalcis, ætat. sixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander. Dionysius ad Ammæum. He reckons by the archons of Athens; I have substituted the years before Christ.

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Philip's Proſperity.—Imprudent Meaſures of the Amphictyonic Council.—The Phocian, or Sacred War.—Philomelus ſeizes the Temple of Delphi.—Takes the Field againſt the Thebans and their Allies.—Defeat and Death of Philomelus—Affairs of Thrace, Macedon, and Attica.—Onemarchus takes the Command of the Phocians.—Encounters Philip in Theſſaly.—He is defeated and ſlain.—Philip's Deſigns againſt Olynthus and Byzantium.—Traverſed by the Athenians.—Phayllus takes the Command of the Phocians.—Philip marches towards Thermopylæ.—Anticipated by the Athenians.—Demoſthenes's firſt Philippic.—Philip's Occupations at Pella—His Vices—and Policy.

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Proſperity of Philip in the fifth year of his reign. Olymp. c. ii. 1. A. C. 356.

PHILIP had now reigned almoſt five years. He had greatly enlarged the boundaries, he had ſtill more augmented the revenues of his kingdom. Paeonia, no longer the rival, was become an obſequious province of Macedon. At the expence of Thrace and Illyria, he had extended his frontier on the eaſt to the ſea of Thaſos; on the weſt to the lake Lychnidus. He was maſter of Theſſaly without having the trouble to govern it. He ſecured many commercial advantages by the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis. His troops were numerous and well diſciplined; his large finances were regulated with œconomy; and the mines of Philippi furniſhed him with an annual reſource alike uſeful to his deſigns, whether he purſued the

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ambitious career of foreign conqueſt, or ſet himſelf to build up and conſolidate the internal grandeur of his dominions.

His profound and impenetrable policy.

The power of Philip was admired, and feared, by thoſe who were unable to penetrate the deep principles of his policy, which alone rendered him really formidable. The firſt and moſt natural object of his deſire was the territory of Olynthus, the moſt populous and fertile portion of the Macedonian coaſt. His ſecond and far more arduous purpoſe was to obtain the ſovereignty of Greece. But inſtead of diſcovering theſe deſigns, he had hitherto cultivated the Olynthians with a careful aſſiduity, and had deſerved their gratitude by many ſolid and important ſervices. His ſucceſs had been complete, and, if elated by the many advantages which we have enumerated, he had already prepared to invade Greece, it is more than probable that the Olynthians would have conſented to follow his ſtandard. But Philip was ſenſible, that by ſnatching too eagerly at this glorious prize, he might deſtroy for ever his proſpect of obtaining it. While the Athenians were occupied and haraſſed by the deſtructive war with their confederates, he had, indeed, embraced the opportunity to gain poſſeſſion of ſeveral of their dependent ſettlements in Thrace and Macedon; colouring, however, theſe proceedings by the pretence of juſtice or neceſſity, and tempering even his hoſtilities by many partial acts of kindeſs and reſpect. Before the ſocial war was ended, the ſeeds of diſſention, ſo profuſely ſcattered in Greece, were likely to ripen into a new quarrel far more general and important. Philip patiently waited their maturity. His hopes were founded on the domeſtic animoſities of Greece; but the too early diſcovery of his ſyſtem might have united an hundred thouſand[1] warriors againſt their common enemy; whereas, by the ſecret refinements of a ſlow

[1] The number is choſen as a very *moderate* medium between the two hundred and twenty thouſand men, afterwards promiſed to Philip in the general convention of the States at Corinth for the ſervice of the Perſian expedition, and the eighty thouſand which the Greeks actually raiſed againſt Xerxes, and which Thucydides ſays, that the Peloponneſian confederacy alone could ſend into Attica.

and

and ſteady policy, he effected his vaſt purpoſes without being obliged, on any one occaſion, to fight againſt thirty thouſand men. CHAP. XXXIV.

The Amphictyons having recovered their authority in conſequence of the events which have formerly been deſcribed, began early to diſplay thoſe dangerous paſſions with which the exerciſe of uncontrouled power too naturally corrupts the heart. They pretended, that during the decline of their juriſdiction, many unwarrantable abuſes had been introduced, which it became them to remedy. The rights of religion (they ſaid) which it was their firſt duty to maintain, had been materially violated by the Phocians, who, alike regardleſs of the deciſion of the oracle, and of an Amphictyonic decree, had ploughed lands conſecrated to Apollo, and therefore withdrawn from agriculture [1]. Theſe lands, however, were confined to the narrow diſtrict between the river Cephiſſus and Mount Thurium, on the weſtern frontier of Bœotia. The crime of the Phocians (if their uſeful labours deſerve the name of crime) was neither great nor unprecedented, ſince the Locrians of Amphiſſa had long cultivated the Criſſæan plain; a more extenſive territory, and conſecrated to the god by far more awful ceremonies [2]. But the proud tyranny of the Amphictyons, careleſs of ſuch diſtinctions, fulminated an angry decree againſt Phocis, commanding the ſacred lands to be laid waſte, and impoſing a heavy fine on that community.

He carefully watches the imprudent meaſures of the Amphictyonic council;

It is believed that the Thebans, the enemies and neighbours of Phocis, and whoſe influence at that time predominated in the council, were the principal abettors of this arbitrary meaſure [3]; a ſuppoſition rendered probable by the enſuing deliberations of the Amphictyons. Their next ſentence was directed againſt Sparta, to puniſh the injury of Phabidas, who, in time of peace, had ſurpriſed and ſeized the Theban citadel. This breach of public faith, however criminal and flagrant, had been committed ſo many years be-

which are principally abetted by the Thebans;

[1] See vol. i. c. v. p. 165. [2] See vol. i. c. v. p. 163. & ſeqq. [3] Juſtin. l. viii. c. i. & ſeqq.

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fore, that prudence required it to be for ever buried in obſcurity But, at the inſtigation of the Thebans, the Amphictyons brought it once more to light; commanded the Lacedæmonians to pay a fine of five hundred talents; decreed that the fine ſhould be doubled, unleſs paid within an appointed time; and if the decree were finally diſregarded, that the Lacedæmonians ſhould be treated as public enemies to Greece [4].

who excite the reſentment of the Phocians, Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

The Phocians, ſingled out as the firſt victims of oppreſſion, were deeply affected by their danger. To pay the money demanded of them exceeded their faculties. It would be grievous to deſolate the fields which their own hands had cultivated with ſo much toil. The commands of the Amphictyons were indeed peremptory; but that council had not on foot any ſufficient force to render them ineffectual, ſhould the devoted objects of their vengeance venture to diſpute their authority. This meaſure, daring as it ſeemed, was ſtrongly recommended by Philomelus, whoſe popular eloquence and valour gave him a powerful aſcendant in Phocis. He poſſeſſed great hereditary wealth; contemned the national ſuperſtition; and being endowed with a bold ambitious ſpirit, he expected to riſe, amidſt the tumult of action and danger, to unrivalled pre-eminence in his republic. After repeated deliberations, in which he flattered the vanity, and tempted the avarice of his countrymen, by proving that to them, of right, belonged the guardianſhip of the Delphian temple, and the immenſe treaſures contained within its ſacred walls [5], he brought the majority of the ſenate and aſſembly into his opinion. As the propereſt inſtrument to execute his own meaſures, Philomelus was named general: the Phocian youth flocked to his ſtandard; and his private fortune, as well as the public revenues, were con-

[4] Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxiii. & ſeqq.

[5] Philomelus cited the reſpectable authority of Homer:

Αυταρ Φωκιων Σχεδιος και Επιστροφος ηρχον
Οι Κυπαρισσον ειχον Πυθωνα τε πετρηεσσαν.

"But Schedius and Epiſtrophus led the Phocians, who inhabited Cypariſſus, and the rocky Python," the ancient name of Delphi.

ſumed

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sumed in purchasing the mercenary aid of those needy adventurers, who abounded in every province of Greece.

The Phocians under Philomelus prepare for war, and engage the Spartans in their cause. Olymp. cvi. 1. A. C. 356.

The following year was employed by Philomelus in providing arms, in exercising his troops, and in an embassy which he undertook in person to Sparta. As that community had not discharged the fine imposed by the Amphictyons, the penalty was doubled, and the delinquents were condemned to pay a thousand talents. The exorbitance of this imposition might have justified the Spartans in following the example of Phocis, and setting the Amphictyons at defiance. But Archidamus, who possessed all the caution and address of his father Agesilaus, was unwilling to take a principal part in the first dangerous experiment, and to post himself in the front of battle, against the revered decrees of an assembly, considered as the legal guardian of national religion and liberty. He assured Philomelus that both himself and the Spartans fully approved his cause; that reasons of a temporary nature hindered their declaring themselves openly, but that he might depend on secret supplies of men and money [6].

Philomelus seizes the temple of Delphi. Olymp. cvi. 2. A. C. 355.

Encouraged by this assurance, and by a considerable sum [7] immediately put into his hands, Philomelus, at his return, ventured on a measure not less audacious than unexpected. The temple of Delphi, so awefully guarded by superstition, was scarcely defended by any military force. Philomelus having prepared the imagination of his followers for this bold enterprise, immediately conducted them towards Delphi, defeated the feeble resistance of the Thracidæ, who inhabited the neighbouring district, and entered the sacred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror. The Delphians, who expected no mercy from a man devoid of respect for religion, prepared themselves in silent horror, for beholding the complicated guilt of sacrilege and murder. But the countenance of Philomelus re-assured them, and his discourse totally dispelled their ill-grounded fears.

[6] Ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ἀποδείξαμενος, τὸν λόγον, φανερῶς μὲν, κατὰ τὸν παρὸν, οὐκ ἐφῆκε βοηθεῖν, λάθρᾳ δὲ πάντα συμπράξειν, χορηγῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ μισθοφόρους. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 426.

[7] Diodorus says, fifteen talents. Diodor. ibid.

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He declared that he had come to Delphi with no hoſtile diſpoſition againſt the inhabitants, with no ſacrilegious deſigns againſt the temple. His principal motive was to emancipate the one and the other from the arbitrary proceedings of the Amphictyons, and to aſſert the ancient and unalienable prerogative of Phocis to be the patron and protector of the Delphian ſhrine. To the ſame purpoſe he ſcattered declarations through the different republics of Greece; his emiſſaries acquainted the Spartans that he had deſtroyed the brazen tablets containing the unjuſt decrees againſt Sparta and Phocis; they inflamed the reſentment of the Athenians, naturally hoſtile to Thebes; and both thoſe republics came to the reſolution of ſupporting the meaſures of Philomelus.

Employs the ſacred treaſure in raiſing mercenaries.

The Thebans, on the other hand, who *directed*, and the Locrians, Theſſalians, with other ſtates of leſs conſideration, who tamely *obeyed* the decrees of the Amphictyons, determined to take the field in defence of their inſulted religion and violated laws. Their operations were conducted with that extreme ſlowneſs natural to confederacies. Philomelus acted with more vigour. He received little aſſiſtance from his diſtant allies. But, firſt, by impoſing a heavy tax on the Delphians, who had been enriched by the devotion of Greece, and then, notwithſtanding his declaration, by taking very undue liberties with the treaſure of Apollo [8], he collected above ten thouſand mercenaries, men daring and profligate as himſelf, who ſacrificed all ſcruples of religion to the hopes of dividing a rich ſpoil. Such at leaſt was the general character of his followers. To the few who had more piety, or leſs avarice, he endeavoured to juſtify his meaſures by the authority of an oracle. The Pythia at firſt refuſed to mount the ſacred tripod. Philomelus ſternly commanded her. She obeyed with reluctance, obſerving, that being already maſter of Delphi, he might act without ſanction or con-

[8] Diodorus ſometimes acknowledges, and ſometimes denies, that Philomelus meddled with the ſacred treaſure.

troul.

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troul [9]. Philomelus waited for no other anſwer, but gladly interpreted the words as an acknowledgment of his abſolute authority; and, with the addreſs ſuitable to his ſituation and character, confirmed the auſpicious declaration of the prieſteſs by the report of many favourable omens [10].

Takes the field againſt the Thebans and their allies.

Olymp. cvi. 2. A. C. 355.

Having obtained the ſuppoſed ſanction of religion, Philomelus proceeded to fortify the temple and city of Delphi, in which he placed a ſtrong garriſon; and, with the remainder of his forces, boldly marched forth to repel the incurſions of the enemy. During two years, hoſtilities were carried on with various fortune againſt the Locrians and Thebans. Victory for the moſt part inclined to the Phocians; but there happened not any deciſive action, nor was the war memorable on any other account but that of the exceſſive cruelty mutually inflicted and ſuffered. The Phocian priſoners were uniformly condemned to death, as wretches convicted of the moſt abominable ſacrilege and impiety; and the reſentment of their countrymen retaliated with equal ſeverity on the unhappy captives whom the chance of war frequently put into their hands [11].

Philomelus defeated. Olymp. cvi. 4. A. C. 353.

As both armies anxiouſly expected reinforcements, they were unwilling to riſk a general engagement, till chance rendered that meaſure unavoidable. Entangled among the woods and mountains of Phocis, the conveniency of forage attracted them towards the ſame point. The vanguards met unexpectedly near the town of Neone, and began to ſkirmiſh. A general and fierce action followed, in which the Phocians were repelled by ſuperior numbers. Pathleſs woods, abrupt rocks and precipices, obſtructed their retreat. In vain Philomelus ſtrove with his voice and arm to rally the fugitives. He himſelf was carried along by the torrent to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and ſtill more with anguiſh and deſpair.

[9] Ἀποφθεγξαμένης ἑαυτης προς την ὑπεροχην τη βιαζομενη "ὁτι ἐξεστι αυτῳ πραττειν ὁ βουλεται." Diodor. p. 429.

[10] Diodor. p. 429.

[11] Diodor. p. 530, & ſeq.

The

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The enemy advanced; it ſeemed impoſſible to eſcape their vengeance; the reſolution of Philomelus was prompt and terrible; with a vigorous bound he ſprang from the rock, thus eluding the torment of his own guilty conſcience, and the reſentment of his purſuers [12]. While the Thebans and their allies admired this ſpectacle, as a manifeſt indication of divine vengeance [13], Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected and drew off the ſcattered remains of the vanquiſhed army towards Delphi. The confederates determined to expel them from that holy place, and to inflict on the enemies of Greece and Heaven a puniſhment ſimilar to that to which the wrath of Apollo had driven the impious Philomelus [14].

The Spartans attempt to recover their dominion in the Peloponneſus.

Olymp. cvi. 3. A. C. 353.

Different cauſes concurred to prevent Philip on the one hand, and Athens and Sparta on the other, from taking a principal or early part in the Phocian war. The intereſted policy of Archidamus, who directed with abſolute authority the councils of Sparta, was leſs ſolicitous to ſupport the arms of his diſtant confederates, than ambitious to recover the Lacedæmonian dominion in Peloponneſus. The opportunity ſeemed favourable for this purpoſe, the Thebans being deeply engaged in another conteſt, and the Athenians in ſtrict alliance with Sparta. For ſeveral years, the arms and intrigues of Archidamus were employed againſt the Meſſenians, Arcadians, and Argives. But the deſign failed of ſucceſs; the inferior cities of Peloponneſus, rouſed by a common danger, confederated for their mutual defence; and Athens, though actually the ally of Sparta, was unwilling to abandon to the tyranny of that republic her more ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Meſſenians [15].

While

[12] Diodorus hints, that, had Philomelus been taken captive, his body would have been ſhockingly mangled: φοβερωτερος την εκ της αισχιστης αικιαν. p. 432.

[13] Such it appeared to future hiſtorians: και τουτον τον τροπον, ὑπ' ὀλιγων δικα, κατατριψε τον βιον. Diodor. ibid.

[14] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 432.

[15] The queſtion appears to have occaſioned warm debates in the Athenian aſſembly:

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The affairs of Thrace occupy Philip and the Athenians.

While the politics of the Peloponneſus formed a ſyſtem apart, the ſacred war ſhook the centre of Greece, and the affairs of Thrace occupied Philip and the Athenians. Cotys was dead; his ſons Kerſobleptes, Beriſades, and Amadocus, were all diſſatisfied with the partition of his dominions. While their hoſtilities againſt each other exhibited the odious picture of fraternal diſcord, the prizes for which they contended were ſucceſſively carried off by Philip. The encroachments of that prince at length engaged Kerſobleptes, the moſt powerful of the co-heirs, to cede the Thracian Cherſoneſus to the Athenians, who ſent Chares with a numerous fleet to take poſſeſſion of that peninſula. The town of Seſtos alone made reſiſtance. It was taken by ſtorm, and treated with great ſeverity by Chares; while Philip beſieged and took the far more important city of Methoné in Pieria. In this ſiege he loſt an eye, a loſs which he is ſaid to have borne with impatience [16], as the circumſtances attending it were alike diſhonourable to his judgment and humanity [17].

Onomarchus takes the command of the Phocians. Olymp. cvi. 4. A. C. 354.

It appears extraordinary that the Thebans, after the defeat and death of Philomelus, ſhould not have purſued their good fortune, without allowing the enemy time to breathe, and recover ſtrength. They probably imagined that the fatal exit of that daring chief would deter a ſucceſſor; and that the Phocians would crave peace,

bly: the Spartan and Arcadian parties were animated with the utmoſt zeal; and, according to the lively obſervation of Demoſthenes, the Athenian orators, had they not ſpoke the Attic dialect, would have appeared, the one half Spartans, the other Arcadians. Demoſthen. pro Megalop. p. 83.

[16] Lucian de Scribend. Hiſt. p. 365.

[17] Theſe circumſtances, however, reſt on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian. It is ſaid, that when the arrow was extracted, the following inſcription appeared on it: "After to Philip's right eye." After, it ſeems, had offered his ſervices to Philip, as an excellent markſman; to which Philip replied, that he would employ him when he waged war with ſtarlings. Philip cauſed the arrow to be ſhot back into the place, with a new inſcription, "That he would hang up After;" a threat which was executed as ſoon as he was maſter of Methoné. Fictions ſtill more incredible were related on this ſubject by the fabulous writers of the age of Alexander. Philip, it was ſaid, loſt his right eye by his unfeaſonable curioſity in prying into the amours of Olympias and Jupiter Ammon. This ridiculous flattery to Alexander has been ſo widely diffuſed, that it was ſuppoſed to be the ſubject repreſented on the celebrated vaſe, which is ſo much better explained by Mr. D'Hancarville. See Recherches ſur les Arts de la Grèce, vol. ii.

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if not driven to deſpair. Such indeed was the reſolution of the more reſpectable part of the Phocians. But the bold, impious, and needy, who compoſed the moſt numerous deſcription of that people, were bent on continuing the war. An aſſembly was convened, when Onomarchus, in a ſet ſpeech [18], flattered their hopes, and encouraged them to perſevere. His opinion prevailed; he was named general; and his conduct ſoon proved, that he equalled his brother in boldneſs and ambition, and ſurpaſſed him in activity and enterpriſe. None better knew the power of gold, or had more addreſs in employing it. With the Delphic treaſure he coined ſuch a quantity of money as perhaps had never before circulated in Greece. The Phocian army was reſtored, and augmented; their allies were rendered more hearty in their cauſe; even their enemies were not proof againſt the temptations which continually aſſailed their fidelity. By ſeaſonable bribes, Onomarchus diſtracted the councils of Thebes, and kept their arms inactive. The neighbouring ſtates were perſuaded to obſerve a neutrality; while the Theſſalians, a people at all times noted for avarice and fraud [19], and of whoſe country the proverb ſaid, that it had never produced a bad horſe or an honeſt man, openly embraced the cauſe of Phocis.

Succeſs of his arms.

Theſe multiplied advantages were not allowed to languiſh in the hands of Onomarchus, who hoped to eclipſe the unjuſt motives of his enterpriſe by the ſudden ſplendor of victory. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he poured down on Locris and Doris, ravaged the country, took Thronium by ſtorm, laid ſeveral cities under contribution, pierced into Bœotia, and made himſelf maſter of Orchomenus. The Thebans aſſembled their forces

[18] Πιθανοτατον λογον διελθων. Diodor. p. 432.

[19] The Theſſalians had the ſame character in Greece, as the Ligurians in Italy.

——— Vane Ligus
Nequicquam patrias tantâſti lubricas artes.
VIRG.

Euripides ſpeaks of the ſlippery deceits of the Theſſalians. Demoſthenes (Olynth. i. p. 4. ex edit. Wolf.) ſays, ετι τα των Θετταλων ταυτα γαρ απαντα μιν ην δη που φυσει, και απιστα πασι. "Philip was farther diſtreſſed by the inſurrections of the Theſſalians, a people faithleſs by nature, at all times, to all men."

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to ſtem the torrent. Onomarchus firſt met with a repulſe before the walls of Chæronæa, and ventured not to renew the engagement, having weakened his forces by placing garriſons in the important places which he had taken, as well as by ſending a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, under his brother Phayllus, into Theſſaly [20].

He encounters Philip in Theſſaly, and obliges him to retire.

In that country, the intrigues of Philip had counteracted the gold of Onomarchus. But Lycophron, who was the chief partiſan of the latter, and whom Philip had formerly diveſted of his authority, had again eſtabliſhed himſelf in Pheræ. Pegaſæ, Magneſia, and ſeveral places of leſs note, declared for the tyrant, and for Phocis. The Macedonian intereſt prevailed elſewhere; and the factions were equally balanced, when Philip, with his uſual diligence, entered Theſſaly, defeated Phayllus, beſieged and took Pegaſæ, and drove the enemy with diſgrace towards the frontier of Phocis. The fear of loſing his newly-acquired intereſt among the Theſſalians, made Onomarchus evacuate Bœotia, and advance againſt Philip with his whole army. The Macedonians, though leſs numerous, did not decline the engagement. At the firſt charge the Phocians gave way, and retreated towards the neighbouring mountains. Philip ordered his men to purſue in their ranks. It was then that the Phocians really began the battle. Onomarchus, foreſeeing that the Macedonians would follow in cloſe order, had poſted a detachment on the ſummit of the precipice, who were ready, on a given ſignal, to roll down fragments of rock, and ſtones of an enormous ſize, on the embattled phalanx. This was the only mode of attack for which the Macedonians were not prepared. The line of march, in which the moment before they proceeded with ſuch firmneſs and confidence, was converted into a dreadful ſcene of carnage and ruin. Before they recovered from their conſternation, the flying Pho-

[20] Diodor. p. 424.

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cians, who had decoyed them into this ambuſh, returned to the charge. Philip, however, rallied his men; and while Onomarchus heſitated to advance, drew them off in good order, ſaying, that they did not retreat through fear, but retired like rams, in order to ſtrike with the more impetuous vigour [21].

Onomarchus defeated and ſlain.

This ſaying was finally juſtified, although the Phocians and Lycophron firſt enjoyed a ſhort triumph. The tyrant eſtabliſhed himſelf, as he thought, ſecurely, in his native city; the Phocians, reinforced by their Theſſalian allies, again invaded Bœotia, aſſaulted and took Coronæa, and dreadfully alarmed the Thebans, by the devaſtations committed in the very centre of their territory. But the time of vengeance arrived. Philip having recruited his army, returned into Theſſaly. The unſteady partiſans of Lycophron, had they determined to ſhare his danger, would have proved unable to ſupport his cauſe. A conſiderable portion of the Theſſalians received the king of Macedon as their deliverer. Onomarchus, therefore, was obliged to withdraw his forces from Bœotia. At the head of twenty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, he marched to the defence of Lycophron, and was met by the enemy, ſtill more numerous, on the level coaſt of Magneſia. To remind his ſoldiers that they fought in the cauſe of Delphi and of Heaven, Philip crowned their heads with the laurel conſecrated to Apollo, and adorned his enſigns and ſtandards with the emblems and attributes of that divinity [22]. Their onſet was impetuous and fierce, and their valour, animated by enthuſiaſm, rendered them irreſiſtible, though the enemy, conſcious of guilt, fought with the fury of deſpair. Three thouſand Theſſalian cavalry, who had ſignally contributed to the victory of Philip, rendered the purſuit bloody and deſtructive; while the Phocians, having thrown away their armour, fled towards the ſea, allured by the ſight of the Athenian fleet under Chares,

[21] Polyxen. Stratag. l. ii. c. xxviii. Diodor. l. xvi. 34, & ſeqq.
[22] Juſtin. l. viii. 2.

which

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which was returning from the Cherſoneſus. That commander ſeems not to have made any attempt to protect them. Above ſix thouſand periſhed in the battle, or in the purſuit. The body of Onomarchus was found among the ſlain; Philip ordered it to be hung on a gibbet, as a mark of peculiar infamy; the reſt were thrown into the ſea, as unworthy, by their impious ſacrilege, of the rites of funeral. Three thouſand were taken alive; but it is not abſolutely certain whether they were drowned, or reduced into captivity; though the latter opinion is the more probable [23].

Philip's deſigns againſt Olynthus and Byzantium.

It might be expected that ſuch a deciſive blow ſhould have proved fatal to the Phocians. But Philip, who had conquered them in Theſſaly, durſt not purſue his advantages by invading Phocis; well knowing, that an attempt to paſs the ſtraits of Thermopylæ would alarm not only his enemies but his allies. It was his intereſt to perpetuate diſſentions in Greece. For that reaſon he fomented the diſcord that reigned among the ſtates of Peloponneſus; and though he had puniſhed the obnoxious Phocians, he was unwilling to terminate a war which diverted the public attention from watching too ſtudiouſly his own ambitious deſigns. His victory over an odious enemy extended his juſt renown. He ſecured the dominion of Theſſaly, by planting garriſons in Pheræ, Pegaſæ, and Magneſia. His army was ready to march towards Greece on the firſt favourable opportunity; but till that ſhould arrive, he rejoiced to ſee both diviſions of that country involved in war, which allowed

[23] The leaving ſuch a circumſtance at all doubtful, is very diſhonourable to the accuracy of the compiler Diodorus. His words are, τελος δε, των φαλαικων και μισθοφορων αναιρεθεντων μεν υπερ τους εξακισχιλιους, εν οις ην και αυτος ο στρατηγος, ηλωσαν δε εκ ολιγου δεοντες των τρισχιλιων. ὁ δε Φιλιππος, τον μεν Ονομαρχον εκρεμασε, τους δε αλλους ως ιεροσυλους κατεποντισε. Literally, "At length above ſix thouſand of the Phocians and mercenaries were, on the one hand, taken up *dead*, among whom was the general. Not leſs than three thouſand were, on the other hand, taken priſoners. Philip hung up Onomarchus, and threw the reſt into the ſea, as guilty of ſacrilege." The learned reader will perceive, that I have given the full force of the word αναιρεθεντων: and from the precise and diſtinctive force of the particles μεν and δε, which ſeparate the two firſt clauſes of the text, I am of opinion that the word αναιρεθεντων can apply only to the reſt of thoſe who were taken up dead. There is nothing determinate to be learned from the word κατεποντισε, which ſignifies barely *ſinking* into the ſea.

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him to accompliſh, unmoleſted, the ſubordinate purpoſes of his reign. He had long deceived the Olynthians by good offices and promiſes, but now bègan to throw off the maſk, and to ſhow that he meant to be their maſter. He actually applied to Kerſobleptes, whom he detached from the intereſt of Athens; and having raiſed him on the ruins of the neighbouring chieftains of Thrace, thereby obtained his confidence, and waited an occaſion to deſtroy him with ſecurity [24]. The dominions of that prince opened the way to Byzantium, the poſſeſſion of which muſt have early tempted the ambition of Philip, who knew ſo well to eſtimate the importance of its ſituation both in commerce and in war. He began to diſcover his deſigns againſt Byzantium by attacking the fortreſs of Heræum, a place ſo called from the neighbouring temple of Juno, which formed its principal ornament. The town of Heræum was ſmall, and in itſelf unimportant; its harbour was dangerous and deceitful; but being ſituate contiguous to Byzantium, it ſerved as an outwork and defence to that rich and populous city [25].

His meaſures counteracted by the Athenians.

The Athenians had ſufficient penetration to diſcern the drift of thoſe enterpriſes. They formed an alliance with the republic of Olynthus; they warned Kerſobleptes of his danger; they voted a numerous fleet to ſail to the defence of Heræum, or rather of Byzantium, with which, though rendered independent of Athens by the ſocial war, they ſtill carried on a lucrative commerce. But theſe ſpirited exertions were not of long continuance. Philip's wound at Methoné, together with the continual labour and fatigue to which he had afterwards ſubmitted, threw him into a dangerous malady. The report of his ſickneſs was, before it reached Athens, magnified into his death. The Athenians rejoiced in ſo ſeaſonable a deliverance, and laying aſide their naval preparations, bent their principal attention to the ſacred war [26].

[24] Juſtin. l. viii. 3. Demoſt. Olynth. 2 & 3. [25] Idem ibid. [26] Idem, ubi ſupra.

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The Phocian, or sacred war, continued by Phayllus. Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 352.

That unhappy contest was renewed by Phayllus, the last surviving brother of Philomelus and Onomarchus. As his cause became more desperate, Phayllus availed himself to the utmost of the only resource which was left him. Having converted into ready money the most precious dedications of Delphi, he doubled the pay of his mercenaries. This extraordinary encouragement brought new adventurers to his standard, and soon rendered his army equal to that of either of his predecessors. The fugitive Thessalians, assembled in a body by Lycophron, entered into his pay. By means of the Delphic treasure, he acquired, likewise, the public assistance of a thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, five thousand Athenian foot, with four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements enabled the Phocians to take the field with a good prospect of success, and rendered those who had so lately been the objects of pity, again formidable to their enemies [27].

Philip, in order to oppose him, marches towards Thermopylæ.

Philip, meanwhile, had recovered from his indisposition. The votes and preparations of the Athenians had taught him that his designs could no longer be concealed. He was acquainted with the alliance formed between that republic and Olynthus. His emissaries gave him intelligence of the actual commotions in Greece, where the countenance and assistance of so many powerful states abetted the sacrilege of the Phocians. The occasion required that he should appear in favour of his allies, and in defence of the pious cause which he had formerly maintained with so much glory. His trophies gained over Onomarchus were still fresh and blooming; and not only the Thebans, Dorians, and Locrians, who were principals in the war, but the sincere votaries of Apollo in every quarter of Greece, secretly expected him as their deliverer; while his enemies admired his piety, and trembled at his valour; and as they had been lately amused with the news of his sickness and death, they would now view with religious terror his unexpected appearance at Ther-

[27] Diodor. p. 432.

mopylæ,

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mopylæ, to aſſert the violated rights of the Delphian temple. Such were the hopes and motives on which Philip, at the head of a numerous army, directed his march [28] towards thoſe celebrated ſtraits, which we have formerly deſcribed, and ſo often mentioned.

This meaſure alarms the Athenians;

But the event ſhewed, that on this occaſion he had made a falſe eſtimate of the ſuperſtition or timidity of the Greeks, and particularly had built too much on the patience and indolence of the Athenians. That people penetrated his deſigns, and determined to oppoſe them. Under the veil of religious zeal, they doubted not that he concealed a deſire to invade and conquer their country; and, on the firſt intelligence of his expedition, their foreſight and patriotiſm repreſented the Macedonians, Theſſalians, and Thebans, pouring down like a deſtructive inundation, on Attica and Peloponneſus. With an alacrity and ardour, of which there was no recent example in their councils, they flew to arms, launched their fleet, ſailed to Thermopylæ, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtraits [29].

who ſail to Thermopylæ, and guard the ſtraits.

Philip retires in diſappointment.

Never did Philip meet with a more cruel diſappointment, than in being thus anticipated by a people whom he had ſo often deceived. He retired with deep regret, leaving the Phocian war to be carried on by the Thebans and their allies. Meanwhile, the Athenians placed a guard at Thermopylæ; and, elated by the firſt inſtance of their ſucceſs againſt the Macedonian, called an aſſembly to deliberate on meaſures proper to reſtrain his ambition.

Demoſthenes's firſt appearance againſt Philip.

This aſſembly is rendered memorable by the firſt appearance of Demoſthenes againſt Philip, whoſe meaſures from this moment he ceaſed not to watch, and to counteract. Two years before, this illuſtrious orator, whoſe works have been more praiſed than read, and more read than underſtood, began, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, to appear on the theatre of public life. The Athenians were then involved in the ſacred war; their northern poſ-

[28] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 437. [29] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legat. ſect. 29.

ſeſſions

ſeſſions were continually inſulted, plundered, or conquered by Philip; yet in this ſituation of affairs, the mercenary partiſans of that prince, in order to divert the public attention from his too aſpiring deſigns, affected to extend their views to Aſia, and to be alarmed by the motions of Artaxerxes Ochus, who was preparing to reduce the rebels of Cyprus, Egypt, and Phœnicia. In every aſſembly of the people, the creatures of Philip dwelt, with exaggerated terror, on the naval and military preparations of the great king, which they repreſented as certainly deſtined to revenge the recent injuries committed by the Athenian troops, under Chares, on the coaſt of Aſia. The trophies of Miltiades, Themiſtocles, and Cimon, were adorned with all the pomp of eloquence; and the Athenians were exhorted to imitate thoſe memorable exploits of their anceſtors in the Perſian war, which ſhed a luſtre on all the ſucceeding periods of their hiſtory.

Sentiments of the wiſeſt Athenians reſpecting this prince.

In this popular enthuſiaſm joined Iſocrates the orator, together with the ſtateſman and general Phocion, two men whoſe talents and virtues would have done honour to the moſt illuſtrious age of the republic. The unblemiſhed integrity of Iſocrates, the diſintereſted poverty of Phocion, afford ſufficient proof that neither of theſe great men were corrupted by Macedonian gold. But they both perceived that the indolence and unſteadineſs of Athens were incapable to contend with the unceaſing activity of Philip, and both exhorted their countrymen to gain and cultivate the friendſhip of a prince, againſt whom they could not make war with any reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs.

Theſe of Iſocrates in particular.

Iſocrates, from the moſt accurate and extenſive ſurvey of the political hiſtory of Greece, diſcovered that a foreign war alone could heal the domeſtic diſſentions which reigned in every quarter of that divided country; and from a thorough knowledge of the inherent defects in the government of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, he regarded Macedon as the ſtate, and Philip as the general, beſt entitled,

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titled, and beſt qualified, to aſſume the command of a military expedition into Aſia, to revenge ancient wrongs, and to deliver the Grecian colonies from the actual oppreſſion of Barbarians. On this important ſubject he adddreſſed a diſcourſe to Philip; he repeatedly inſiſted on the ſame topic with the Athenians; and it is obſcurely related, that on one occaſion he reconciled thoſe hoſtile powers [29], and engaged them to concur in this extenſive, yet rational ſcheme of conqueſt.

The peculiar views of Demoſthenes,

The ſentiments and views of Demoſthenes were equally different from thoſe of Iſocrates and Phocion on the one hand, and from thoſe of the infamous hirelings of Philip on the other. None knew better than he did the corruption and degeneracy of his countrymen; but he hoped to rouſe them from their lethargy, a deſign, arduous as it may ſeem, ſometimes effected by his eloquence, the moſt powerful, glowing, and ſublime, ever employed by man; and which, of all men, he had been at moſt pains to acquire and cultivate [30]. His imagination was filled with the ancient glory of the republic; in the ardour of patriotiſm he forgot the moderation of philoſophy; and while he ſternly maintained the prerogatives and pretenſions of his country, he would rather have ſeen Athens defeated at the head of her allies, than victorious under the ſtandard of the Macedonians, or any ſtandard but her own. With ſuch ſentiments and character, he was naturally a favourite of the people, and a warm partiſan of popular government; while Phocion, like moſt men of ſenſe and worth in that age, preferred a moderate ariſtocracy; and Iſocrates was inclined to regard a well-regulated monarchy as the beſt of all governments [31].

appear in his firſt public oration.

In his firſt ſpeeches before the aſſembly, Demoſthenes announced himſelf as the miniſter of the people at large, whom he exhorted to awaken from their indolence, and at length to aſſume

[29] See the Life of Iſocrates, prefixed to my tranſlation of his works.

[30] Dionyſ. Halicarn. & Plut. de Demoſth.

[31] See his Nicocles, Evagoras, &c.

the

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the direction of their own affairs. They had been too long governed by the incapacity of a few ambitious men, to the great detriment and disgrace of the community. First an orator at the head of all, under him a general, abetted by a faction of three or four hundred, availed themselves of the sloth and negligence of a people careless of every thing but pleasure, to domineer in the public councils, and to become masters of the state. From considerations of their present corruption and weakness, as well as of the designs and commotions of neighbouring powers, he advised them to forsake all distant and romantic schemes of ambition; and, instead of carrying their arms into remote countries, to prepare for repelling the attacks that might be made against their own dominions. He insisted earnestly on a better regulation of their finances, on the retrenching of many superfluous branches of expence, and especially on a more equitable repartition of public burdens, in proportion to the fortunes of individuals; which, though the income of the state had dwindled to four hundred talents, were actually more considerable than at any former period. While the rich cheerfully paid their contributions, the poor must be willing to forego the burdensome gratuities which they derived from the treasury; and all must be ready to take the field in person, that the public service might be no longer betrayed, or disgraced, by strangers and mercenaries [31].

His first Philippic.

Subsequent events justified the opinions, and enforced the counsels of Demosthenes. The Athenians were delivered from their ill-grounded fears of Artaxerxes Ochus, when they beheld the preparations of that monarch directed against his rebellious subjects. The encroachments of Philip became continually more daring and more formidable; and his recent attempts to seize the straits of Thermopylæ shewed the necessity of opposing him with re-united vigilance and vigour.

[31] Vid. Oration. de Classibus, & de Ordinand. Republic.

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In this juncture, ſo favourable to awakening the activity of Athens, Demoſthenes mounted the roſtrum [34] before any other orator, apologiſing for this forwardneſs in a man not yet thirty years of age, by obſerving, " That already the uſual ſpeakers had given their opinions on the ſubject of Philip ; and that, had *their* advices been uſeful and practicable, they muſt have precluded the neceſſity of any farther deliberation. Firſt of all, Athenians ! you ought not to deſpair ; no ! not although your affairs ſeem indeed involved in equal confuſion and danger. For the ſame circumſtance which is the cauſe of your paſt misfortunes, ought to furniſh the ſource of your preſent hope. What is that ? Your own negligence and ſloth, not the power of your enemies, have diſordered the ſtate. Had your diſtreſs ariſen, notwithſtanding your utmoſt care to prevent it, there would then be little hope of relief. But ſince it is occaſioned by your own miſconduct, you need only repair your errors, in order to retrieve your affairs. Conſidering the weakneſs of Athens, thus deſpoiled of her dominions, and the ſtrength of Philip, which has increaſed immoderately at our expence, ſhould you think him a formidable enemy, you doubtleſs think aright. Yet reflect, Athenians, that there was a time when we poſſeſſed Pydna, Potidæa, Methone, and all the ſurrounding territory ; that the nations in that neighbourhood, now ſubject to Philip, were then independent, and preferred the alliance of Athens to that of Macedon. In the infancy of his fortune, had Philip reaſoned timidly, as we do now, ' How ſhall I, deſtitute of allies, attack the Athenians, whoſe garriſons command my frontier ?' he would not have engaged in thoſe enterpriſes which have been crowned with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, nor raiſed his kingdom to ſuch an unexampled pitch of grandeur. No, Athenians ! he knew well, that towns and fortreſſes are but prizes of

[34] I have uſed that word, becauſe adopted in our language to expreſs the βημα, pulpit or gallery appropriated to the ſpeakers in the Athenian aſſembly.

ſkill

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ſkill and valour [35] propoſed to the combatants, and belong of right to the conqueror; that the dominions of the abſent are ſeized by thoſe who take the field, and the poſſeſſions of the negligent and ſlothful by the vigilant and intrepid. Guided by theſe principles, he has ſubdued, and governs all; holding ſome communities by right of conqueſt, and others under the title of allies; for allies no prince nor ſtate can want, who are not wanting to themſelves. But ſhould you, Athenians, imitate the example of Philip, and at length rouſing from your lethargy, apply ſeriouſly to your intereſt, you would ſpeedily recover thoſe advantages which your negligence only has loſt. Favourable occaſions will yet occur; for you muſt not imagine that Philip, like a god, enjoys his proſperity for ever fixed and immutable [36]. No, Athenians! there are who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among thoſe ſeemingly the moſt devoted to his cauſe. Theſe are univerſal paſſions from which the allies of Macedon are not, ſurely, exempted. They have hitherto concealed them, finding no reſource in you; but it depends on your councils to call them into action. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? when roufed by ſome event? when urged by ſome neceſſity? What can be more urgent than the preſent juncture? To freemen, the moſt neceſſary of all motives is the ſhame of miſconduct. Or ſay, will it ſtill be your ſole buſineſs to ſaunter in the public place, enquiring after news? What can be more new, than that a Macedonian ſhould conquer Athens, and enſlave Greece? Is Philip dead? No, but in great danger. How are you concerned in theſe rumours? What matters

[35] Αλλ' οιδεν, ω ανδρες αθηναιοι, τουτο καλως, εκεινως, ὁτι ταυτα μεν εστι ὁπαντα τα χαριεντα αθλα τοις πολεμοις κειμενα και μεσα. In ancient times the figure had more force, as well as dignity; becauſe at the Olympic, and other ſacred games, the ſpectators were uſed to behold the prizes propoſed to the victors, κειμενα εν μεσω, expoſed in the middle of the field, to excite their emulation and ardour. See vol. i. c. v.

[36] The original is inimitable: μη γαρ ως, θεους νομιζετ' εκεινα τα παρ' εκεινοις υπαρχοντα και τα αβιαστα. Join the τα and the παρ, and the article and the ſubſtantive, and the charm will be diſſolved.

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it to you whether he is ſick or dead, ſince, if you thus manage your affairs, your folly will ſoon raiſe up another Philip[37]?"

Meaſures propoſed by Demoſthenes for reſiſting Philip.

After this animated remonſtrance, Demoſthenes propoſes a plan of operations calculated chiefly for defence. The Athenians, he obſerves, were not yet prepared to meet Philip in the field. They muſt begin by protecting Olynthus, and the Cherſoneſus, from his incurſions. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary, to raiſe a body of two thouſand men light-armed, and an adequate proportion of cavalry, which were to be tranſported under a proper convoy (as Philip had his fleet), with all expedition to the iſles of Lemnos, Thaſos, and Sciathos, contiguous to the coaſt of Macedon. Conveniently poſted in thoſe iſlands, where they would enjoy neceſſaries in abundance, the Athenian troops might avail themſelves of every favourable incident, to appear at the firſt ſummons of their allies, and either to repel the inroads of the Macedonians, or to haraſs the extended, and, in many parts, defenceleſs territory of that people. Meanwhile, preparations would be made at home for carrying on the war in due time, with more numerous forces, and with greater vigour. Such moderate propoſals prove that Demoſthenes well underſtood the genius of his countrymen. He required that only the fourth part of the troops ſhould conſiſt of Athenian citizens, and the immediate ſupplies were only to amount to ninety talents. He knew that higher demands would alarm their indolence and love of pleaſure; and ſo fatally were they ſunk in the diſſipated amuſements of the city, that it is probable the ſmall armament propoſed did not actually ſet ſail; it is certain that no future preparations were made adequate to the public ſervice.

Philip affects to lay aſide his ambition.

The profound policy of Philip foſtered the ſupine negligence of his enemies. For more than two years after his retreat from Ther-

[37] The ſenſe indeed of that period, but neither its force nor its harmony, can be tranſlated. Τιθηνκι Φιλιππος; ω μα δι'! αλλ' ασθιμι· τι δι υμιν διαφιρι; και γας αν ουτος, τι παθη, ταχιως υμις ετιρον Φιλιππον ποιησιτι, αν τυχη γι προσιχητι τοις πραγμασι τον νουν· ωδι γαρ ουτι, παρα την ιαυτη ρωμην τοσουτον ιπηυξηται, ωσι παρα την υμιτιραν αμιλιαν.

Ineſylla,

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mopylæ, that crafty prince much confined himſelf to his dominions, and chiefly to his capital, anxious to diſſipate the clamour occaſioned by his too great precipitation to ſeize the gates of Greece. In that interval he indeed made an expedition to chaſtiſe the rebellious ſpirit of the Theſſalians. But the greateſt part of his time was ſpent at Pella, and addicted to the arts of peace, which he judged with ſkill, and encouraged with munificence. That favourite city was adorned with temples, theatres, and porticoes. The moſt ingenious artiſts of Greece were ſummoned, by liberal rewards, to the court of Macedon[38]; and men of talents[39] and genius, who were too often expoſed to envy and perſecution in the former country, were received with open arms by a prince, who, amidſt the tumult of war, aſſiduouſly cultivated the ſtudies of literature and eloquence. In his domeſtic government, Philip adminiſtered juſtice with impartiality, liſtened with condeſcenſion to the complaints of his meaneſt ſubjects, and diſdaining the ceremonious and forbidding pomp of tyranny, maintained an intercourſe of viſits and entertainments with his courtiers and generals[40].

His occupation during a long reſidence at Pella.

A. C. 350, & 349.

In a prince ſo reſpectably employed, it is difficult to conceive the odious and deteſtable vices with which Philip is upbraided by Demoſthenes[41]; yet the brief deſcriptions occaſionally ſketched by the orator, are filled up by an ancient hiſtorian, who repreſents the infamies of the life of Philip in language well fitted to arraign the horrors of Nero or Heliogabalus. Could we believe the acrimony of Theopompus, a writer who flouriſhed in the age of Alexander, by whom he was rewarded and honoured, not perhaps the leſs willingly becauſe he had expoſed or exaggerated the vices of his father, Philip ſullied his great actions by the moſt enormous and deteſtable crimes.

His vices;

[38] Juſtin. l. viii. c. 3.

[39] Among other Greeks who lived at Philip's court were, Leoſthenes the orator, Neoptolemus the poet, Ariſtodemus and Satyrus, celebrated players. Æſchin. & Demoſthen. paſſim.

[40] Plut. in Apophth. & in Demoſthen. & Alexand.

[41] Vid. Demoſthen. ex edit. Wolf. pp. 5, 8, 45, 66, &c.

Alike

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Alike avaricious and prodigal, the wealth which he had amaſſed by injuſtice and rapacity, he diſſipated in the moſt flagitious gratifications, and in company with the meaneſt and moſt worthleſs of mankind. His companions were choſen promiſcuouſly from Macedonians and Greeks, and eſpecially from Theſſalians, the moſt profligate of the Greeks, and were admitted to his familiarity and friendſhip in proportion to their proficiency in the moſt odious and unnatural abominations[42] that ever polluted the worſt men in the moſt corrupt ages of the world. We muſt, doubtleſs, make allowances for the gall of a writer, noted to a proverb for ſeverity. Yet there is ſufficient collateral evidence, that Philip's ſtrong propenſity to low wit, obſcenity, and drunkenneſs, rendered him a prey to buffoons, and paraſites, and flatterers, and all the worthleſs retinue of intemperance and folly. Theſe diſgraceful aſſociates of the prince, formed, in time of war, a regiment apart, of about eight hundred men, whoſe gradual waſte was continually recruited by new members, who either were, or ſoon became, worthy of the old; for, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate, the whole band were alike cowardly and profligate.

[42] The epithets given them by Theopompus are, Βδιλυροι, *abominabiles*; and λαγαυροι; the laſt word is compounded of λα, *valde*, and ταυρος, *taurus*; and tranſlated *inſignitur mentulatus*, which correſponds to the *enormitas membrorum* of the Auguſtan hiſtorians. The following deſcription of the friends of Philip is too indecent for modern language. "Horum enim quidam jam viri barbam identidem radebant & vellebantur: alii vero barbati citra pudorem viciſſim ſe impudicabant, ſtupris intercutibus ſe flagitantes; regi vero duo vel tres circumducebantur qui paterentur muliebria, & eandem operam navarent alios ſubagitantes. Quamobrem illos jure aliquis non amicos regis, ſed amicas eſſe credidiſſet, nec milites ſed proſtibula nuncupaſſet, ingenio quidem & natura ſanguinarios, moribus autem virilia ſcorta, &c." This paſſage is quoted from the forty-ninth book of Theopompus. In his twenty-ſixth book he ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe. "Philippum cum Theſſalos intemperantes eſſe, ac laſcivæ petulantiſque vitæ proſpiceret, eorum conventus ac contubernia inſtituiſſe; iiſque uti placeret modis omnibus fuiſſe conatum, cum illis ſaltâſſe, commiſſatum fuiſſe, cuivis libidini ſe ac nequitiæ tradidiſſe." A miſtaken paſſage of Diodorus has made ſome learned men doubt the authenticity of theſe deſcriptions. Diodorus (l. xvi. ſect. 3.) ſays, that Theopompus γεγραφεναι ὀκτω καὶ πεντηκοντα βιβλους, πεντε τουτων ἐξ ὧν πασι δοκει διαφωνειν; "had written the hiſtory of Philip in fifty-eight books, five of which differ in ſtyle from the reſt." Were we therefore to ſuppoſe the five laſt books ſpurious (for that is the inference which has been drawn), the obſervation of Diodorus would not at all affect the paſſages above cited.

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and policy.

But in whatever manner Philip employed his private hours, he at no time loſt ſight of thoſe great principles of policy which regulated his public adminiſtration. Under pretence of wanting money to ſupply the expence of his buildings, and other public works, he employed an expedient which is well known in latter times, and which has been carried to ſuch exceſs as threatens the ſafety of thoſe governments which it was intended to uphold. The letting looſe of the Delphic treaſures had diffuſed near a million ſterling over Greece[43]. The unſettled ſtate of that country rendered thoſe who had acquired wealth, very uncertain of enjoying it. With the rich and avaricious, Philip employed proper agents to take up [44] money at high intereſt, which procured him two advantages of a very important kind, the attaching to his government and perſon a numerous and powerful band of creditors; and the enabling him to pay, under the title of debts, and therefore, without ſuſpicion, the various penſions and gratuities by which he maintained his influence among the orators and leading men in the ſeveral republics.

[43] The Sacred War laſted ten years, and coſt the Phocians ten thouſand talents, near two millions; it had already laſted five years, and may be ſuppoſed to have coſt near the half of that ſum. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 453. He ſays, that the gold and ſilver dedications (which were coined into money) ἐπιρέαλλον τὰ μυρία τάλαντα, "exceeded ten thouſand talents;" a prodigious ſum (conſidering the relative value of money in thoſe days), of which the ſudden diffuſion could not fail to produce moſt important conſequences.

[44] Juſtin. viii. 3.

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Negligence and Licentiouſneſs of the Athenians.—Philip's Intrigues in Eubœa.—Phocion defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans.—Philip invades the Olynthian Territory.—Demoſthenes's Orations in favour of the Olynthians.—Expedition of Chares.—Philip takes Olynthus.—Celebrates the Feſtival of the Muſes at Dium.—Commits naval Depredations on Attica.—His Embaſſy to Athens.—The Athenian Embaſſy to Philip.—Character of the Ambaſſadors.—Their Conference with the King.—Differently reported to the Senate and Aſſembly.—Philip's Conqueſts in Thrace.—The Phocian War.—Negociations.—Philip's Intrigues.—Decree of the Amphictyons againſt Phocis.—Executed by Philip.—Macedon acknowledged the principal Member of the Amphictyonic Council.

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Negligence and licentiouſneſs of the Athenians. Olymp. cvii. 4. A. C. 349.

THE Athenians, deceived by the inactivity of the king of Macedon, indulged themſelves, without reſerve, in their favourite amuſements. Their confederates, the Phocians, were abandoned; the war with Philip, in which they might well have conſidered themſelves as principals, was neglected. Magiſtrates and people ſeemed only attentive to regulate public feſtivals and proceſſions, and to aſcertain the reſpective merit of dramatic poets and performers. The fund originally intended for the exigencies of

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of war, had already been appropriated to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a capital crime to propoſe altering this unexampled and moſt whimſical deſtination. It was in vain for Demoſthenes to reſiſt the popular torrent. He was oppoſed and overcome by Eubulus and Demades, the latter of whom, with talents that might have adorned his country, condeſcended to ſell its intereſts to the public enemy.

Juſtified by Demades.

Born in the loweſt condition of life, Demades retained the vices of his birth; and always diſcovered that ſordid ſpirit, and weltered in thoſe brutal exceſſes, which betray the want of early culture. Yet the acuteneſs of his apprehenſion, the ſtrength of his reaſon and memory, and, above all, the bold and copious flow of his unpremeditated eloquence, in which he was allowed to excel even Demoſthenes[a] himſelf, raiſed him to a conſpicuous rank in the aſſembly; and it being his buſineſs, as the hireling of Philip, to ſail along with the ſtream of popular frenzy, which the patriotiſm of his rival endeavoured to ſtruggle with, and to ſtem, he poſſeſſed a free and ample ſcope for exerciſing his abilities.

Philip's intrigues in Eubœa. Olymp. cvii. 4. A. C. 349.

The people of Athens triumphed in the victory of perfidious demagogues over the wiſeſt and beſt of their fellow-citizens, or rather over the laws and conſtitution of their country, when Philip began to play thoſe batteries which he had patiently raiſed with ſuch ſkill and ſecrecy. The iſland of Eubœa, which he called the fetters of Greece, was the firſt object of his attack. Since the expulſion of the Thebans, of which we have formerly taken notice, the Athenians had preſerved their intereſt in the iſland, where they maintained a ſmall body of troops. The different cities, however, enjoyed the independent government of their own laws; they appointed their own magiſtrates; they ſometimes made war againſt

[a] Plutarch. in Demoſthen.

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each other; and ſeparately aſſumed the prerogatives of free and ſovereign ſtates, while they all collectively acknowledged their dependence on Athens. Such political arrangements made room for the intrigues of Philip. He fomented their civil diſcord; gained partiſans in each city; and, at length, under colour of protecting his allies, landed ſeveral Macedonian battalions in the iſland[2].

Danger to which the Athenian intereſt in that iſland was expoſed;

Matters were ſoon diſpoſed to his wiſh. The Macedonians were allowed to occupy the moſt advantageous poſts. The Athenian party exclaimed and threatened; but Plutarch, the leader of that party, was gained to the intereſts of Philip, and demanded auxiliaries from Athens, only to betray them into the hands of their enemies. Demoſthenes, who alone penetrated this dark ſcheme of villainy, entreated and conjured his countrymen to put no confidence in Plutarch. But he was ſingle in his opinion. The confidants of Philip were true to their maſter, and therefore urged the expedition. The friends of their country were eager to ſave the iſle of Eubœa, and the capricious multitude, ever in extremes, ruſhed with as much impetuoſity to an enterpriſe intended for their ruin, as they had long ſhewn backwardneſs to engage in every other[3]. The promptitude and vigour of their preparations much exceeded the expectation, and even alarmed the fears, of the Macedonian faction. But the latter had gone too far to retreat; nor could they foreſee the conſequences that happened, ſo contrary to their hopes. The Athenians, in fact, obtained a deciſive victory, not by the ſtrength of their arms, which was inferior to the enemy's, but by the wiſe choice of a general.

from which they are extricated by Phocion.

The conſummate prudence of Phocion, who, on his arrival in Eubœa, found things in a worſe ſtate than had been repreſented, riſked no chance of defeat, and loſt no opportunity of advantage[4]. Having choſen a favourable poſt, which was on all ſides ſurrounded by broken and uneven ground, he deſpiſed the clamours of his men,

[2] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. & Demoſth. de Falſa Legation. & de Pace.

[3] Demoſth. de Pace.

[4] Plutarch. in Phocion.

and

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and the insults of the enemy. The treacherous Plutarch was quickly defeated in a mock battle, in which he fell back on the Athenian cavalry, who fled in disorder to the camp of Phocion. The Eubœans and Macedonians pursued with a rash and intemperate ardour; and, elated with victory, and confident in their superior numbers, prepared to assail the camp. The general, meanwhile, performed a sacrifice, which he studiously prolonged, either from religion or policy, until he beheld the disorder of the assailants, embarrassed by the unequal ground, and by their own rashness. He then commanded his men to stand to their arms, and sallying from his entrenchments with intrepid valour, increased the confusion of the enemy, who were repelled with great slaughter towards the plain which they had at first occupied. The activity of Cleophanes, who had rallied and formed the Athenian cavalry, rendered the victory complete. The remains of the vanquished took refuge in the fortress of Zeratra, in the northern corner of the island, which, being attacked, made a feeble resistance[5]. The garrison surrendered; but Phocion restored all the Eubœans to liberty, lest the people of Athens, inflamed by their popular leaders, might treat them with that cruelty, which, on a similar occasion, they had inflicted on the rebellious citizens of Mitylene[6]. Having spent a few weeks in settling the affairs of the island, he returned in triumph to Athens, his ships drawn up in line of battle, their stems crowned with garlands, and the rowers keeping time to the sound of martial music. His fellow-citizens received him with acclamations of joy; but their imprudence did not allow them to reap the fruits of his success. Molossus, an obscure stranger, was appointed, by cabal, to command the troops left in the island; and Philip, having renewed his intrigues, carried them on with the same dexterity, and met with better success[7].

He defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans.

[5] Plut. in Phocion.
[6] See above, vol. i. c. xvi. pp. 557, & seqq.
[7] Plut. in Phocion.

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Oppoſite behaviour of Demoſthenes and Æſchines in the battle.

It is worthy of attention, that Demoſthenes followed the ſtandard of Phocion to Eubœa, though he had ſtrongly diſapproved the expedition. Both he and his rival Æſchines, of whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak more fully, ſerved in the cavalry. Demoſthenes was reproached with being the firſt who deſerted his rank, and among the laſt who returned to the charge. Æſchines behaved with diſtinguiſhed gallantry, and had the honour of being appointed by Phocion to carry home the firſt intelligence of the victory [7].

Philip invades the territory of Olynthus. Olymp. cvii. 4. A. C. 349.

Philip's diſappointment in Eubœa only ſtimulated his activity. His toils were ſpread ſo widely all around him, that when one part failed he could catch his prey in another. The Olynthians, againſt whom he ſeemed to have long forgotten his reſentment, were aſtoniſhed to obſerve that ſeveral of their citizens grew rich and great in a manner equally ſudden and unaccountable; that they enlarged their poſſeſſions, built ſtately palaces, and diſplayed a degree of magnificence and grandeur hitherto unknown in their frugal republic. The unexpected invaſion of Philip revealed the myſtery. A conſiderable party had grown wealthy by betraying the ſecrets, expoſing the weakneſs, and foſtering the ill-timed ſecurity of their country [8]. Their influence at home had recommended them to Philip, and the wages of their iniquity had increaſed that influence. It would not probably have been difficult to prove their treaſon, but it ſeemed dangerous to puniſh it; and the Olynthians were more immediately concerned to repel the open ravagers of their territory.

The Olynthians implore the aid of Athens.

In this emergency they truſted not to their domeſtic forces of ten thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe [9], but ſent an embaſſy to Athens, inveighing in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt Philip, who had firſt courted, then deceived, and at laſt invaded and attacked them; and craving aſſiſtance from the Athenians, in conſequence of the al-

[7] Æſchin. de Falſa Legatione, & Demoſt. in Midiam.

[8] Demoſthen. Olynth. paſſim.

[9] Demoſth. de Falſa Legatione.

liance

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liance formerly concluded between the two republics, to defeat the designs of a tyrant equally daring and perfidious.

State of parties in Athens.

Had the people of Athens heartily undertaken the cauſe of Olynthus, Philip would have been expoſed a ſecond time to the danger which he had eluded with ſo much addreſs in the beginning of his reign. Thebes was employed and exhauſted in the Phocian war; the grandeur of Sparta had decayed as much as her principles had degenerated; the inferior ſtates extended not their views of policy beyond their reſpective diſtricts. But the Athenians, recently ſucceſsful in Eubœa, and reinforced by the ſtrength and reſentment of ſuch a republic as Olynthus, might have ſtill rendered themſelves formidable to the public enemy, eſpecially as at this juncture the rebellious humours of the Theſſalians broke out afreſh, and led them capriciouſly to oppoſe, with as much eagerneſs as they had often helped to promote, the intereſt of Macedon. But to compenſate theſe unpromiſing circumſtances, Philip poſſeſſed ſtrenuous abettors of his power within the walls of Athens and Olynthus; and his garriſons actually commanded the principal poſts in Theſſaly. Above all, the indolence and vices of his enemies were moſt favourable to his cauſe. The late ſucceſs in Eubœa, which ſhould have animated a brave and generous people to new exertions and dangers, only replunged the Athenians into a ſlothful ſecurity. While they enjoyed their theatrical entertainments, their ſhows and feſtivals, and all the eaſe and luxury of a city life, they were little inclined to engage in any enterpriſe, that might diſturb the tranquil courſe of their pleaſures. In this diſpoſition they were encouraged by their perfidious orators, who ſtrongly exhorted them to beware of involving themſelves in the danger of Olynthus, or of provoking the reſentment of a prince whoſe power they were unable to reſiſt. The orator Demades particularly diſtinguiſhed his zeal in the Macedonian intereſt; adviſing an abſolute and total rejection of the demands of the Olynthian ambaſſadors.

Demoſthenes

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First oration of Demoſthenes in favour of the Olynthians.

Demoſthenes at length aroſe, and as the deſign of calling the aſſembly had been already explained, entered immediately on the queſtion under deliberation. "On[10] many occaſions, Athenians! have the gods declared their favour to this ſtate, but never more manifeſtly than in the preſent juncture. That enemies ſhould be raiſed to Philip, on the confines of his territory, enemies not contemptible in power, and, which is more important, ſo determined on the war, that they regard every accommodation with Macedon, firſt as inſidious, next as the deſtruction of their country, can be aſcribed to nothing leſs than the bountiful interpoſition of heaven. With every thing elſe on our ſide, let us not be wanting to ourſelves; let us not be reproached with the unſpeakable infamy of throwing away, not only thoſe cities and territories which we inherited from our anceſtors, but thoſe occaſions and alliances offered us by fortune and the gods. To inſiſt on the power and greatneſs of Philip belongs not to the preſent ſubject. He has become great through your ſupine neglect, and the perfidy of traitors whom it becomes you to puniſh. Such topics are not honourable for you: I wave them as ſuperfluous, having matter more material to urge. To call the king of Macedon perjured and perfidious, without proving my aſſertions, would be the language of inſult and reproach. But his own actions, and not my reſentment, ſhall name him; and of theſe I think it neceſſary to ſpeak for two reaſons; firſt, that he may appear, what he really is, a wicked man; and, ſecondly, that the weak minds who are intimidated by his power and reſources, may perceive that the artifices to which he owes them are now all exhauſted, and that his ruin is at hand. As to myſelf, Athenians! I ſhould not only fear

[10] I mean not a tranſlation of Demoſthenes. The inſerting his ſpeeches entire would deſtroy the humble uniformity of this hiſtorical work, with the deſign of which it would be inconſiſtent to tranſcribe what the orator found it neceſſary to ſay, repeat, and enforce ſo often. Beſides, Demoſthenes is one of the few Greek writers that has been tranſlated, as the late Mr. Harris ſays in his Philoſophical Enquiries, by competent perſons: Drs. Leland and Francis, in Engliſh, Mr. Tourreil and the Abbé Auger, in French; and the Abbe Cefarotti, in Italian.

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but admire Philip, had he attained his preſent height of grandeur by honourable and equitable means. But after the moſt ſerious examination I find, that at firſt he ſeduced our ſimplicity by the flattering promiſe of Amphipolis; that he next ſurpriſed the friendſhip of Olynthus by the deceitful gift of Potidæa; that, laſtly, he enſlaved the Theſſalians, under the ſpecious pretence of delivering them from tyrants. In one word, with what community hath he treated which hath not experienced his fraud? Which of his confederates hath he not ſhameleſsly betrayed? Can it be expected, then, that thoſe who promoted his elevation, becauſe they thought him *their* friend, will continue to ſupport it, when they find him a friend to his own intereſt alone? Impoſſible! When confederacies are formed on the principles of common advantage and affection, each member ſhares the toils with alacrity; all perſevere; ſuch confederacies endure. But when worthleſſneſs and lawleſs ambition have raiſed a ſingle man, the ſlighteſt accident overthrows the unſtable edifice of his grandeur. It is not, No! Athenians! it is not poſſible to found a laſting power on treachery, fraud, and perjury. Theſe may ſucceed for a while; but time reveals their weakneſs. For, as in a houſe, a ſhip, and in ſtructures of every kind, the foundation and lower parts ſhould be firm and ſolid, ſo the grounds and principles of actions ſhould be juſt and true. But ſuch qualities belong not to the actions of Philip".

" I am of opinion, then, that fearleſs of conſequences, you ought to aſſiſt Olynthus with the utmoſt celerity and vigour, and to diſpatch an embaſſy to the Theſſalians, to inflame their hoſtility.

" The important, though trite proverb, that in public, as well as in private tranſactions, " honeſty is the beſt policy," was never expreſſed, perhaps, with ſuch dignity, as in the following words of Demoſthenes: ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἰδιοίας τὰ πράγματα ᾖ, καὶ πᾶσι ταῦτα συμφέρῃ τοῖς, μετέχῃσι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ συμπονῶσι, καὶ φέρειν τὰς συμφορὰς, καὶ μένειν ἐθέλωσι οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὅταν δὲ ἐκ πλεονεξίας τινὸς, ὥσπερ οὗτος, ἰσχύσῃ, ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις, καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμα ἅπαντα ἀνέχαιτισε, καὶ διέλυσεν. ἡ γὰρ ἴσῃ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδίκημα καὶ ἐπιορκία καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, δύναμιν ἐθέλει κτᾶσθαι· ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀνατρέπει, καὶ διέφθειρε χρόνον, αἰτίχθη· καὶ σφόδρα γε πίστιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἂν τύχῃ· τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φαίνεται, καὶ τίθησι αὐτὰ καταβρόν. ἄσπερ γὰρ οἰκίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ πλοῖον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τὰ καταδεέστατα ἰσχυρότατα εἶναι δεῖ, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πράξεσι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ δικαίας εἶναι προσήκει· τοῦτο δ' ἐκ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. Demoſthen. Olynth. i. or Olynth. ii. p. 7th, in the common but incorrect edition of Wolfius.

But

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But take care, Athenians! that your ardour evaporate not in reſolutions and decrees. Be ready to pay your contributions; prepare to take the field; ſhow yourſelves in earneſt, and you will ſoon diſcover not only the hollow faith of the allies of Philip, but the internal and concealed infirmity of Macedon itſelf. That kingdom has emerged from obſcurity amidſt the conteſts of neighbouring ſtates, during which the ſmalleſt weight, put into either ſcale, is ſufficient to incline the balance. But, in itſelf, Macedon is inconſiderable and weak, and its real weakneſs is increaſed by the ſplendid, but ruinous expeditions of Philip. For the king and his ſubjects are actuated by very different ſentiments. Domineered by ambition, he diſregards eaſe and ſafety; but his ſubjects, who individually have little ſhare in the glory of his conqueſts, are indignant, that, for the ſake of one man, they ſhould be haraſſed by continual warfare, and withdrawn from thoſe occupations and purſuits, which afford the comforts and happineſs of private life. On the great body of his people, Philip, therefore, can have no reliance; nor, whatever may be ſaid of their valour and diſcipline, can he depend more on his mercenaries. For I am informed, by a man of undoubted veracity, who has juſt arrived from Macedon, that none of Philip's guards, even thoſe whom he treats with the affectionate, but deceitful names of companions, and fellow-ſoldiers, can merit his eſteem, without incurring his hatred and perſecution. Such is the intolerable jealouſy, ſuch the malignant envy, which crowns the other odious vices of this monſter, who, defying every ſentiment of virtue and decency, drives from his preſence all who ſhudder, all who are diſguſted, at the moſt unnatural enormities, and whoſe court is continually crowded by buffoons, paraſites, obſcene poets, and drunkards; wretches who, when drunk, will dance, but ſuch dances [12] as modeſty dare not name. Slight and trivial as theſe matters may

[12] The κορδακισμος. Demoſth. p. 8. Vid. Schol. ad Ariſtoph. in nubib. From the deſcription above given of Athenian manners, it appears that Demoſthenes's delicacy was merely complimental.

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to ſome appear, they exhibit the worthleſſneſs of Philip, and announce the infelicity which awaits him. The dangerous defects of his character are hid in the blaze of proſperity[13]; but when misfortune happens, his native deformity will appear. For it is eaſy to prove that, as in the bodily frame, men, during the ſeaſon of health, are inſenſible of what is weak and diſordered in their conſtitutions, which imperfections are immediately felt on the firſt approach of ſickneſs; ſo the glory of foreign conqueſt conceals the vices and defects of republics and monarchies; but let calamity happen, let the war be carried to their frontiers, and thoſe hitherto latent evils immediately become manifeſt.

"If there is a man among you, Athenians! who thinks that Philip is a formidable enemy, becauſe he is fortunate, I agree with that man. Fortune[14] has a mighty influence, or rather Fortune alone domineers in human affairs. Yet could you be perſuaded to do but the ſmalleſt part of your duty, I would greatly prefer your fortune to Philip's; for *you*, ſurely, have better reaſon to truſt in the aſſiſtance of Heaven. But we remain, I think, inactive, heſitating, delaying, and deliberating, while our enemy takes the field, braving ſeaſons and dangers, and neglecting no opportunity of advantage. And if the indolent and careleſs are abandoned by their beſt friends, can we expect that the gods, however favourable, ſhould aſſiſt us, if we will not help ourſelves?"

The extravagant expedition of Chares.

The people of Athens, animated to their duty, on the one hand, by Demoſthenes, and ſeduced, on the other, by the hirelings of Philip[15] and their own deceitful paſſions, imprudently ſteered a middle courſe, which, in public affairs, is often the moſt dangerous. Convinced that the preſervation of Olynthus was the beſt ſafeguard

[13] Secundæ res mirè ſunt vitiis obtentui. Salluſt.

[14] From what is ſaid below, it appears that, by Fortune, Demoſthenes here means the diſpenſations of Providence; and, by good Fortune, the Favour of Heaven.

[15] Philochorus in Dionyſ. Epiſt. ad Ammonium.

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of Attica, yet, unwilling to tear themſelves from their beloved pleaſures, they determined to ſend Chares, with a fleet and two thouſand mercenaries, to the aſſiſtance of their allies. This commander, who was the idol of the multitude, but the diſgrace of his country and of his profeſſion[16], ſhewed no ſolicitude to protect the dependencies of Olynthus, which ſucceſſively ſubmitted to the Macedonian arms. To gratify the rapacity of his troops, he made a deſcent on the fertile coaſt of Pallené, where, falling in with eight hundred men commanded by Audæus, called the friends of Philip, he obtained over thoſe contemptible cowards an eaſy and ludicrous victory, which ſerved only to amuſe the comic poets of the times. Having gained this advantage, Chares became unwilling to try his fortune in any ſeverer conflict; and diſdaining, as he affected, to follow the motions of Philip, returned home, and celebrated his triumph over the vain, boaſtful, and voluptuous Audæus[17]; not, however, with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, but with the ſum of ſixty talents, which he had extorted from the Phocians, who were actually in alliance with Athens[18].

Philip beſieges Olynthus.

The thoughtleſs multitude, who judged of the expedition of Chares by the expenſive pomp with which he entertained them at his return, talked extravagantly of invading Macedon, and chaſtiſing the inſolence of Philip[19], when a ſecond embaſſy arrived from Olynthus. The inhabitants of this place had been ſhut up within their walls; they had loſt Stagyra, Miciberna, Toroné, cities of conſiderable ſtrength, beſides many inferior towns, which, on the firſt appearance of Philip, were forward to receive his bribes, and to open their gates[20]; and this ſhameful venality, in places well provided for defence, made the king of Macedon obſerve to his generals, that he would thenceforth conſider no fortreſs as impregnable, which

[16] Timotheus ſaid of him, "that he was fitter to carry the baggage, than to command an army." Plut. in Apophth.

[17] Among his contemporaries, he was nicknamed αλεκτρυων, the cock. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

[18] Athenæus, ibid.

[19] Demoſthen. Olynth. ii.

[20] Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 450.

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could admit a mule laden with money[21]. Dejected by continual losses, the Olynthians turned their thoughts to negociation, that they might at leaſt amuſe the invader till the arrival of the Athenian ſuccours. Philip penetrated their deſign, and dexterouſly turned their arts againſt them; affecting to lend an ear to their propoſals, but meanwhile continuing his approaches, till, having got within forty ſtadia of their walls, he declared that of two things one was neceſſary, either *they* muſt leave Olynthus, or *he* Macedon[22]. This explicit declaration from an enemy, who often flattered to deſtroy, but who might always be believed when he threatened, convinced the Olynthians of what they had long ſuſpected, that their utter ruin was at hand. They endeavoured to retard the fatal moment by a vigorous ſally, in which their cavalry, commanded by Apollonides, particularly ſignaliſed their valour[23]. But they were repulſed by ſuperior numbers, and obliged to take refuge in the city.

Second embaſſy to Athens.

In this poſture of affairs, the ambaſſadors ſailed for Athens; and having arrived there, found, to their utter aſtoniſhment, the multitude ſtill enjoying the imaginary triumph of Chares. This commander, who chiefly owed his credit to the aſcendant of ſuperficial qualities over the undiſcerning folly of the people, was a warm and active partiſan of democracy, and as ſuch viewed, even by Demoſthenes, with too partial eyes. The orator, beſides, well knew that the irregular, uſeleſs, or deſtructive operations of the Athenian arms ought not always to be charged on the miſconduct of the general. The troops were always ill paid; ſometimes not paid at all; and therefore diſobedient and mutinous. Inſtead of ſubmitting to controul, they often controuled their leaders; their reſolutions were prompt and ungovernable; when they could not perſuade they

[21] Plutarch. Diodorus, p. 451, relates the matter ſomewhat differently. But he acknowledges that the king of Macedon boaſted that he had augmented his dominions more by gold than by arms. Diodorus, p. 450.

[22] Demoſthen. Philipp. iii.

[23] Id. ibid.

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threatened; and compelled even prudent commanders to meaſures wild, ruinous, and diſhonourable.

The demands of the Olynthians again enforced by Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes, therefore, who again undertook to ſecond the demands of Olynthus, waved all accuſation againſt particular perſons. After endeavouring to repreſs the vain confidence of his countrymen, which had been excited by the ſuppoſed advantages of Chares, and the venal breath of corrupt orators, he deſcribes the real danger of their allies, which he perſuades them to regard as their own. The criſis was now arrived; and if they neglected the preſent opportunity of fulfilling their engagements to Olynthus, they muſt ſoon be obliged to meet Philip in Attica. He reminds them of the various occaſions, which they had already loſt, of repelling this rapacious tyrant, this hoſtile barbarian, this mixture of perfidy and violence, for whom he cannot find any name ſufficiently reproachful. "But ſome perhaps will ſay, it is the buſineſs of a public ſpeaker to adviſe, not to upbraid. We wiſh to aſſiſt the Olynthians, and we will aſſiſt them; but inform us how our aid may be rendered moſt effectual. Appoint magiſtrates, Athenians! for the inſpection of your laws; not to enact new laws; they are already too numerous; but to repeal thoſe whoſe ill effects you daily experience; I mean the laws relating to the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it), and ſome about the ſoldiery. By the firſt the ſoldier's pay is conſumed, as theatrical expences, by the uſeleſs and inactive; the ſecond ſcreen from juſtice the coward who declines the ſervice, and damp the ardour of the brave who would be ready to take the field. Till theſe laws be repealed, expect not that any man will urge your true intereſt, ſince his honeſt zeal muſt be repaid with deſtruction." After inſiſting ſtill farther on this delicate and dangerous ſubject, Demoſthenes probably obſerved diſpleaſure and reſentment in the countenances of his hearers, and then (as his cuſtom was) artfully turning the diſcourſe: "I ſpeak thus, not with a view to give offence,

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for I am not ſo mad as without neceſſity to offend; but becauſe I think it the duty of a public ſpeaker to prefer your intereſt to your pleaſure. Such were the maxims and conduct (you yourſelves know it) of thoſe ancient and illuſtrious orators whom all unite to praiſe, but none venture to imitate; of the virtuous Ariſtides, of Nicias, of Pericles, and of him whoſe name[24] I bear. But ſince miniſters have appeared who dare not addreſs the aſſembly, till they have firſt *conſulted* you about the *counſels* which they ought to give, who aſk, as it were, What ſhall I propoſe? What ſhall I adviſe? In what, Athenians! can I do you pleaſure? the ſweet draught of flattery has concealed a deadly poiſon; our ſtrength is enervated, our glory tarniſhed, the public beggared and diſgraced, while thoſe ſmooth-tongued declaimers have acquired opulence and ſplendour[25]. Conſider, Athenians! how briefly the conduct of your anceſtors may be contraſted with your own; for if you would purſue the road to glory and happineſs, you need not foreign inſtructors: it will be ſufficient to follow the example of thoſe from whom you are deſcended. The Athenians of former times, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence to which you are accuſtomed, held, with general conſent, the ſovereignty of Greece for ſixty-five years[26]; depoſited above ten thouſand talents in the citadel; kept the king of Macedon in that ſubjection which a Barbarian owes to Greece; erected many and illuſtrious trophies of the exploits which their own valour had at-

[24] Demoſthenes, who acted ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part in the Peloponneſian war. See above, vol. i. c. xvii. p. 577, & ſeqq.

[25] It is worthy of obſervation that, in this diſcourſe throughout, Demoſthenes inſiſts that the people at large enjoyed much leſs authority in his time than in the days of Ariſtides, &c. All depends, he aſſerts, on the popular orators and magiſtrates, "ὁι πολιτευομενοι." Yet it is well known that, ſince the age of Ariſtides, the government had become more democratical. Demoſthenes himſelf allows this: the orators, he ſays, dare not addreſs the people now with that freedom which they uſed formerly.—This apparent contradiction ſhews the nature and tendency of that ſpecies of popular government which the Greeks called ochlogarchy—The populace are the ſlaves of their demagogues, and the demagogues of the populace. Inſtead of liberty, there is an interchange of ſervitude.

[26] Demoſthenes's chronology here is not accurate. See above, p. 64, in the note.

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chieved by land and ſea: in a word, are the only people on record whoſe glorious actions place them above the reach of envy. Thus great in war, their civil adminiſtration was not leſs admirable. The ſtately edifices which they raiſed, the temples which they adorned, the dedications which they offered to the gods, will never be excelled in magnificence; but, in private life, ſo exemplary was their moderation, and ſo ſcrupulous their adherence to the frugal maxims of antiquity, that if any of you has examined the houſe of Ariſtides or Miltiades, he will find them undiſtinguiſhed above the contiguous buildings by any ſuperior elegance or grandeur. The ambition of thoſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen was to exalt the republic, not to enrich themſelves[27]; and this juſt moderation, accompanied by piety and patriotiſm, raiſed their country (and no wonder!) to the height of proſperity. Such was the condition of Athens under thoſe ſincere and honeſt men. Is it the ſame, or nearly the ſame, under the indulgence of our preſent miniſters? I wave other topics on which I might enlarge. But you behold in what ſolitude we are left. The Lacedæmonians loſt; the Thebans haraſſed by war; no other republic worthy of aſpiring to the ſovereignty. Yet at this period, when we might not only have defended our own poſſeſſions, but have become the arbiters and umpires of all around us, we have been ſtripped of whole provinces; we have expended fifteen hundred talents fruitleſsly; we have loſt, in time of peace, the alliances and advantages which the arms of our anceſtors had acquired; and we have raiſed up and armed a moſt formidable enemy againſt ourſelves. If not, let the man ſtand forth who can ſhow from what other cauſe Philip has derived his greatneſs. But the miſerable condition of our foreign affairs is, perhaps, compenſated by the happineſs of our domeſtic ſtate, and the ſplendid improvements of our capital. Roads repaired,

[27] Privatus illis cenſus erat brevis
Commune magnum. Hor. ode xv. l. ii.

repaired, walls whitened, *fountains*, and *follies*[28]! And the miniſters who have procured us thoſe magnificent advantages, paſs from poverty and meanneſs to opulence and dignity; build private palaces which inſult the edifices of the public; grow greater as their country becomes leſs, and gradually riſe on its ruins. What is the ſource of this diſorder? It is, Athenians! that formerly the people did their duty, took the field in perſon, and thus kept the magiſtrates in awe."

Licentiouſneſs of the Athenian troops under the profligate Charidemus.

The aſſembly remained inſenſible to the motives of intereſt and honour. Inſtead of taking the field in perſon, they ſent to Olynthus a body of foreign infantry, amounting to four thouſand, with an hundred and fifty horſe, under the command of Charidemus. This unworthy general, who was the ſlave of his mercenaries, and of his own deteſtable paſſions, gratified the rapacity of his troops by ravaging the Macedonian province of Bottiæa, on the confines of Chalcis. At length, however, he threw his forces into Olynthus; and the beſieged, encouraged by this reinforcement, hazarded another ſally, in which they were defeated and repelled with conſiderable loſs. The Athenian mercenaries were rendered every day more contemptible by their cowardice, and more dangerous by their licentiouſneſs. The beaſtly Charidemus had neither inclination nor ability to reſtrain their irregularities. According to his cuſtom, he drank, at every meal, to a ſcandalous exceſs: his brutality inſulted the women of Olynthus; and ſuch was his impudent and abandoned profligacy, that he demanded of the ſenate, as a reward for his pretended ſervices, a beautiful Macedonian youth, then captive in the city[29].

The cauſe of the Olynthians vigorouſly ſupported by Æſchines and Demoſthenes

In this ſtate of affairs, the Olynthians a third time applied to Athens. On the preſent occaſion, Æſchines, who afterwards became

[28] Πηγαι και Λογοι. Demoſthenes diſdained not ſuch a gingle of words when it preſented itſelf naturally; but as it rarely occurs in his works, it is plain that he never ſought for it.

[29] Theopomp. apud Athen. l. x. p. 436.

ſuch

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ſuch an active partiſan of the Macedonian intereſt, particularly diſtinguiſhed his zeal and his patriotiſm. The ſpeech of Demoſthenes, to the ſame purpoſe, is ſtill on record. He exhorts and conjures his countrymen to ſend to Olynthus an army of citizens, and at the ſame time to make a diverſion, by invading the Macedonian coaſt. Unleſs both be done, the indefatigable induſtry of Philip would render either ineffectual. "Have you ever conſidered the rapid progreſs of this prince? He began by taking Amphipolis, then Pydna, Potidæa, and Methoné; from thence he poured his troops into Theſſaly, and became maſter of Pheræ, Pegaſæ, and Magneſia. Then turning towards Thrace, he over-ran provinces, conquered and divided kingdoms, and ſeated himſelf on the trophies of fallen crowns and broken ſceptres. I ſpeak not of his expedition againſt the Pæonians and Illyrians, into Epirus,—and where has not ambition conducted his arms? But why this long enumeration?—To prove the important opportunities which your negligence has loſt, and the unextinguiſhable ardour of an adverſary, whoſe ſucceſſive conqueſts continually bring him nearer to your walls. For is there a man in this aſſembly, whoſe blindneſs perceives not that the ſufferings of the Olynthians are the forerunners of our own? The preſent conjuncture calls you, as with a loud voice, at length to rouſe from your lethargy, and to profit by this laſt teſtimony of the bountiful protection of the gods. Another is not to be expected, after the many which you have deſpiſed and forgotten: I ſay *forgotten*; for favourable conjunctures, like riches, and other gifts of heaven, are remembered with gratitude, only by thoſe who have underſtanding to preſerve and to enjoy them. The ſpendthrift diſſipates his thankfulneſs with his wealth [10]; and the ſame imprudent folly renders him both miſerable and ungrateful." After theſe bold expoſtulations,

[10] The obſervation is uncommon, but juſt: αλλα οιμαι, παρομοιον εστι, οπερ και περι της των χρηματων κτησεως· αν μεν γαρ ῥαδια αι τις λαβη και σωσῃ, μεγαλην εχει τη τυχη την χαριν. αν δε αναλωσας λαθῃ, συναναλωσει και το μεμνησθαι τη τυχη την χαριν. Demoſt. Olynth. iii. Olynth. i. p. 2. ex edit. Wolf.

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expoſtulations, or rather reproaches, he encourages them to relieve Olynthus, by obſerving, that Philip would never have undertaken the ſiege of that place if he had expected ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance; eſpecially at a time when his allies were ready to revolt; when the Theſſalians wiſhed to throw off the yoke; when the Thracians and Illyrians longed to recover their freedom. Thus the power of Philip, lately repreſented as ſo formidable, is by no means real and ſolid; one vigorous effort might yet overwhelm him; and the paſſion of hope, as well as that of fear, is rendered ſubſervient to the purpoſe of the orator. He again touches on the article of ſupplies; but with ſuch caution as ſhews that his former more explicit obſervations had been heard impatiently. "As to money for the expences of the war (for without money nothing can be done), you poſſeſs, Athenians! a military fund exceeding that of any other people. But you have unfortunately withdrawn it from its original deſtination, to which were it reſtored, there could not be any neceſſity for extraordinary contributions. What! do you propoſe in form that the theatrical money ſhould be applied to the uſes of the ſoldiery? No, ſurely. But I affirm, that ſoldiers muſt be raiſed; that a fund has been allotted for their ſubſiſtence; and that in every well-regulated community, thoſe who are paid by the public, ought to ſerve the public. To profit of the preſent conjuncture, we muſt act with vigour and celerity, we muſt diſpatch ambaſſadors, to animate the neighbouring ſtates againſt Philip; we muſt take the field in perſon. If war raged on the frontiers of this country, with what rapidity would the Macedonians march hither? Why will you throw away a ſimilar opportunity? Know, that but one alternative remains, to carry the war into Macedon, or to receive it in Attica. If Olynthus reſiſts, we may ravage the territories of Philip; ſhould that republic be deſtroyed, who will hinder him from coming hither? The Thebans! to ſay nothing too ſevere, they would rather reinforce his arms. The Phocians!

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cians! thoſe who, without our aſſiſtance, cannot defend themſelves. O! but he dares not come! It is madneſs to think that the deſigns of which he already boaſts with ſuch bold imprudence, he will not venture to execute, when nothing oppoſes his ſucceſs [31]. I think it unneceſſary to deſcribe the difference between attacking Philip at home, and waiting for him here. Were you obliged, only for one month, to encamp without the walls, and to ſubſiſt an army in the country, your huſbandmen would ſuſtain more loſs than has been incurred by all the former exigencies of the war. This would happen, although the enemy kept at a diſtance; but at the approach and entrance of an invader, what devaſtation muſt be produced! Add to this, the inſult and diſgrace, the moſt ruinous of all loſſes, to men capable of reflection."

Philip takes Olynthus. Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 348.

The arguments of Demoſthenes prevailed; an embaſſy was ſent into Peloponneſus, to inflame the hoſtility of that country againſt Philip; and it was determined to aſſiſt the Olynthians, with an army of Athenian citizens. But before this reſolution could be carried into effect, Olynthus was no more. The cavalry belonging to that place had acted with great ſpirit againſt the beſiegers. As the works were too extenſive to be completely inveſted, the Olynthian horſemen made frequent incurſions [32] into the ſurrounding territory, where they not only ſupplied themſelves with proviſions and forage, but beat up the quarters, attacked the advanced poſts, and intercepted the convoys of the enemy. Theſe advantages were chiefly owing to the merit of one man. In the various ſkirmiſhes, as well as in the two general engagements which had happened ſince the commencement of the ſiege, Philip perceived that Apollonides, who commanded the enemy's horſe, diſplayed ſuch valour

[31] With all his policy, Philip ſeems to have had the vanity of a Greek. The vigour of the original is not to be tranſlated: "Αν δε εκεινα Φιλιππος λαβη, τις αυτον επι κεφαλης δυο βοδζια; Θηβαιοι; μη λεγε πικρον επος, και συμβαλητε ετοιμος αλλ' Φωκευσι; ουκ οικειαν υχ ηδει τι οντες φυλαττειν, εαν μη βοηθησητε. I have uſed a little freedom with the "υχι δηλον τι."

[32] Diodorus, l. xvi. 53.

and

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and abilities as might long retard, perhaps altogether defeat, the ſucceſs of his undertaking. His ſecret emiſſaries were therefore ſet to work; perfidious clamours were ſown among the populace of Olynthus; Apollonides was publicly accuſed; and, by the malignant practices of traitors, condemned to baniſhment on a ſuſpicion of treaſon [33]. The command of the cavalry was beſtowed on Laſthenes and Euthycrates, two wretches who had ſold their country to Philip. Having obtained ſome previous ſucceſſes, which had been concerted the better to maſk their deſigns, they advanced againſt a Macedonian poſt; carried it at the firſt onſet; purſued the flying garriſon; and betrayed their own troops into an ambuſh prepared by the enemy. Surrounded on all ſides, the Olynthians ſurrendered their arms; and this fatal diſaſter encouraging the Macedonian partiſans within the walls, ſoon opened the gates of Olynthus [34]. The conqueror entered in triumph, plundered and demoliſhed the city, and dragged the inhabitants into ſervitude [35]. Laſthenes, Euthycrates, and their aſſociates, ſhared the ſame, or even a worſe fate. Philip is ſaid to have abandoned them to the indignant rage of the Macedonian ſoldiers, who butchered them almoſt before his eyes. It is certain, that though his mean and blind ambition often employed treachery, his juſtice or his pride always deteſted the traitor [36].

The conqueſt of Olynthus put Philip in poſſeſſion of the region of Chalcis, and the northern coaſt of the Ægean ſea; an acquiſition of territory, which rendered his dominions on that ſide round and complete. His kingdom was now bounded, on the north by the

This important conqueſt inſpires Philip with the ambition to ſeize Thermopylæ and the Helleſpont.

[33] Demoſth. de Falſa Legatione.

[34] Demoſth. ibid.

[35] Four reaſons conſpired to produce the ſevere treatment of the Olynthians: 1. Philip had loſt a great many men in the ſiege; πολλης των στρατιωτων εν ταις προσβολαις απωλεσε. Diodor. p. 450. 2. The Olynthians had received his natural brothers, Ariдæus and Menelaus, accuſed of treaſon. Juſtin. l. viii. c. iii. 3. Philip wanted money to carry on his intrigues in other cities: διεξεπασας δε αυτην (ſcil. Ολυνθον) και τους οικετας εξαιδραποδισαμενος, αλαφυραπωλησε· τουτο δε πραξας, χρηματων τε πολλων εις τον πολεμον ευπορησε. 4. Diodorus immediately after adds the fourth reaſon, "That he might deter the neighbouring cities from oppoſing his meaſures." Diodor. p. 450.

[36] Demoſth. Olynth. iii. ſect. 3.

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Thracian poſſeſſions of Kerſobleptes, and on the ſouth by the territory of Phocis, a province actually comprehending the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, which had formerly belonged to a different diviſion of Greece. Beſides the general motives of intereſt, which prompted him to extend his dominions, he diſcerned the peculiar importance of acquiring the Thermopylæ and the Helleſpont, ſince the former was emphatically ſtyled the Gates of Greece, and the latter formed the only communication between that country and the fertile ſhores of the Euxine. Greece, exceeding in population the proportion of its extent and fertility, annually drew ſupplies of corn from thoſe northern regions. The Athenians, in particular, had ſettlements even in the remote peninſula of Crim Tartary, anciently called the Taurica Cherſoneſus, by means of which they purchaſed and imported the ſuperfluous productions of that remote climate [37]. Their ſhips could only ſail thither by the Helleſpont; and ſhould that important ſtrait be reduced under the power of an enemy, they muſt be totally excluded from an uſeful, and even neceſſary, branch of commerce.

Philip celebrates the feſtival of the Muſes at Dium. Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 348.

Philip perceived theſe conſequences. It was the general intereſt of all the Grecian republics to aſſiſt Kerſobleptes and the Phocians, which was, in other words, to defend the Helleſpont and Thermopylæ. The intereſt of the Macedonian was diametrically oppoſite; nor could he expect to accompliſh the great objects of his reign, unleſs he firſt rendered himſelf maſter of thoſe important poſts. This delicate ſituation furniſhed a proper exerciſe for the dexterity of Philip. After the deſtruction of Olynthus, he celebrated a public feſtival of gratitude and joy, at the neighbouring town of Dium; to which, as at the Olympian and other Grecian games, all the republics were promiſcuouſly invited, whether friends or enemies [38]. It appears that ſeveral Athenians aſſiſted at theſe magnificent entertain-

[37] Demoſthen. in Leptin.

[38] Demoſth. de Falſa Legatione; & Diodor. p. 451.

ments,

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ments, which laſted nine days, in honour of the Muſes, and which wanted no object of elegance or ſplendor, that either art could produce, or wealth could purchaſe. The politeneſs and condeſcending affability of Philip obliterated the remembrance of his recent ſeverity to Olynthus; and his liberal diſtribution of the ſpoils of that unfortunate city [39] gained him new friends, and confirmed the attachment of his old partiſans.

Philip unexpectedly commits naval depradations on Attica.

Amidſt theſe ſcenes of rejoicing and feſtivity, Philip ſeems not to have forgotten, one moment, that the moſt immediate object of his policy was to detach the Athenians from the cauſe of Phocis and Kerſobleptes, who were both their allies. For this purpoſe, while he courted individuals with peculiar addreſs, he determined to make the public feel the inconvenience of the war, the better to prepare them for the inſidious propoſal of a ſeparate peace. The bad conduct of Chares left the ſea open to the Macedonians, who had ſilently acquired a conſiderable naval force. Philip begun to attack the Athenians on their favourite element. His fleet ravaged their tributary iſlands of Lemnos and Imbros; ſurpriſed and took a ſquadron of Athenian veſſels, ſtationed on the ſouthern coaſt of Eubœa; and, encouraged by theſe advantages, boldly ſailed to Attica, made a deſcent on the ſhore of Marathon, repelled the Athenian cavalry, headed by Deotimus, ravaged the territory, and carried off the Sala-

[39] Both Demoſthenes and Diodorus mention an anecdote which does honour to Philip, and ſtill more to Satyrus the player. After dinner, the king, according to his cuſtom, was diſtributing his preſents; amidſt the general feſtivity, Satyrus alone wore a ſad countenance. The king addreſſed him kindly, and, in the language of the times, deſired him to aſk a boon. Satyrus ſaid, that ſuch preſents as others received (cups of gold, &c.) ſeemed to him of little value: That he had indeed ſomething to aſk, but feared a denial. Philip having encouraged him, he proceeded: "Apollophanes of Pydna was my friend: at his death, his two daughters, both arrived at a marriageable age, were ſent to Olynthus, taken captive, and ſubjected to all the calamities of ſervitude. Theſe are the preſents I requeſt, not with any deſign unworthy of their father or myſelf, but that I may give them ſuch portions as ſhall enable them to marry happily." Apollophanes had been an active opponent, and even the perſonal enemy, of Philip; yet this prince granted the requeſt of Satyrus, and enabled him liberally to provide for the daughters of his friend.

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minian galley. From thence they proceeded to the iſle of Salamis, and defeated a conſiderable detachment commanded by Charidemus. The illuſtrious trophies of Marathon and Salamis were effaced by the inſults of the Macedonians, whoſe fleet returned home in triumph, adorned with hoſtile ſpoils, and with military and naval glory [40].

His intrigues give him poſſeſſion of Eubœa.

The activity of Philip ſeconded his good fortune. His intrigues were renewed in Eubœa. Under pretence of delivering the iſland from the tyranny and extortions of Moloſſus, the Athenian commander, he landed ſuch a body of troops there, as proved ſufficient, with the aſſiſtance of his adherents, to expel the Athenians. Such a multiplication of calamities might have diſguſted that people with the war againſt Philip, whoſe hoſtility, directed againſt them alone, ſeemed to have forgotten the Phocians and Kerſobleptes; when

His deceitful embaſſy to Athens;

ſecret but zealous partiſans of Macedon arrived at Athens, as ambaſſadors from Eubœa, commiſſioned to ſettle amicably all differences between the two countries. They obſerved, that Philip had left the iſland abſolutely free and independent; and that, though conſtrained to take arms in defence of his allies, he was ſincerely deſirous of making peace with the Athenians. The repreſentations of the Eubœan ambaſſadors were enforced by the influence of two Athenians, Ariſtodemus and Neoptolemus, the firſt diſtinguiſhed as a player, the ſecond as a player and poet, who having acquired fortunes in Macedon, returned to their own country, to forward the meaſures of their liberal protector. They affirmed that the king of Macedon earneſtly wiſhed to live on good terms with the republic; and the Athenians paid much regard to men, whoſe talents were then highly eſteemed, and who had remit-

[40] In the chronology of theſe events, I have followed *Dr.* Leland. See his Life of Philip, vol. ii. p. 43. The events themſelves are related in the oration of Demoſthenes commonly entitled the Firſt Philippic, but which the Doctor, with great probability, conſiders as two diſtinct orations ſpoken at different times.

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ted the riches amaſſed in a foreign country, to purchaſe lands in Attica, and to ſupply with alacrity the exigencies of the public ſervice.

in vain expoſed by Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes ſaw through theſe dark and deep artifices[41]; but in vain endeavoured to alarm the unſuſpecting credulity of his countrymen. On a future occaſion, after the plot had become manifeſt, he upbraids their careleſs indifference and deluſion at this important criſis. "Had you been ſpectators in the theatre, and not deliberating on matters of the higheſt moment, you could not have heard Neoptolemus with more indulgence, nor me with more reſentment[42]."

Æſchines returns from his embaſſy, and awakens the public reſentment againſt Philip.

Such was the diſpoſition of the aſſembly, when Æſchines returned from his Peloponneſian embaſſy. He had aſſembled the great council of the Arcadians; revealed to them the dangerous views of Philip, which threatened the liberty of Greece; and, notwithſtanding the powerful oppoſition of Hieronymus, and other Macedonian partiſans, had engaged that people to approve the patriot zeal of Athens, and to deliberate on taking arms in the common cauſe. In relating the ſucceſs of his embaſſy, he inveighed with great ſeverity againſt thoſe mercenary traitors, who had ſold the intereſts of their country to a cruel tyrant. The Greeks had full warning of their danger. The miſerable fate of Olynthus ought ever to be before their eyes. At his return through Peloponneſus, he had beheld a ſight ſufficient to melt the moſt obdurate heart; thirty young Olynthians, of both ſexes, driven like a herd of cattle, as a preſent from Philip to ſome of the unworthy inſtruments of his ambition[43].

The ſuſceptible and ever-varying temper of the multitude was deeply affected by the repreſentations of Æſchines; the pacific advices of Neoptolemus and his aſſociates were forgotten; war and re-

[41] Demoſthenes, de Cherſoneſo, & de Pace.
[42] Demoſthen. de Cherſoneſo.
[43] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legatione, ſect. 5.

venge

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venge again echoed through the aſſembly. At the requiſition of Æſchines, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to confirm the hoſtile reſolutions of the Arcadians, and to awaken the terror of the neighbouring republics. The Athenian youth were aſſembled in the temple of Agraulos to ſwear irreconcilable hatred againſt Philip and the Macedonians; and the moſt awful imprecations were denounced againſt the mercenary traitors who co-operated with the public enemy. This fermentation might at length have puriſied into ſtrong and deciſive meaſures; and had Philip poſſeſſed only an ordinary degree of vigilance, a confederacy might have been yet formed in Greece ſufficient to repel the Macedonian arms. But that conſummate politician thought nothing done while any thing was neglected; and, as he allowed not the ſlighteſt opportunity to paſs unimproved, he often derived very important benefits from ſeemingly inconſiderable cauſes.

Dexterity of that prince in diverting the ſtorm.

An Athenian of the name of Phrynon, a man wealthy and powerful, had been attacked, robbed, and confined by ſome Macedonian ſoldiers, who obliged him to purchaſe his liberty by a very conſiderable ranſom[44]. As this violence had been committed during the fifteen days of truce that followed the celebration of the Olympic games, Phrynon very judiciouſly ſuppoſed that the king of Macedon, who had long been ambitious of obtaining a place in the Grecian confederacy, would not abet this act of injuſtice and impiety. He had therefore requeſted his countrymen, who at that time prepared to negociate with Philip an exchange of priſoners, to join him in commiſſion with Cteſiphon, a man of experience and capacity, who had been already named to that embaſſy; imagining that by appearing in a public character, he might the more eaſily recover the ranſom and other monies that had been unjuſtly extorted from him. Having arrived in Macedon, the ambaſſadors were re-

[44] Æſchines de Falſa Legatione.

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ceived and treated by Philip with uncommon politeneſs and reſpect; their demands were moſt obligingly granted, or rather prevented; the king apologiſed to Phrynon for the ignorant ruſticity of his ſoldiers, which had led them to act ſo unwarrantably; and he lamented both to Phrynon and Cteſiphon, the neceſſity of their preſent miſſion, ſince he had nothing more ſincerely at heart than to live on good terms with their republic [45]. At their return to Athens, the repreſentations of ſuch men could not be without weight; nor could they fail being extremely favourable to the king of Macedon.

He improves every favourable incident.

Another incident followed, which was improved with no leſs dexterity [46]. At the taking and ſack of Olynthus, Stratocles and Eucrates, two Athenians of diſtinction, had been ſeized and carried into Macedon. By ſome accident theſe men had not been releaſed with the other priſoners. Their relations were uneaſy for their ſafety, and therefore applied to the Athenians, that a proper perſon might be ſent to treat of their ranſom. Ariſtodemus was employed in this commiſſion, but was more attentive to paying his court than performing his duty; and, at his return home, neglected to give an account of his negociation. Philip, meanwhile, whoſe vigilance never ſlept, and who well knew the hoſtile reſolutions in agitation againſt him at Athens, releaſed the priſoners without ranſom, and diſmiſſed them with the higheſt expreſſions of regard. Moved by gratitude, Stratocles appeared in the aſſembly, blazed forth the praiſes of the king of Macedon, and loudly complained againſt the careleſs indifference of Ariſtodemus, who had neglected to report his embaſſy [47].

The Athenians are perſuaded to ſend an embaſſy to Philip.

The artful player, thus called upon to act his part, excuſed his omitting to relate *one* example of kindneſs, in a man who had recently given ſo many proofs of the moſt unbounded generoſity. He expatiated on the candour and benevolence of Philip, and eſpecially

[45] Æſchines de Falſa Legatione. [46] Id. ibid. [47] Id. ibid.

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on his profound reſpect for the republic, with which, he aſſured them, the king of Macedon was earneſt to conclude a peace, and even to enter into an alliance, on the moſt honourable and advantageous terms. He probably reminded them of the misfortunes which had attended their arms ſince they commenced war againſt this prince. Fifteen hundred talents expended with diſgrace; ſeventy-five dependent cities, including theſe of the Chalcidic region, loſt irrecoverably; Olynthus deſtroyed; Eubœa revolted; Athens diſhonoured and exhauſted; and Macedon more powerful and more reſpected than at any former period. This repreſentation did not exceed the truth; and the calamities of the war had long inclined to peace the more moderate and judicious portion of the aſſembly. The artificial generoſity of Philip, in his treatment of Phrynon and Stratocles, blazoned by the eloquence of Ariſtodemus, fixed the wavering irreſolution of the multitude. The military preparations were ſuſpended. Even Demoſthenes and Æſchines yielded to the torrent; and imagining that a bad peace was better than a bad war, (ſince it was impoſſible to expect ſucceſs from the fluctuating councils of their country) ſupported a decree [48] of Philocrates for ſending a herald and ambaſſadors to diſcover the real intentions of Philip, and to hearken to the terms of accommodation with which he had ſo long amuſed them.

Character of the ambaſſadors.

The miniſters appointed to this commiſſion ſeem to have been purpoſely choſen among men of oppoſite principles, who might mutually be checks on each other. Phrynon, Cteſiphon, Ariſtodemus, and Philocrates, who had uniformly teſtified their confidence in the king of Macedon, were oppoſed by Æſchines and Demoſthenes, who had long diſcovered their ſuſpicions of that prince. To the embaſſy were added Nauſicles and Dercyllus, men diſtinguiſhed by the public offices which they had diſcharged with equal patriotiſm and

[48] The decree was attacked by one Licinus. Demoſthenes defended it; and both Demoſthenes and Æſchines, as appears from the text, were on the embaſſy.

fidelity;

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fidelity; Jatrocles, the choſen friend of Æſchines; and Cimon, illuſtrious for the name he bore, which deſcended to him from the greateſt and moſt fortunate of the Athenian commanders. The whole number amounted to ten, beſides Agalocreon of Tenedos, who was ſent on the part of the Greek iſlands, in alliance with Athens[49].

Difficulties occaſioned by the quarrel between Demoſthenes and Æſchines.

Thus far contemporary authors agree; but in deſcribing the events which followed the departure of the ambaſſadors, all is inconſiſtency and contradiction. The quarrel that aroſe between Æſchines and Demoſthenes, the former of whom was impeached by the latter, furniſh us, in the accuſation and defence, with the fulleſt and moſt diffuſe, but at the ſame time the leaſt authentic, materials, that preſent themſelves in any paſſage of Grecian hiſtory. The whole train of the negociation, as well as the events connected with it, are repreſented in colours the moſt diſcordant; facts are aſſerted and denied; while both parties appeal to the memory of the aſſembly before which they ſpoke, to the teſtimony of witneſſes, and even to the evidence of public decrees and records; circumſtances that muſt appear very extraordinary, unleſs we conſider that ſuborning of witneſſes, perjury, and even the falſifying of laws and records, were crimes not unuſual at Athens[50]. Amidſt this confuſion, the diſcerning eye of criticiſm would vainly endeavour to penetrate the truth. Æſchines was indeed acquitted by his countrymen. But nothing poſitive can be learned from a partial ſentence, pronounced three years after the alleged crimes had been committed, when the power of Philip had increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, as gave his faction a decided aſcendant even in the Athenian aſſembly.

Account of the negociation.

To diſentangle ſuch perplexity, we ſhall keep chiefly to thoſe facts which are allowed on both ſides, deducing from them ſuch conſequences as

Olymp. cviii. 1. cviii. 2. A. C. 348 and 347.

[49] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de Falſa Legatione.

[50] See my Diſcourſe on the Character and Manners of the Athenians, prefixed to Lyſias and Iſocrates.

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as ſeem moſt natural and probable. In the courſe of one year, three embaſſies were ſent to Philip; the firſt to propoſe a peace, the ſecond to ratify it, the third to ſee the conditions of it obſerved; and in that ſpace of time Kerſobleptes, being ſtripped of his dominions, was reduced into captivity, and Philip having ſeized Thermopylæ, invaded Phocis, and deſtroyed the twenty-two cities of that province in leſs than twenty-two days. Nor was this all: a foreign prince having made himſelf maſter of Thermopylæ and the Helleſpont, the moſt valuable ſafeguards of Greece—having invaded and deſolated the territory of a Grecian republic, the moſt reſpectable for its antiquity power and wealth, the ſeat of the Amphictyonic council, and of the revered oracle of Delphi—Theſe daring meaſures tended ſo little to excite the diſpleaſure of Greece, that the king of Macedon had no ſooner accompliſhed them, than he threatened to attack Athens (who weakly lamented calamities which ſhe had neither prudence nor courage to prevent) at the head of a general confederacy of the Amphictyonic ſtates.

Diſſention of the ambaſſadors.

Such extraordinary tranſactions, of which hiſtory ſcarcely offers another example for the inſtruction of poſterity, Demoſthenes aſcribes entirely to the corruption and perfidy of the Athenian ambaſſadors. "The felicity of Philip," he ſays, "conſiſts chiefly in this; that having occaſion for traitors, fortune has given him men treacherous and corrupt beyond his moſt ſanguine hopes and prayers"[5]. This, doubtleſs, is the exaggeration of an orator, deſirous by every means to blacken the character of his colleagues in the embaſſy, and particularly that of his adverſary Æſchines. Yet it will appear, from the moſt careful ſurvey of the events of thoſe times, that the incapacity and neglect, if not the treaſon, of the Athenian miniſters, greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of the Macedonian arms.

[5] Subſequent writers have copied the language of Demoſthenes, και χρηματων πληθος διαδης τοις πραξασι ταις πολεσι ισχυσι, πολλης της προδοτας των πατριδων. Diodorus, ubi ſupra.

From

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Conference of the ambaſſadors with Philip.

From the firſt moment of their departure from Athens, the ambaſſadors began to betray their mutual jealouſies and ſuſpicions of each other's fidelity. The dangerous character of Philocrates was equally dreaded by Æſchines and Demoſthenes [52]; and the latter, if we may believe his rival, ſo much diſguſted the other ambaſſadors, by the moroſe ſeverity of his temper, that they had almoſt excluded him their ſociety; a circumſtance rendered credible, not merely by the partial evidence of an adverſary, but by the reſentment and indignation always expreſſed by Demoſthenes againſt the behaviour of his colleagues. Having arrived at Pella, they were introduced to an audience; and ſpoke, as had been agreed on, in the order of their ſeniority. The diſcourſe of Æſchines was the moſt copious and elaborate, but ſeemed rather calculated for gaining merit with the Athenian aſſembly, than for influencing the conduct of Philip. "He recalled to the memory of the king, the favours of the Athenians towards his anceſtors; the diſtreſſed condition of the children of Amyntas; the ſolicitations of Euridicé; and the generous interpoſitions of Iphicrates, to whom the family of Philip owed the crown of Macedon. Having touched ſlightly on the ungrateful returns made by Ptolemy and Perdiccas, he dwelt on the injuſtice of thoſe hoſtilities which Philip had committed againſt the republic, eſpecially in taking Amphipolis, which his father Amyntas had acknowledged to be a dependent colony of Athens. He inſiſted on the impropriety of retaining this poſſeſſion, which as it could not be claimed by any ancient title, neither could it be held by the right of conqueſt, not being gained in any war between the two ſtates. In the time of profound peace between Athens and Macedon, Philip had taken from the Amphipolitans an Athenian city, which it concerned his juſtice and his honour to reſtore, without delay, to its lawful and acknowledged owners."

Speech of Æſchines.

[52] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de Falſa Legatione.

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That of Demoſthenes.

Had Æſchines wiſhed to furniſh Philip with a pretence for protracting the negociation, he could not have done it more effectually than by ſuch a demand. It could not poſſibly be expected, that a victorious monarch ſhould ſet bounds to his own triumphs, in order to purchaſe peace by tamely ſurrendering one of the moſt important of his acquiſitions. In this light the propoſal appeared to Demoſthenes, who thought that his colleague had totally forgotten the object of the embaſſy, the diſtreſſed ſtate of Athens, how greatly the people had been haraſſed by the war, and how eagerly they wiſhed for peace. It was now his own turn to ſpeak before a prince whom he had often and highly offended, whoſe character and actions he had ever viewed and repreſented with the utmoſt ſeverity; but whom, on the preſent occaſion, it was his buſineſs to ſooth rather than to irritate. The novelty of the ſituation might have diſconcerted a man of leſs ſenſibility than Demoſthenes. The envious jealouſy of his colleagues was prepared to liſten, with a malicious ear, to thoſe irreſiſtible arguments which the orator is ſaid to have promiſed, with a very unbecoming confidence; the Macedonian courtiers expected ſome prodigy of eloquence from the perpetual opponent of their admired maſter. Amidſt the ſilent ſuſpence of an unfavourable audience, Demoſthenes began to ſpeak with ungrateful heſitation, and after uttering a few obſcure and interrupted ſentences, his memory totally forſook him. Philip endeavoured to remove his embarraſſment with a mortifying politeneſs, telling him that he was not now in a theatre[51], where ſuch an accident might be attended with diſagreeable conſequences; and exhorting him to take time for recollection, and to purſue his intended diſcourſe. Demoſthenes again began, but without better ſucceſs. The aſſembly

His embarraſſment and confuſion.

[51] Notwithſtanding the paſſion of the Athenians for dramatic entertainments, and their conſideration for the character of players beyond that of any other nation, they were extremely ſevere againſt their negligences and faults on the theatre; as appears from various paſſages of the judicial orations of Demoſthenes and Æſchines.

beheld

beheld his confuſion with a malignant pleaſure; and the ambaſſadors were ordered to withdraw. CHAP. XXXV.

After a proper interval, they were ſummoned to the royal preſence. Philip received them with great dignity, and anſwered with preciſion and elegance the arguments reſpectively uſed by the ſeveral ſpeakers, particularly thoſe of Æſchines. The confuſed hints of Demoſthenes he paſſed over with merited neglect; thus proving to the world, that the man who had ever arraigned him with moſt ſeverity in the tumultuous aſſemblies of Greece, had not dared to ſay any thing in his preſence which deſerved the ſmalleſt notice or reply. The ambaſſadors were then invited to an entertainment, where Demoſthenes is ſaid to have behaved with great weakneſs, and where Philip diſplayed ſuch powers of merriment and feſtivity, as eclipſed his talents for negociation and war. The ambaſſadors were perſuaded of his candour and ſincerity, and diſmiſſed with a letter to the people of Athens, aſſuring them that his intentions were truly pacific, and that as ſoon as they conſented to an alliance with him, he would endeavour to evince thoſe ſentiments of affection and reſpect which he had ever entertained for their republic.

Philip anſwers the ambaſſadors; invites them to an entertainment. Their departure from Macedon.

The mortification which Demoſthenes had received, made him at firſt vent his chagrin by condemning the conduct of his colleagues; but when he reflected, that a fair repreſentation of facts would greatly depreciate his character at Athens, policy prevailed over reſentment. He began privately to tamper with his companions on the road, freely rallied the confuſion into which he had been betrayed, extolled the ready genius and memory of Æſchines; and endeavoured, by promiſes and flattery, to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe whom his recent behaviour had juſtly provoked and diſguſted. In a converſation at Lariſſa in Theſſaly, he acknowledged the maſterly reaſoning of the king of Macedon. The ambaſſadors all joined in the praiſes of this extraordinary man. Æſchines admired the ſtrength and perſpicuity with which he had anſwered their reſpective diſcourſes; and

Artifices of Demoſthenes.

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and Cteſiphon cried out in tranſport, that, in the courſe of a long life, he had never beheld a man of ſuch a polite and engaging deportment. Demoſthenes then artfully ſaid, "he apprehended they would not venture to make ſuch repreſentations to the Athenian aſſembly; that their honour and ſafety required them to be conſiſtent in their reports;" to which they all aſſented; and Æſchines acknowledges, that he was prevailed on by the intreaties of his rival to promiſe, that he would give a favourable and falſe account of the behaviour of Demoſthenes, and aſſure the people of Athens, that he had ſpoken with dignity and firmneſs on the affair of Amphipolis.

They report their negociation to the ſenate.

According to the forms of the republic, the ambaſſadors firſt reported the ſucceſs of their negociation, and delivered the letter of Philip, to the ſenate of the Five Hundred. They explained in order, what each had ſaid in preſence of the king; when Demoſthenes riſing up the laſt, affirmed with his uſual oath of aſſeveration[54], "that the ambaſſadors had not ſpoken in the ſenate as they did before Philip; that they had ſpoken much better in Macedon:" he then moved, that they ſhould be honoured with a crown of ſacred olive[55], and invited next day to an entertainment in the Prytanæum[56].

The ſame reported to the aſſembly.

The day following, they made their report to the aſſembly of the people; when the ambaſſadors, finding the ſubject not diſagreeable to their hearers, expatiated on the politeneſs, condeſcenſion, eloquence, and abilities of the prince, with whom their republic was ready not only to negociate a peace, but to contract an alliance. Having allowed them to exhauſt this fertile ſubject, Demoſthenes at length aroſe, and, after thoſe contortions of body, which, if we believe his adverſary, were familiar to him, declared, that he was equally ſur-

Extraordinary behaviour of Demoſthenes.

[54] Μα Δι', indecently explained "by Jove," ſince the expreſſion is elliptical, and includes a ſhort prayer, ευχομαι τον Δια σωζειν τα μα; "my aſſertion is true, may Jove thus protect me."

[55] See the Diſcourſe of Lyſias on an accuſation for cutting down a conſecrated olive.

[56] Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

priſed

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priſed at thoſe who, in a deliberation of ſuch importance, could talk of ſuch trifles, and at thoſe who could endure to hear them. "The negociation may be briefly reported. Here is the decree by which we are commiſſioned. We have executed this commiſſion. Here is Philip's anſwer (pointing to the letter). You have only to examine its contents." A confuſed murmur aroſe in the aſſembly, ſome applauding the ſtrength and preciſion of the ſpeech, others condemning the aſperity of the ſpeaker. As ſoon as he could be heard, Demoſthenes thus proceeded: "You ſhall ſee how I will lop off thoſe ſuperfluous matters. Æſchines praiſes the memory and eloquence of Philip, in which, however, I find nothing extraordinary, ſince any other man, placed in the ſame advantageous circumſtances of rank and fortune, would be equally attended to and admired. Cteſiphon praiſes the gracefulneſs and dignity of his perſon; my colleague Ariſtodemus does not yield to him in theſe particulars. Others admire his mirth and gaiety at table; yet in ſuch qualities Philocrates excels him. But this is unſeaſonable. I ſhall therefore draw up a decree for convening an extraordinary aſſembly, to deliberate on the peace and the alliance[56]."

Philip ſends ambaſſadors to Athens,

The decree was propoſed on the eighth of March, and the aſſembly was fixed for the ſeventeenth of the ſame month. In the interval, arrived, as ambaſſadors from Philip, Antipater, the moſt reſpected of his miniſters; Parmenio, the braveſt of his generals; and Eurylochus, who united, in an equal degree, the praiſe of eloquence and valour. Parmenio had been employed in the ſiege of Halus, a place filled with malcontents from Theſſaly, who ſtill reſiſted the Macedonian power in that country. That he might have leiſure to join his colleagues, Parmenio ordered the ſiege to be converted into a blockade; and the merit of three ſuch ambaſſadors ſufficiently announced the important purpoſes which Philip wiſhed to effect by the preſent negociation. They were received with great diſtinction by the ſenate, and (what ſeems extraordinary) lodged in the

[56] Æſchin. de Falſa Legatione.

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houſe of Demoſthenes, who was careful to adorn their ſeats in the theatre, and to ſhew them every other mark of honour[57]. Having been introduced, on the appointed day, into the aſſembly, they declared the object of their commiſſion, to conclude in the name of their maſter a peace and alliance with the people of Athens. Demoſthenes, in an elaborate ſpeech, urged the expediency of liſtening to their demands; but without neglecting the intereſt of the Athenian allies. Æſchines delivered the ſame opinion, and ſeverely reproached Philocrates, who urged the neceſſity of precipitating the treaty. The two firſt days were ſpent in debate; but on the third, the influence of Philocrates prevailed, chiefly, if we believe Demoſthenes, by the unexpected acceſſion of Æſchines to that party. He, who had hitherto been a ſtrenuous defender of the intereſt of Kerſobleptes, declared that he had now altered his opinion. That peace was neceſſary for Athens, and ought not to be retarded by the ſlow deliberations of other powers. That the circumſtances of the republic were changed; and that, in their actual ſituation, it was an idle vanity to attend to thoſe who flattered them with pompous panegyrics of the magnanimity of their anceſtors; that the weakneſs of Athens was no longer called on to undertake the protection of every ſtate that could not defend its own cauſe[58]."

who corrupt Æſchines.

During the negociation, Philip continues to make conquests in Thrace.

Demoſthenes had formerly ſuſpected the treachery of Æſchines; but this ſpeech fully convinced him, that if his adverſary had not before ſold himſelf to Philip, he had then been tampered with, and gained by the Macedonian ambaſſadors. But Demoſthenes, and the aſſembly in general, ſaw the neceſſity of immediately ratifying the peace with that prince, who had actually taken the field in Thrace, along the coaſt of which the Athenians ſtill poſſeſſed Serrium, Doriſcus, and ſeveral other tributary cities. A decree was propoſed for this purpoſe, and ambaſſadors were named, who might, with all convenient ſpeed, repair to Philip, in order mutually to give and

[57] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

[58] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legation.

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receive the oaths and ratifications of the treaty juſt concluded at Athens. The ambaſſadors were Eubulus, Æſchines, Cteſiphon, Democrates, and Cleon; the principal of whom, being entirely devoted to the Macedonian intereſt, contrived various pretences to delay their departure. In this interval, Kerſobleptes met with the unhappy fate of which we have already taken notice; and Philip, encouraged by the ſucceſs of his intrigues, ventured to attack the cities of Serrium and Doriſcus, which readily ſubmitted to his arms[59]. Upon intelligence of the latter event, the Athenians diſpatched Euclides to inform the king of Macedon, that the places which he had taken belonged to Athens; to which he coldly replied, that he had not been ſo inſtructed by his ambaſſadors, nor was there any mention of thoſe cities in the treaty recently ſigned, but not yet ratified, between the two powers.

Third embaſſy to Philip.

Æſchines and his colleagues ſtill delayed to ſet out, although the conduct of Philip continually urged the neceſſity of haſtening their departure. They were finally ordered to begone, in conſequence of a decree propoſed by Demoſthenes[60], who was unable to prevail on the Athenians, till it was too late, to pay due regard to the intereſt of Kerſobleptes. In twenty-five days the Athenian miniſters arrived at Pella, a journey which they might have performed in ſix; and inſtead of directly proceeding to Philip, who was employed in reducing the cities on the Propontis, they patiently waited, above three weeks, the return of that monarch to his capital. During their reſidence in Pella, they were joined by Demoſthenes, who, at his own requeſt, had been added to this commiſſion, under pretence of ranſoming ſome Athenian captives, but in reality with a view to watch the conduct of his colleagues. Philip at length arrived: the ambaſſadors were called to an audience. On this occaſion they ſpoke, not as formerly, according to their reſpective ages, but in an

[59] Demoſthen. Orat. v. in Philipp.

[60] Id. de Falſa Legatione.

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order, if we believe Æſchines, firſt eſtabliſhed by the impudence of Demoſthenes; whoſe diſcourſe, as repreſented by his adverſary, muſt have appeared highly ridiculous, even in an age when the decent formality of public tranſactions was little known or regarded.

Speech of Demoſthenes;

Anticipating his more experienced colleagues, he obſerved, "That they were unfortunately divided in their views and ſentiments. That his own were ſtrictly conformable to thoſe of Philip. From the beginning he had adviſed a peace and alliance with Macedon. That he had procured all poſſible honours for the ambaſſadors of that country during their reſidence in Athens, and had afterwards eſcorted their journey as far as Thebes. He knew that his good intentions had been miſrepreſented to Philip, on account of ſome expreſſions that had dropped from him in the Athenian aſſembly. But if he had denied the ſuperior excellence of that prince in beauty, in drinking, and in debate[61], it was becauſe he believed ſuch qualities to belong to a woman, a ſponge, and a hireling rhetorician and ſophiſt, rather than to a warlike monarch, and mighty conqueror." This extraordinary apology excited the deriſion of the Macedonian courtiers, and made the Athenian ambaſſadors hold down their heads in confuſion[62].

of Æſchines.

Æſchines firſt recovered his compoſure; and modeſtly addreſſing Philip, obſerved, "That the preſent was not a proper occaſion for the Athenian miniſters to praiſe or to defend their own conduct. They had been deemed worthy of their commiſſion by the republic which employed them, and to which alone they were accountable[63]. Their actual buſineſs was to receive Philip's oath in ratification of the treaty already concluded on the part of Athens. The military preparations carrying on in every part of Macedon could not but excite their fears for the unhappy Phocians. But he

[61] See above, p. 474.
[62] Æſchin. de Falſa Legatione.
[63] The ſpeech of Æſchines, as reported by himſelf, is inimitably graceful and dignified. Λεγων ὁτι πεμψειαν ημας Αθηναιοι πρεσβεις, &c. Vid. p. 261, & ſeqq. edit. Wolf.

intreated

intreated Philip, that, if he was determined to gratify the Thebans by making war on that unfortunate people, he would make at leaſt a proper diſtinction between the innocent and the guilty. The ſacrilegious violators of the temple ought to be puniſhed with due ſeverity; the ſtate itſelf muſt be ſpared; ſince the laws and inſtitutions of Greece guard the ſafety of every Amphictyonic city. Æſchines then ſpoke, in the ſevereſt terms, againſt the injuſtice and cruelty of the Thebans, who, he ventured to propheſy, would repay the partiality of Philip with the ſame falſehood and ingratitude with which they had been accuſtomed to requite their former allies and benefactors."

Philip's profound diſſimulation in treaties with the Athenian ambaſſadors

The diſcourſe of Æſchines, though it could not be expected to move the reſolutions of the king, was well calculated to raiſe the credit of the ſpeaker, when it ſhould be reported in his own country. Philip confined himſelf to vague expreſſions of friendſhip and reſpect. The ambaſſadors of Thebes were already at Pella, a circumſtance which furniſhed him with a pretence for declining to make an explicit declaration in favour of Phocis. But he hinted his compaſſionate concern for that republic; and requeſted the Athenians to accompany him to Theſſaly, that he might make uſe of their abilities and experience to ſettle the affairs of that country, which required his immediate preſence. Extraordinary as this demand was, the Athenians readily complied with it, notwithſtanding the king, who had ordered his army to march, was attended in this expedition by the ambaſſadors of Thebes, who, as well as the Athenians, were daily entertained at his table, and whoſe views were diametrically oppoſite to the intereſts of Phocis and of Athens[64].

The Phocian war carried on with little activity on either ſide. Olymp. cviii. 2. A. C. 349.

The unhappy and diſtracted ſituation of the former republic promiſed a ſpeedy iſſue to the Sacred War, which, for more than two years, had been feebly carried on between the Phocians on one ſide,

[64] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legatione.

and

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and the Thebans and Locrians on the other, by ſuch petty incurſions and ravages as indicated the inveterate rancour of combatants, who ſtill retained the deſire of hurting, after they had loſt the power [65]. During the greater part of that time, the Athenians, amuſed by their negotiation with Philip, afforded no aſſiſtance to their unfortunate allies. The treaſures of Delphi, immenſe as they were, at length began to fail. The Phocians, thus abandoned and exhauſted, reflected with terror and remorſe on their paſt conduct; and, in order to make atonement for their ſacrilegious violations of the temple, inſtituted a judicial enquiry againſt Phaleucus, their general, and his accomplices, in plundering the dedications to Apollo [66]. Several were condemned to death; Phaleucus was depoſed; and the Phocians, having performed theſe ſubſtantial acts of juſtice which tended to remove the odium that had long adhered to their cauſe, ſolicited with better hopes of ſucceſs the aſſiſtance of Sparta and Athens.

The Phocians condemn the plunderers of the temple.

The Spartans claim the ſuperintendence of the temple.

But the crafty Archidamus, who had long directed the Spartan councils, conſidered the diſtreſs of the Phocians as a favourable opportunity to urge the claim of his own republic to the ſuperintendence of the Delphic temple; and actually ſent ambaſſadors into Theſſaly, to confer with the king of Macedon on that ſubject [67]. The Athenians paid more attention to the requeſt of their allies, who, as an inducement to excite their activity, offered to put them in poſſeſſion of the towns of Nicæa, Alpenus, and Thronium, which commanded the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. But this ſalutary plan, which might have retarded the fate of Greece, was defeated by Phaleucus, who commanding eight thouſand mercenaries, that acknowledged no authority but that of their general, eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Nicæa, and deſpiſed the menaces both of Phocis and of Athens.

Phaleucus and his mercenaries ſeize Nicæa.

[65] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 454. Æſchin. ubi ſupra.

[66] Idem, l. xvi. p. 452.

[67] Demoſthen. &

Mortifying

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Diſaſter of the Phocians in the temple of Abæan Apollo.

Mortifying as this diſappointment muſt have been, it was followed by a diſaſter in another quarter ſtill more terrible. The Phocians had fortified the city of Abæ, to defend their northern frontier againſt the depredations of the Locrians. The Thebans, reinforced by ſome auxiliaries of Macedon, marched againſt that place. The Phocians, with more courage than prudence, met them in the field; but were defeated with great ſlaughter, and purſued, in their diſordered flight, through the ſurrounding territory. A party of above five hundred took refuge in the temple of Abæan Apollo, where they remained for ſeveral days, ſleeping under the porticoes, on beds of dried herbs, ſtraw, and other combuſtible materials. An accidental fire, that began in the night, was communicated to the whole edifice, part of which was conſumed, while the unhappy Phocians were ſtifled, or burnt to aſhes [68].

The Thebans inſtigate Philip to deſolate Phocis.

The Thebans failed not to repreſent this calamity as a judgment of heaven, againſt the daring impiety of wretches, who had ventured to take refuge in the temple of a god whom their ſacrilege had long offended. They entreated Philip to aſſiſt them in deſtroying the remnant of the guilty race. This was the chief purpoſe of their embaſſy to that prince, whom the Athenians, as related above, entreated to ſpare the nation, while he puniſhed the criminals; and the Lacedæmonians, regardleſs of the fate of Phocis, thought only of making good their ancient claim to the guardianſhip of the Delphic temple.

Philip attempts in vain to corrupt the Theban ambaſſadors.

Philip treated the deputies of the three republics with apparent frankneſs and cordiality, under the veil of which he knew ſo well to diſguiſe the intereſts of his policy and ambition. He aſſured the Thebans, that his arms ſhould be employed to recover for them the towns of Orchomenus, Coronæa, and Tilphoſſeum, which, ever ready to rebel againſt a tyrannical capital, had readily ſubmitted to

[68] Diodorus, p. 454.

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the Phocians, during their invaſion of Bœotia. The Phocians, he ſaid, had rendered themſelves the objects of divine diſpleaſure; it would be as meritorious to puniſh, as it was impious to protect them. He was determined that both they and their allies ſhould ſuffer thoſe calamities which their crimes ſo juſtly deſerved. Thus far Philip was ſincere; for, in theſe particulars, the views of Thebes were exactly conformable to his own. But in his mind he agitated other matters, in which the intereſt of Thebes interfered with that of Macedon. To accompliſh thoſe purpoſes, without offending his allies, it was neceſſary to gain the ambaſſadors. Careſſes, flattery, and promiſes, were laviſhed in vain. Money was at length tendered with a profuſe liberality; but, though no man ever poſſeſſed more addreſs than Philip in rendering his bribes acceptable, the Theban deputies remained honeſt and uncorrupted, firmly maintaining to the end their patriotiſm and their honour. Philon, the chief of the embaſſy, anſwered for his colleagues: "We are already perſuaded of your friendſhip for us, independent of your preſents. Reſerve your generoſity for our country, on which it will be more profitably beſtowed, ſince your favours, conferred on Thebes, will ever excite the gratitude both of that republic and its miniſters [69]."

Philip corrupts and deceives the Athenian ambaſſadors.

Demoſthenes extols the dignity of this reply, as becoming rather the ambaſſadors of Athens. But theſe miniſters, though one object of their commiſſion was to ſave the Grecian ſtate which the Thebans wiſhed to deſtroy, diſcovered neither integrity nor ſpirit. All of them, but Demoſthenes himſelf, accepted the preſents of the king of Macedon, who found little difficulty in perſuading men, thus prepoſſeſſed in his favour, that he pitied the Phocians; that he reſpected Athens; that he deteſted the inſolence of Thebes; and that, ſhould he ever proceed to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, his expedition would be more dangerous to that ſtate than to its enemies. At pre-

[69] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legatione.

ſent,

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ſent, however, he obſerved, that he had private reaſons for managing the friendſhip of a people who ſet no bounds to their reſentment. From ſuch motives, he had hitherto declined ratifying the peace with Athens; but this meaſure he would no longer defer. He only entreated, that to ſave appearances with the Thebans, the name of the Phocians might be omitted in the treaty. This arduous work was at length brought to a concluſion; and, for the more ſecrecy, tranſacted in a place which Demoſthenes calls a tavern, adjoining to the temple of Pollux, in the neighbourhood of Pheræ. The Athenian ambaſſadors took leave, affecting to be perſuaded (perhaps perſuaded in reality) of the good intentions of the king of Macedon. About the ſame time, the ambaſſadors of Sparta departed, but with far leſs ſatisfaction. They either perceived, from the beginning, the artifices of the prince with whom they came to treat, or at leaſt made ſuch a report to Archidamus, as convinced him that his republic had not any advantage to expect from the preponderance of the Macedonian intereſt, and the deſtruction of the Phocians; and that, ſhould the Spartans perſiſt in their claim to the ſuperintendance of the Delphic temple, they muſt prepare to aſſert it by force of arms.

Philip's flattering letter to the Athenians.

Archidamus raiſed an army for this purpoſe, and marched towards the ſtraits. But the intrigues of Philip, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate, rendered his hoſtility as impotent as his negotiations had been fruitleſs. From Theſſaly that prince had already ſent a letter to the Athenians, couched in the moſt artful terms. He expreſſed his profound reſpect for the ſtate, and his high eſteem for its ambaſſadors; declaring that he ſhould omit no opportunity of proving how earneſtly he deſired to promote the proſperity and glory of Athens. He requeſted that the means might be pointed out to him, by which he could moſt effectually gratify the people. Of the conditions of the peace and alliance, he was careful to make no mention; but after many other general declarations of his good-will, he entreated them

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" not to be offended at his detaining their ambaſſadors, of whoſe eloquence and abilities he wiſhed to avail himſelf in ſettling the affairs of Theſſaly [70]."

Æſchines gives an account of the embaſſy to the Athenian aſſembly.

Soon afterwards theſe ambaſſadors returned home; and having given an account of their negotiation to the ſenate of the Five hundred, with very little ſatisfaction to that ſelect body, they next appeared before the popular aſſembly. Æſchines firſt mounted the roſtrum, and in an elaborate and artful diſcourſe, ſet forth the advantages reſulting from his ſucceſsful embaſſy, in which he had perſuaded Philip to embrace preciſely thoſe meaſures which the intereſt of Athens required. That, now, the people had peace inſtead of war, and that, without haraſſing themſelves by military expeditions, they had only to remain quietly at home, enjoying the amuſements of the city, and in a few days they would learn that Philip had paſſed Thermopylæ, to take vengeance, not on the Phocians, but on the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war, and who, having entertained a deſign of ſeizing the temple, were not the leſs culpable (as had been proved to Philip) becauſe they had failed in this impious purpoſe. That the Bœotian allies of Theſpiæ and Platæa, whoſe hatred to Thebes was as inveterate as their attachment to Athens was ſincere, would be reſtored to their priſtine ſtrength and ſplendor. That the Thebans, not the Phocians, would be compelled to pay the fine impoſed by the Amphictyonic council, and to repair the fatal effects of ſacrilege and profanation. That the magiſtrates of Thebes foreſaw the hoſtility of Philip, and well knew by whom it had been excited. " They have therefore," ſaid Æſchines, " devoted me to deſtruction, and actually ſet a price upon my head. The people of Eubœa are equally alarmed by our accommodation with Philip, not doubting that their iſland will be reſtored to us, as an equivalent for Amphipolis. Nor are theſe the

[70] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. ubi ſupra.

only

only advantages of the treaty: another point of ſtill higher importance, a point of the moſt intimate concern to the public, has been ſecured. But of this I ſhall ſpeak at another time, ſince at preſent I perceive the envy and malignity of certain perſons ready to break forth." The advantage hinted at, with ſuch ſignificant obſcurity, was the recovery of Oropus, a conſiderable city on the Athenian frontier, which had long been ſubject to Thebes.

This ſpecious harangue, ſo flattering to the indolence and vain hopes of the multitude, was received with general approbation, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Demoſthenes, who declared that he knew nothing of all thoſe great advantages promiſed by his colleague; and that he did not expect them. Æſchines and Philocrates heard him with the ſupercilious contempt of men who poſſeſſed a ſecret with which he was unacquainted. But when he endeavoured to continue his diſcourſe, and to expoſe their artifice and inſincerity, all was clamour, indignation, and inſult. Æſchines bade him remember not to claim any ſhare of the rewards due to the important ſervices of his colleagues. Philocrates, with an air of pleaſantry, ſaid, it was no wonder that the hopes of Demoſthenes were leſs ſanguine than his own, "ſince he drinks water; I wine." This inſipid jeſt was received with loud burſts of laughter and applauſe, which prevented the aſſembly from attending to the ſpirited remonſtrances of Demoſthenes. A motion was made, and agreed to, for thanking Philip for his equitable and friendly intentions, as well as for ratifying a perpetual peace and alliance between Athens and Macedon. In the ſame decree, it was determined that the Phocians ſhould ſubmit to the Amphictyonic council, under pain of incurring the diſpleaſure of the republic [71].

The ſuſpicions of Demoſthenes ridiculed by his colleagues.

Theſe articles, together with the ſecret motives which produced them, were, by the emiſſaries of Philip, immediately communicated

The ſucceſs of Philip's artifices with the Athenians deceives the

[71] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legatione.

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Phocian ambaſſadors at Athens;

to the Phocian ambaſſadors then reſiding at Athens; who, tranſported with joy at the proſpect of averting the calamities which long threatened their country, loſt no time in tranſmitting the agreeable intelligence to their fellow-citizens. They concluded, with a high degree of probability, that, however Philip might deceive the Phocians, the miniſters of Athens could never be ſo bold as publicly to deceive the Athenians; and that, therefore, they could no longer entertain any reaſonable doubt of the favourable diſpoſition of the king of Macedon. This belief was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that when Archidamus marched into Phocis at the head of an army in order to defend the temple againſt Philip, the Phocians rejected his aſſiſtance, obſerving, that they feared for Sparta much more than for themſelves; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned into Peloponneſus [72].

which makes the Phocians reject the aſſiſtance of Sparta.

Philip negotiates with Phaleucus the ceſſion of Nicæa.

Philip was now prepared for executing his grand enterpriſe. Halus, long beſieged, had ſubmitted to the united arms of Parmenio and his own. Freſh troops had arrived from Macedon. The Athenians were appeaſed; the Lacedæmonians had retired; the Phocians were impoſed on; the Theſſalians, Thebans, and Locrians, were ready to follow his ſtandard. One obſtacle only remained, and that eaſy to be ſurmounted. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thouſand mercenaries, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Nicæa. But a man who had betrayed the intereſt of his own republic, could not be very obſtinate in defending the cauſe of Greece. Philip entered into a negotiation with him, in order to get poſſeſſion of Nicæa [73], without which it would have been impoſſible to paſs the Thermopylæ; and while this tranſaction was going forward, wrote repeated letters to the Athenians, full of cordiality and affection.

Philip continues to veil his deſigns in obſcurity.

He ſuſpected the dangerous capriciouſneſs of a people, whoſe ſecurity might yet be alarmed; and whoſe oppoſition might ſtill

[72] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legatione.

[73] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 455.

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prove fatal to his deſigns, ſhould they either march forth to the ſtraits, or command their admiral, Proxenus, who was ſtationed in the Opuntian gulph, between Locris and Eubœa, to intercept the Macedonian convoys; for the frontiers both of Phocis and Theſſaly having long lain waſte in conſequence of the ſacred war, Philip received his proviſions chiefly by ſea. The ſeaſonable profeſſions of friendſhip, contained in the letters, not only kept the Athenians from liſtening to the remonſtrances of Demoſthenes, but prevailed on them to depute that orator, together with Æſchines, and ſeveral others, whoſe advice and aſſiſtance Philip affected to deſire in ſettling the arduous buſineſs in which he was engaged. Demoſthenes ſaw through the artifice of his enemies, for withdrawing him, at this important criſis, from his duty in the aſſembly: He therefore abſolutely refuſed the commiſſion. Æſchines, on pretence of ſickneſs, ſtaid at home to watch and counteract the meaſures of his rival. The other ambaſſadors departed, in compliance with the requeſt of Philip, and the orders of their republic, and in hopes of ſeeing a treaty fulfilled which, they had been taught to believe, would be attended with conſequences equally advantageous and honourable[74].

Diſaſters of Phaleucus and his followers.

While the ambaſſadors travelled through Eubœa, in their way to join the king of Macedon, they learned, to their utter aſtoniſhment, the wonderful events that had been tranſacted. Phaleucus had been perſuaded to evacuate Nicæa. He retired towards Peloponneſus, and embarked at Corinth, with a view to ſail to Italy, where he expected to form an eſtabliſhment. But the capricious and ungovernable temper of his followers compelled him to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Elis. After this they re-embarked, and ſailed to Crete, where their invaſion proved fatal to their general. Having returned to the Peloponneſus, they were defeated by the Elians and

[74] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legatione.

Arcadians.

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Arcadians. The greater part of thoſe who ſurvived the battle, fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were ſhot with arrows, or precipitated from rocks. A feeble remnant eſcaped to their ſhips, but periſhed ſoon afterwards in an inſurrection which they had excited, or fomented, in the iſle of Sicily. The deſtruction of this numerous body of men is aſcribed by ancient hiſtorians[75] to the divine vengeance which purſued their ſacrilege and impiety. It is aſtoniſhing that thoſe ſuperſtitious writers did not reflect on the ſwifter and more terrible deſtruction, that overtook the whole Phocian nation, by whom the wickedneſs of Phaleucus and his followers had been ſo recently condemned; and by whom, had not power been wanting, it would have been puniſhed with an exemplary rigour.

Cruel decree of the Amphictyons againſt Phocis;

Philip having paſſed the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, was received by the Phocians as their deliverer. He had promiſed to plead their cauſe before the Amphictyonic council, to the deciſions of which that credulous people conſented to ſubmit, well knowing that a prince who entered Greece at the head of a numerous army might eaſily controul the reſolutions of the Amphictyons, and fondly believing that prince to be their friend. The deputies of Athens had not yet arrived; thoſe of the ſouthern republics had not even been ſummoned. The Locrians, Thebans, and Theſſalians alone compoſed the aſſembly that was to decide the fate of Phocis; a country which they had perſecuted with unrelenting hoſtility in a war of ten years. The ſentence was ſuch as might be expected from the cruel reſentment of the judges. It was decreed that the Phocians ſhould be excluded from the general confederacy of Greece, and for ever deprived of the right to ſend repreſentatives to the council of Amphictyons: that their arms and horſes ſhould be ſold for the benefit of Apollo; that they ſhould be allowed to keep poſſeſſion of their lands, but compelled to pay annually from their produce

[75] Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xx. gives this as the general opinion.

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the value of ſixty thouſand talents, till they had completely indemnified the temple; that their cities ſhould be diſmantled, and reduced to diſtinct villages, containing no more than ſixty houſes each, at the diſtance of a furlong from each other; and that the Corinthians, who had recently given them ſome aſſiſtance, ſhould therefore be deprived of the preſidency at the Pythian games; which important prerogative, together with the ſuperintendence of the temple of Delphi, as well as the right of ſuffrage in the Amphictyonic council, loſt by the Phocians, ſhould thenceforth be transferred to the king of Macedon. It was decreed that the Amphictyons, having executed theſe regulations, ſhould next proceed to procure all due repairs and expiations to the temple, and ſhould exert their wiſdom and their power to eſtabliſh, on a ſolid foundation, the tranquillity and happineſs of Greece [76].

This extraordinary decree, when communicated to the Phocians, filled that miſerable people with ſuch terror and diſmay, as rendered them totally incapable of acting with vigour or with union. They took not any *common* meaſures for repelling the invader; a few cities only, more daring than the reſt, endeavoured, with unequal ſtrength, to defend their walls, their temples, and the revered tombs of their anceſtors. Their feeble reſiſtance was ſoon overcome; all oppoſition ceaſed; and the Macedonians proceeded to execute the will of the Amphictyonic council with inflexible cruelty, and with ſuch undiſturbed order and ſilence as ſeemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fierceſt war. Without dropping a tear, or heaving a ſigh, ſince the ſmalleſt mark of regret was conſtrued into an obſtinacy of guilt, the wretched Phocians beheld the deſtruction of their ancient monuments and trophies, their proud walls levelled with the ground, the fertile banks of the divine Cephiſſus covered with ruin and deſolation, and the venerable cities of Daulis, Penopeus, Lilæa, and Hyampolis, which had flouriſhed

which is cruelly executed by the Macedonians. Olymp. cviii. 2. A. C. 347.

[76] Diodor. l. xvi. c. lix. & ſeqq.

above

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above nine centuries in ſplendour and proſperity, and which will ever flouriſh in the ſong of Homer, ſo totally burned or demoliſhed as ſcarcely to leave a veſtige of their exiſtence [77]. After this terrible havoc of whatever they poſſeſſed moſt valuable and reſpected, the inhabitants were driven like herds of cattle to the ſettlements allotted for them, and compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the benefit of ſtern and unrelenting maſters. At the diſtance of three years, travellers, who paſſed through Phocis to viſit the temple of Delphi, melted with compaſſion, or ſhuddered with horror, at the ſight of ſuch piteous and unexampled devaſtation. They turned their reluctant eyes from the ſhattered ruins of a country, and a people, once ſo illuſtrious; the youth, and men of full age, had either periſhed in the war, or been dragged into captivity; the populous cities were no more; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children, and wretched old men, whoſe ſilent but emphatic expreſſions of deep-rooted miſery exceeded all power of words to deſcribe [78].

The news of theſe events produce conſternation in Athens.

The unexpected news of theſe melancholy events reached Athens in five days. The people were then aſſembled in the Piræus to examine the ſtate of their harbours and ſhipping. The dreadful intelligence filled them with conſternation. They imagined that they already beheld the deſtructive armies of Macedon and Theſſaly, excited by the inveterate hoſtility of Thebes, pouring in upon their northern frontier, and overwhelming the whole country with havoc and deſolation. A decree immediately paſſed, at the motion of Calliſthenes, which marked the utmoſt danger and diſmay. It was reſolved, "that the Athenians, who uſually reſided in the country, ſhould be ſummoned to the defence of the city; that thoſe, within the diſtance of twelve miles round, ſhould, along with their per-

[77] Pauſanias in Phocic. & Diodor. l. xvi. c. lix. & ſeqq.

[78] Demoſt. & Æſchin. de Falſa Legat. & de Coron.

ſons

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ſons, tranſport their moſt valuable effects into the city or the Piræus; that thoſe at a greater diſtance ſhould reſpectively convey themſelves and their property to the neareſt fortreſſes, particularly Eleuſis, Phylé, Aphidna, and Sunium, the principal places of ſtrength in the Attic territory [79].

This decree ſhews, that terror was the firſt movement of the Athenians; but vengeance was the ſecond. Reluctantly cooped up within their walls, they called aloud for arms: levies were prepared for the relief of Phocis; and their admiral Proxenus, who had lately returned from the neighbouring coaſt, was ordered again to direct his courſe towards that country. The king of Macedon was duly attentive to thoſe tranſactions, of which he had been regularly informed by his emiſſaries. He therefore wrote a letter to the Athenians, in that ſtyle of ſuperiority which the ſucceſs of his policy, and of his arms, juſtly entitled him to aſſume. After acquainting them with his treatment of the Phocians, he mentions his being informed of their preparations for ſupporting that impious people, who were not included in the treaty of peace recently ſigned and ratified between Athens and Macedon. He exhorts them to lay aſide this unwarrantable deſign, which could have no other effect than to ſhow the iniquity and extravagance of their conduct, in arming againſt a prince, with whom they had ſo lately concluded an alliance. "But if you perſiſt, know that we are prepared for repelling your hoſtilities with equal firmneſs and vigour."

Philip writes the Athenians in a ſtyle very different from what he had formerly uſed.

This mortifying letter was received at the ſame time that the Athenian ambaſſadors returned from Eubœa, and brought ſuch accounts of the deſtruction of the Phocians, that it appeared ſcarcely poſſible to afford them any relief. All that remained was to ſave, from the unrelenting vengeance of their enemies, the miſerable wreck of that unfortunate community. The Athenians paſſed

The Athenians paſs a decree for receiving the fugitive Phocians.

[79] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legat. ſect. 20.

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a decree for receiving the fugitives with kindneſs, and for providing them with ſettlements in Attica, or in the foreign dependencies of the republic; a reſolution which, though it was founded on the moſt evident duties of gratitude and humanity towards ancient and faithful allies, gave great offence to the inexorable cruelty of the Theſſalians and Thebans [80].

Philip protects the Phocians againſt the inhuman vengeance of their Grecian foes;

Amidſt theſe tranſactions the Macedonian partiſans, and eſpecially Æſchines and Philocrates, whoſe vain aſſurances had been attended with ſuch fatal effects, had juſt cauſe to dread the reſentment of their country. The former, who had been the principal agent in this diſgraceful ſcene of intrigue and deluſion, no longer affected ſickneſs; he forgot the threatenings denounced againſt him by Thebes; he diſregarded the Athenian decree, prohibiting any citizen to ſtir from the walls; and having waited for, and beheld, the deſtruction of the Phocians with as much indifference, if we may believe his adverſary, as he would have ſeen the concluſion of any ordinary affair, which concerned merely his pecuniary intereſt, he repaired to Philip to receive the wages of his iniquity. Æſchines accounts for his journey at this time by a more honourable, but leſs probable cauſe, the deſire of ſaving the feeble and unhappy remnant of the Phocian nation, who were perſecuted to extremity by the barbarous vengeance of their Grecian foes, and protected, at the interceſſion of the Athenian orator, by the clemency or compaſſion of the Macedonians. There is reaſon to believe that Æſchines, in order to gain merit with his countrymen, whoſe reſentment he had ſo highly provoked, oppoſed an inhuman reſolution of precipitating from rocks all thoſe of the Phocians who had attained the age of puberty. But the king of Macedon, whoſe character was not naturally flagitious, or cruel without neceſſity, muſt, of his own accord, have been inclined to avert ſuch an atrocious and bloody ſentence, which, without promoting his intereſt, would have for ever ruined his fame.

[80] Demoſthenes & Æſchines de Falſa Legat. ſect. 20.

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and the Bœotians againſt the cruelty of Thebes.

This concluſion appears the more probable, ſince, we are aſſured, that, upon the ſame principle, but with far leſs ſucceſs, he aſſumed the protection of the oppreſſed Bœotians. Orchomenus, Coronæa, Hyampolis, with other cities of leſs note in Bœotia, were, in conſequence of the ruin of their Phocian allies, again ſubjected to the dominion of Thebes; a republic, always haughty and unrelenting, who, on this occaſion, prepared to treat the rebels with more than her uſual inſolence and cruelty. Philip eſpouſed the cauſe of the injured with a generous ardour, extremely diſagreeable to the Thebans. His humanity, whether real or affected, was loudly extolled by his partiſans in moſt republics of Greece. It redounded, however, more to his own glory, than to the benefit of the afflicted Bœotians; who, being expelled from their own country by the intolerable oppreſſion of Theban tyranny, ſought refuge in the compaſſionate boſom of Athens [81].

Macedon declared by the Amphictyons a member of the Hellenic body. Olymp. cviii 3. A. C. 346.

Having finiſhed the ſacred war in a manner ſo favourable to his own intereſt and ambition, Philip convened the members of the Amphictyonic council, to the number of two hundred, and aſſiſted in the hymns, prayers, and ſacrifices offered to Apollo, in acknowledgment of his divine protection of their councils and arms. The name of the pious king of Macedon, who had been the principal inſtrument of their ſucceſs, reſounded in the ſacred Paans, ſung in honour of the God. The Amphictyons ratified all the tranſactions of that prince, erected his ſtatue in the temple of Delphi, and acknowledged, by a ſolemn decree, the kingdom of Macedon as the principal member of the Hellenic body [82]. Philip at the ſame time appointed deputies to preſide at the Pythian games, the celebration of which was nearly approaching, and to which moſt of the Grecian ſtates had already ſent their repreſentatives. The Athenians, ſtung with indignation and regret, abſtained from this feſtival. An embaſſy was therefore diſpatched to them in the name of the Amphic-

[81] Demoſthen. & Æſchines de Falſa Legat. ſect. 20.

[82] Diodor. l. xvi. c.

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tyons, requiring their concurrence with measures recently embraced by the general council of Greece; and remonstrating against their displeasure at the aggrandisement of a prince with whom they had so lately contracted an alliance.

Even the Athenians admit this pretension.

The deliberations of the Athenian assembly, on this occasion, shewed the full extent of their own folly, and evinced the consummate policy of Philip. They acknowledged, with dejection and anguish, that they had neglected the many opportunities presented them by the favour of heaven, for repressing the ambition of their rival; that the time of acting, with vigour and boldness, was now no more; that the cause of Greece was an empty name, since the Grecks surrendered their dignity to the king of Macedon; and that it became their own republic to consult rather its safety than its honour, and to maintain peace with a monarch against whom they were by no means prepared to wage war. Even Demosthenes[83] recommended this resolution; lest, says he, we should offend those now assembled, who call themselves the Amphictyons, and thus excite a general war against ourselves. The Thebans, beside ancient causes of quarrel with us, are incensed at our harbouring their exiles; the Locrians and Thessalians resent our protecting the Phocians; the Argives, the Messenians, and Megalopolitans are displeased at our concurring with the views of Lacedæmon. If we refuse the demands of Philip and the Amphictyons, they may assault us with the combined arms of all those states, which we are totally unable to resist. One point, therefore, is necessary, the continuance of the present peace; not that it is so very excellent, or so worthy of you; but of what kind soever it may be, it were more for the interest of your affairs, that it never had been concluded, than that now, when it is concluded, you should infringe it. This opinion was universally approved; Macedon was acknowledged a member of the Grecian confederacy; and Isocrates, an Athenian of the highest merit

[83] Demosthen. de Pace.

and

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and reputation, addreſſed a diſcourſe to Philip in which he exhorted him, to diſdain inglorious victories over his countrymen and friends, to employ his authority to extinguiſh, for ever, the animoſities of Greece, and to direct the united efforts of that country, of which Macedon now formed a part, againſt the wealth and effeminacy of Perſia, its ancient and natural enemy [84].

Whether theſe exhortations proceeded from the virtuous ſimplicity which did not ſuſpect, or from the inſinuating and artful policy which, though it ſuſpected, hoped to prevent, the hoſtile projects [85] of Macedon, the meaſures of Philip were, doubtleſs, taken with too much care, and his plans founded too deep and firm, to be ſhaken by the ſpecious eloquence of a rhetorician. He had long meditated the invaſion of Aſia; the conqueſt of the Perſian empire was an object that might well tempt his ambition; but neither his own paſſions, nor the arguments of other men, could haſten, retard, or vary his undeviating progreſs in a ſyſtem which could only be completed by conſolidating his ancient, before he attempted new conqueſts.

[84] Iſocrat. Orat. Philipp.

[85] See the life of Iſocrates, prefixed to my tranſlation of his works.

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Foundation of Philippopolis and Cabyla.—Philip's Expedition to Illyria.—Alexander receives the Perſian Ambaſſadors.—Affairs of Greece.—Demoſthenes unmaſks the Deſigns of Philip.—Philip's Expedition to the Peloponneſus—to Epirus—to Thrace.—Diopcithes oppoſes him with Vigour.—The Athenians recover Eubœa.—Siege of Perinthus.—Philip's Letter to the Athenians.—Expedition of Chares—of Phocion—who retrieves the Athenian Affairs in Thrace.—Philip's Scythian Expedition.—The Incendiary Antiphon.—Philip's Intrigues embroil the Affairs of Greece.—The third Sacred War.—Philip General of the Amphictyons.—Confederacy againſt that Prince.—He ſeizes Elataea.—Battle of Chæronæa.—His Moderation in Victory.—Demoſthenes's Oration in Honour of the Slain.

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Philip evacuates Greece; Olymp. cviii 4. A. C. 345.

BY his intrigues Philip had obtained more important advantages, than he could have gained by a long ſeries of victories. The conqueſt of Greece was his object; he had taken many preliminary meaſures towards effecting this purpoſe; while his conduct, ſo far from exciting the jealouſy of thoſe fierce republics, acquired their admiration and gratitude. Inſtead of rouſing the dangerous reſentment of a nation whom he was ambitious to ſubdue, Philip diſarmed

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the hoſtility of Athens, and threatened with the vengeance of combined Greece the only republic that appeared forward to obſtruct his deſigns. It ſeemed high time, therefore, to withdraw his army; to ſet bounds, for the preſent, to his own triumphs; nor to attempt, with danger, effecting by premature force, what might be ſafely accompliſhed by ſeaſonable policy. Before evacuating Greece, he took care to place a ſtrong garriſon in Nicæa, which might thenceforth ſecure his free paſſage through the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Macedonian troops occupied the principal cities of Theſſaly, and the ſtrongeſt poſts of Phocis. He conducted with him into Macedon eleven thouſand Phocian captives; an acquiſition which he regarded as not the leaſt valuable fruits of his ſucceſs; and of which, on his return home, he determined immediately to avail himſelf.

founds Philippopolis and Cabyla;

The warlike tribes of Thrace, though often vanquiſhed, had never been thoroughly ſubdued. In order to bridle the dangerous fury of thoſe northern barbarians, Philip built two cities, Philippopolis and Cabyla[1], the firſt at the weſtern extremity of the country, on the confines of mount Rhodopé, the ſecond towards the eaſt, at the foot of mount Hæmus, above an hundred and fifty miles diſtant from each other, and almoſt equally remote from the Macedonian capital. The Phocian captives, blended with a due proportion of Macedonian ſubjects, well provided with arms for their defence, were ſent to people and cultivate thoſe new ſettlements, whoſe flouriſhing condition ſoon exceeded the expectation of their founder. At the ſame time, Philip planted a colony in the iſle of Thaſos, which had formerly belonged to the Athenians; but that people having already loſt poſſeſſion of the gold mines at Philippi, on the neighbouring coaſt of Thrace, ſeemed now ſo indifferent about the poſſeſſion of Thaſos, that their tranſports were employed in conveying the Macedonians thither[2].

plants a colony in the iſle of Thaſos.

[1] Strabo, l. vii. p. 118.

[2] Demoſth. de Haloneſo.

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His expedition to Illyria; Olymp. cix. 1. A. C. 344.

In ſuch occupations, chiefly, Philip employed the firſt year of the peace, not neglecting to complete the ornaments of his capital; for which purpoſe he borrowed, as formerly, large ſums of money from the richeſt citizens of Greece. The year following, he made an expedition into Illyria, and, at the expence of that country, extended his dominions from the lake Lychnidus to the Ionian ſea. This diſtrict, about ſixty miles in breadth, was barbarous and uncultivated, but contained valuable ſalt-mines, which had occaſioned a bloody war between two neighbouring tribes. While Philip was abſent in Illyria, an embaſſy arrived from Ochus king of Perſia, who, alarmed by the magnificent reports of the growing greatneſs of Macedon, ſent the moſt truſty of his miniſters, who, under pretence of offering to Philip the friendſhip and alliance of the great king, might examine with their own eyes the ſtrength and reſources of a monarch, which were repreſented as ſo formidable.

during which his ſon Alexander receives the Perſian ambaſſadors.

In the abſence of his father, the young Alexander did the honours of the court; and it is ſaid, that during an entertainment given to the Perſian ambaſſadors, the prince, who had not yet reached his twelfth year, diſcovered ſuch manly and premature wiſdom, as already announced the dawn of a very extraordinary character[3]. Among other queſtions, that could not have been expected from his age, he enquired into the nature of the Perſian government and art of war; the genius and diſpoſition of the reigning ſovereign; the diſtance of his capital from the coaſt, and the difficulty of the intervening roads[4]. Such inquiries, whatever talents they announced in the young prince, ſeem to prove that the conqueſt of Perſia had been a fre-

[3] Plutarch (in Alexand.) expreſſes himſelf ſtrongly on this ſubject: "και τους (the ambaſſadors) εκπλήξαι, και την μεγαλοφυΐαν του Φιλίππου δια τινος μικρας ερωτήσεως περι των εν πασαις ἐργων και μεγαλοις ὑπερβαλλουσαν." — Read μεγαλοψυχίας, and then the ſentence may be literally explained; "So that the ambaſſadors wondered, and thought nothing of the famed abilities of Philip, compared with the ſpirit and magnanimity of his ſon." I recollect not having met with μεγαλοψυχία in the writers of the Socratic age; but it is a good word to mark the character of a perſon "who buſies himſelf about great objects."

[4] Plutarch in Alexand.

quent ſubject of converſation between Alexander and his inſtructors; and that an unbounded ambition had already taken poſſeſſion of his youthful mind. The ambaſſadors heard him with aſtoniſhment, and exclaimed with that freedom which ſo wonderfully diſtinguiſhes the public tranſactions of ancient, from thoſe of modern times, "Ours is a rich and powerful, but this will be truly a wiſe and great king[5]."

Philip's tranſactions in Theſſaly, Eubœa, and Megara. Olymp. cix. 1. A. C. 344.

Philip had no ſooner returned from Illyria, than he made an excurſion to Theſſaly, and finally ſettled the affairs of that diſtracted country; having taken on himſelf the whole management of the revenue, and having divided the territory into four ſeparate governments, in order to weaken the force of oppoſition, and to render the whole province more patient and ſubmiſſive under the dominion of Macedon[6]. While Philip was thus employed in Theſſaly, his agents were not leſs active in confirming the Macedonian authority in the iſle of Eubœa. Nor was he ſatisfied with ſecuring his former acquiſitions; he aſpired at new conqueſts. The barren and rocky territory of Megara, divided, by an extent of only ten miles, the frontier of Bœotia from the iſthmus of Corinth. The induſtrious and frugal ſimplicity of this little republic could not defend its virtue againſt the corrupt influence of the Macedonian[7]. Philip gained a party in Megara, which he cultivated with peculiar care; becauſe, being already maſter of Bœotia, Phocis, and Theſſaly, the narrow territory of the Megarians formed the chief obſtacle to his free paſſage into the Peloponneſus, the affairs of which, at this juncture, particularly deſerved his attention.

Philip prepares to protect the inferior communities of the Peloponneſus againſt the oppreſſions of Sparta.

The Lacedæmonians, repulſed by Philip, whom they had condeſcended to ſolicit, rejected by the Phocians, whom they offered to

[5] I have uſed a little freedom with the words of Plutarch, ὡς ὁ παις ἡτις βασιλεὺς μεγας· ὁ δε ἡμιτιρος πλησιος. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

[6] Demoſth. Philipp. iii.

[7] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legatione, & Philipp. iii. In Philipp. iv. he ſpeaks as if Philip had made ſome open attempt againſt Megara, in which he had failed: τοτε (ſcil. Ἐφιαλτης) ολιγωρηθεις, Μεγαρα δια παρχμιας ἑλων, p. 54.

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aſſiſt, and having loſt all hopes of obtaining the guardianſhip of the Delphic temple, totally deſerted a ſcene of action, in which they could expect neither profit nor honour, and confined their politics and their arms within the narrow circle of their own peninſula. For almoſt two years, Archidamus had laboured with undivided attention, and with his uſual addreſs and activity, to extend the pretenſions and the power of Sparta over the territories of Meſſené, Argos, and Arcadia. His meaſures, planned with prudence, and conducted with vigour, were attended with ſucceſs, though the inhabitants of the dependent provinces bore with much regret and indignation the yoke of a republic, which they had formerly ſpurned as oppreſſive and intolerable. Their murmurs and diſcontents were inflamed into hoſtility by the Thebans, the eternal enemies of Sparta, and, at that time, cloſely allied with the king of Macedon. To this monarch the Thebans applied, requeſting him not to permit the deſtruction of their confederates in the Peloponneſus. The intrigues and money of Philip had already gained him a conſiderable influence in that country, which he was glad of an opportunity to increaſe. To juſtify his proceedings for this purpoſe, he procured a decree of the Amphictyonic council, requiring him to check the inſolence of Sparta, and to protect the defenceleſs communities which had ſo often been the victims of her tyranny and cruelty. Encouraged by this reſolution of the Amphictyons, and impelled by his own ambition, Philip ſent troops and money into the Peloponneſus, and prepared to march thither in perſon, at the head of a powerful army [8].

The Corinthians prepare to interrupt his march.

Theſe tranſactions excited new commotions and alarms throughout moſt countries of Greece. The Corinthians [9], jealous of the power of a prince, who, at the cloſe of the Phocian war, deprived them of their ancient prerogatives and honours, and who, ſtill more recently, had taken poſſeſſion of Leucas, a city in Acarnania, and

[8] Demoſth. de Pace. [9] Lucian de Conſcribend. Hiſtor.

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of Ambracia in Epirus, both colonies of Corinth, determined to oppoſe his paſſage into the Peloponneſus. Weapons and defenſive armour were provided, the walls and fortifications were repaired, mercenary troops were levied, the citizens exerciſed in arms, the whole republic glowed with the ardour of military preparation; inſomuch that Diogenes the Cynic, who loſt no opportunity to deride the follies of his contemporaries, beholding with juſt contempt the hurry and vain buſtle of the effeminate Corinthians, that ſeemed ſo ill calculated to contend with the active vigour of Philip, began to roll about his tub [10], leſt he ſhould be the only perſon unemployed in ſo buſy a city.

Negociations in Athens.

The Lacedæmonians, meanwhile, not leſs alarmed, but always better prepared for war, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Athens. The latter ſtate had received a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength, as well as of juſt honour and reſpect, from its hoſpitable reception of the diſtreſſed exiles from Phocis and Bœotia. It derived new conſideration and luſtre from the general congreſs of ambaſſadors from Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Argos, Meſſené, and Arcadia, who, after a long interval of time, again condeſcended to aſſert their reſpective claims before the Athenian aſſembly. The Lacedæmonians repreſented the league, formed againſt themſelves, as alike dangerous to Athens and to Sparta; that the ambition of Philip would not reſt ſatisfied with a partial conqueſt; his imagination already graſped the dominion of Greece; and now was the only time for the two leading republics, who had ever mutually aſſiſted each other, in ſeaſons of calamity, to make a firm ſtand, and to exert their utmoſt vigour in defence of their own and the public ſafety, ſo ſhamefully abandoned by the Thebans, and by the mob of Peloponneſus [11]. The Thebans joined with the miniſters of Philip, in calling on the Athe-

[10] Auct. apud Brucker. in Vit. Diogen. That learned writer has collected all that is written for and againſt the tub of Diogenes. Were authors leſs explicit, the moveable habitation of this philoſopher would be ſufficiently atteſted by ancient monuments. See Winckelmann, d'Hancarville, &c.

[11] Ogyg. Hamaxæ. Horat. in Archidam.

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nians to adhere ſtrictly to their treaty of peace recently concluded with that prince; they endeavoured, by art and ſophiſtry, to varniſh or to palliate ſuch deeds of fraud or violence as could not be altogether denied; and laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to ſeparate the views and intereſts of Athens and Lacedæmon on this important emergency. The ambaſſadors of the inferior ſtates of Peloponneſus loudly complained, that the Athenians, who affected to be the patrons of liberty, ſhould favour the views of Sparta, which had ſo long been the ſcourge of Greece. They repreſented this conduct as not only unjuſt and cruel, but contradictory and abſurd; and uſed many plauſible arguments to deter the people of Athens, who ſtill ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the freedom of Bœotia, from taking ſuch a part in the preſent quarrel as might tend to rivet the chains of Peloponneſus.

Artful repreſentations of the Macedonian partiſans in Athens.

The Athenian orators, many of them creatures of Philip, exhorted their countrymen not to break too haſtily with a prince with whom they had ſo recently concluded an alliance, nor imprudently renew a bloody and deſtructive war, out of which they had been lately extricated with ſo much difficulty. They obſerved, that although the meaſures of Philip, ſince the concluſion of the peace, had indeed been more agreeable to the Thebans than to the Athenians, he had conſidered himſelf as bound in juſtice to chaſtiſe the ſacrilege of the Phocians. Nor was he altogether at liberty to follow his own inclinations; ſurrounded by the Theſſalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was compelled to treat the enemies of thoſe ſtates with a ſeverity which his own feelings diſapproved. But the time was arrived when he might act with more independence and dignity; and that, could any credit be given to report, he was already preparing to rebuild the ruined cities of Phocis, and to fortify Elatea, on the frontier of that territory, by which means he might thenceforth reſtrain and bridle the inſolent cruelty of Thebes. Theſe obſervations, however improbable, received great force from the

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the peaceful, or rather indolent diſpoſition of the people, who, though they heard with pleaſure thoſe who magnified their ancient grandeur, and inveighed againſt the injuſtice and ambition of Philip, were averſe to employ either their money, or their perſonal ſervice, in ſuch active meaſures as could alone ſet bounds to the Macedonian encroachments.

Anſwered by Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes, laſt, aroſe, and pronounced a diſcourſe, which the king of Macedon is ſaid to have read with a mixture of terror and admiration[12]. "When you hear deſcribed, men of Athens! the continual hoſtilities by which Philip violates the peace, I obſerve that you approve the equity and patriotiſm of thoſe who ſupport the rights of the republic: but while nothing is done, on account of which it is worth while to liſten to ſuch ſpeeches, our affairs are brought to ſuch a paſs, that the more clearly we convict Philip of perfidy towards you, and of hoſtile deſigns againſt Greece, the more difficult it is to propoſe any ſeaſonable advice. The cauſe of this difficulty is, that the encroachments of ambition muſt be repelled, not by words, but by deeds. If ſpeeches and reaſonings ſufficed, we ſhould long ere now have prevailed over our adverſary. But Philip excels in actions as much as we do in arguments; and both of us obtain the ſuperiority in what forms reſpectively the chief object of our ſtudy and concern; we in our aſſemblies, Philip in the field.

He explains the meaſures, and points out the dangerous deſigns of Philip.

"Immediately after the peace, the king of Macedon became maſter of Phocis and Thermopylæ, and made ſuch an uſe of theſe acquiſitions as ſuited the intereſt of Thebes, not of Athens. Upon what principle did he act thus? Becauſe governed in all his proceedings, not by the love of peace or juſtice, but by an inſatiable luſt of power, he ſaw the impoſſibility of bending the Athenians to his ſelfiſh and tyrannical purpoſes. He knew that the loftineſs of their

[12] Plut. in Vit. Demoſth. in lib. de Dec. Orator.

character

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character would never ſtoop to any private conſideration, but prefer to any advantage that he might offer them, the dictates of juſtice and of honour; and that neither their penetration, nor their dignity, could ever be prevailed on to ſacrifice to a partial and temporary intereſt, the general ſafety of Greece; but that they would fight for each member of the confederacy with the ſame ardour as for their own walls. The Thebans he judged (and he judged aright) to be more aſſailable; he knew their folly and their meanneſs to be ſuch, that provided he heaped benefits on themſelves, they would aſſiſt him to enſlave their neighbours. Upon the ſame principle he now cultivates, in preference to yours, the friendſhip of the Meſſenians and Argives; a circumſtance, Athenians! which highly redounds to your honour, ſince Philip thus declares his perſuaſion, that you alone have wiſdom to underſtand, and virtue to oppoſe, his deſigns; that you foreſee the drift of all his negotiations and wars, and are determined to be the incorruptible defenders of the common cauſe. Nor is it without good grounds that he entertains ſuch an honourable opinion of you, and the contrary of the Thebans and Argives. When the liberties of Greece were threatened by Perſia, as they now are by Macedon, the Thebans baſely followed the ſtandard of the invaders; the Argives did not oppoſe their arms; while the magnanimous patriots from whom you are deſcended ſpurned offers, highly advantageous, made them by Alexander of Macedon, the anceſtor of Philip, who acted as the ambaſſador of Perſia, and preferring the public intereſt to their own, provoked the devaſtation of their territory, and the deſtruction of their capital, and performed, in defence of Greece, thoſe unrivalled exploits of heroiſm which can never be celebrated with due praiſe. For ſuch reaſons, Philip chooſes for his allies, Thebes, Argos, and Meſſené, rather than Athens and Sparta. The former ſtates poſſeſs not greater ſtrength, wealth, fleets, harbours, and armies; they have not more *power*, but leſs *virtue*. Nor can Philip plead the

the merits of their cauſe; ſince, if Cheronæa and Orchomenus are juſtly ſubject to Thebes, Argos and Meſſené are juſtly ſubject to Lacedæmon; nor could it be equitable to enſlave the inferior cities of Bœotia, and at the ſame time to teach thoſe of Peloponneſus to rebel.

"But Philip was compelled to this conduct (for this is the only remaining argument that can be alleged in his defence). Surrounded by the Theſſalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was obliged to aſſiſt allies whom he diſtruſted, and to concur with meaſures which he diſapproved. Hence the ſevere treatment of Phocis, hence the cruel ſervitude of Orchomenus and Chæronæa. The king of Macedon, being now at liberty to conſult the dictates of his own humanity and juſtice, is deſirous to re-eſtabliſh the republic of Phocis; and, in order to bridle the inſolence of Thebes, actually meditates the fortifying of Elatæa. This, indeed, he meditates, and will meditate long. But he does not *meditate* the deſtruction of Lacedæmon. For this purpoſe he has remitted money, he has ſent his mercenaries, he is prepared, himſelf, to march at the head of a powerful army. His preſent tranſactions ſufficiently explain the motives of his paſt conduct. It is evident that he acts from ſyſtem, and that his principal batteries are erected againſt Athens itſelf. How can it be otherwiſe? He is ambitious to rule Greece; you alone are capable to thwart his meaſures. He has long treated you unworthily; and he is conſcious of his injuſtice. He is actually contriving your deſtruction, and he is ſenſible that you ſee through his deſigns. For all theſe reaſons he knows that you deteſt him, and that ſhould he not anticipate your hoſtility, he muſt fall a victim to your juſt vengeance. Hence he is ever active and alert, watching a favourable moment of aſſault, and practiſing on the ſtupidity and ſelfiſhneſs of the Thebans and Peloponneſians; for if they were not ſtupid and blind, they might perceive

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ceive the fatal aim of the Macedonian policy. I once ſpoke[13] on this ſubject before the Meſſenians and Argives; my diſcourſe, which was uſeleſs to them, may, perhaps, not unſeaſonably be repeated to you. "Men of Argos and Meſſené! you remember the time when Philip careſſed the Olynthians, as he now does you: how highly, do you think, that infatuated people would have been offended, had any man talked againſt the benefactor, who had generouſly beſtowed on them Anthemus and Potidæa? Had any man warned them againſt the dangerous artifices of Philip, would they have liſtened to his advice? Yet, after enjoying for a moment the territories of their neighbours, they were for ever deſpoiled of their own. Inglorious was their fall; not conquered only, but betrayed and ſold by one another. Turn your eyes to the Theſſalians. When Philip expelled their tyrants, could the Theſſalians ever conjecture that the ſame prince would ſubject them to the creatures of Macedon, ſtill more tyrannical and oppreſſive? When he reſtored them to their ſeat and ſuffrage in the Amphictyonic council, could they have been perſuaded that he would one day deprive them of the management of their own revenues? As to you, Meſſenians and Argives! you have beheld Philip ſmiling and deceiving; but beware! pray to Heaven, that you may never behold him inſulting, threatening, and deſtroying. Various are the contrivances which communities have diſcovered for their defence; walls, ramparts, battlements, all of which are raiſed by the labour of man, and ſupported by continual expence and toil. But there is one common bulwark, which only the prudent employ, though alike uſeful to all, eſpecially to free cities againſt tyrants. What is that? Diſtruſt. Of this be mindful; to this adhere; preſerve this carefully, and no calamity can befal you[14]."

[13] During his embaſſy to Peloponneſus, mentioned above.

[14] Demoſthen. Orat. ii. in Philipp.

Demoſthenes

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Impeachment of Æſchines and Philocrates.

Demoſthenes then read to the aſſembly the ſchedule of an anſwer, which he adviſed to be given to the ambaſſadors, and which was entirely favourable to the Lacedæmonians. At the ſame time he exhorted his countrymen to deliberate with firmneſs, yet with temper, on the means by which they might reſiſt the common enemy; "an enemy with whom he had exhorted them to maintain peace, as long as *that* ſeemed poſſible; but peace was no longer in their power; Philip gradually carried on a vaſt ſyſtem of hoſtile ambition, diſmembering their poſſeſſions, debauching their allies, paring their dominions all around, that he might at length attack the centre, unguarded and defenceleſs." Had the orator ſtopped here, his advice might have been followed with ſome uſeful conſequences. But in declaiming againſt the encroachments of Macedon, his reſentment was naturally inflamed againſt Philocrates, Æſchines, and their aſſociates, whoſe perfidious intrigues and machinations had produced the public danger and diſgrace. He ſtrongly recommended to the injured people to impeach, condemn, and conſign to due puniſhment thoſe deteſtable traitors. This counſel was not given in vain to the litigious Athenians, who were better pleaſed to attend the courts of juſtice at home, than to march into the Peloponneſus. The city reſounded with the noiſe of trials and accuſations. Philocrates was baniſhed[15], and Æſchines nearly eſcaped the ſame fate, by proving the profligate life of his accuſer Timarchus[16].

Philip ſettles the affairs of the Peloponneſus.

Philip, meanwhile, unoppoſed and unobſerved by his enemies, was ſailing with a powerful armament towards Cape Tenarus, the moſt ſouthern promontory of Laconia. Having landed there without oppoſition, he was joined by the Meſſenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army, after ravaging the moſt valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories, beſieged and took Trinatus, a maritime city of conſiderable ſtrength and importance. The terror occaſioned among the Spartans by theſe misfortunes, was heightened

[15] Æſchin. in Ctesiphon. [16] Argum. in Æſchin. Orat. in Timarch.

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by extraordinary meteors in the air, whoſe unuſual redneſs ſeemed to preſage ſome dreadful calamity [17]. The alarm was ſo general, that it has been thought worth while to record the ſaying of a Spartan youth, who remained unmoved amidſt the public conſternation. Being aſked, "Whether he was not afraid of Philip?" "Why," replied the generous youth, "ſhould I fear him? he cannot hinder us to die for our country [18]." But this manly reſolution no longer animated the great body of the Spartan nation. Unable to meet the invader in the field, they ſent Agis, the ſon of king Archidamus, to propoſe terms of accommodation, or rather to ſubmit their whole fortune to the diſpoſal of the Macedonians. The young prince coming alone and unattended, Philip expreſſed his ſurpriſe. "What, have the Spartans ſent but one!" "Am I not ſent to one?" was the manly reply of Agis [19]. This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; for the king of Macedon, though unwilling to provoke the deſpair of a people, whoſe degenerate virtue might yet be animated by the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, and the example of Leonidas, compelled them to reſign their pretended authority over Argos, Meſſené, and Arcadia; and ſettled the boundaries of thoſe republics in a manner highly agreeable to the wiſhes of his confederates. Before leaving the Peloponneſus, he ſolemnly renewed his engagements to protect them; and, in return, only required, on their part, that the magiſtracy in Argos ſhould be entruſted to Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnaſias; in Arcadia, to Cercidas, Hieronymus, and Eucampidas; in Meſſené, to Neon and Thraſylochus, the ſons of Iphiades; men whoſe names would merit eternal oblivion, if Demoſthenes juſtly branded them as traitors [20]; but a more impartial, and not leſs judicious writer [21], aſſerts, that by

[17] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. ii. c. xxxvi.

[18] Frontin. l. iv. c. v.

[19] Plut. Apophth.

[20] Πεφυκε γαρ τοις ελλησιν, η τισι, αλλα πασιν ἑρπειν, ὡς οι τραδιτων και προδοκων και θεων [illegible] αιθρωπων, συνιδη γινεσθαι, ὁσον ηδη; πω τοιουτοι μεμνηνται γεγονοτες. These traitors are named in Philipp. iii. & in Orat. de Corona.

[21] Polyb. iii. 72.

early

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early eſpouſing the intereſt of Philip, they acquired many important advantages for their reſpective communities; that their ſagacity having foreſeen the final prevalence of the Macedonian power and policy over the weakneſs and folly of Greece, they acted wiſely in courting the riſing fortune of a prince, who was, at length, enabled to take complete vengeance on his enemies; a vengeance which the Peloponneſians eſcaped by their own wiſdom and foreſight, and from which the Athenians, after long provoking it, were finally delivered by the love of glory and magnanimity which regulated the conduct, and adorned the victory, of Philip.

Philip publicly inſulted at Corinth:

Having ſettled the affairs of Peloponneſus, the king of Macedon marched through that country amidſt the acclamations of the people, who vied with each other in beſtowing crowns and ſtatues, the uſual marks of public gratitude and admiration, on a prince who had generouſly reſcued them from the cruel yoke of Sparta. At Corinth he paſſed ſome days in the houſe of Demaratus, a man totally devoted to his ſervice; and aſſiſted at the games and ſpectacles, which were celebrated in that city, by an immenſe concourſe of people from the neighbouring republics. The turbulent Corinthians, who, beſides their innate hatred of kings, had particular cauſes of animoſity againſt Philip, did not conceal their ſentiments; and their inhoſpitable inſolence was abetted by many Peloponneſians, who profited of the liberty of the place, and of the occaſion, to teſtify their rooted averſion to the king of Macedon, and their unwillingneſs to owe their freedom and their ſafety to the interpoſition of a foreign tyrant. Philip was ſtrongly urged by his courtiers to puniſh their ingratitude; but he knew how to digeſt an affront[22], when forgiveneſs was more uſeful than vengeance; and repreſſed the unſeaſonable indignation of his attendants by obſerving, with admirable patience, "Were I to act with ſeverity,

his moderation.

[22] Longinus has preſerved the expreſſion of Theopompus, "that Philip could eaſily ſwallow affronts."

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what muſt I expect from men, who repay even kindneſs with inſult[23]?"

Philip extends the boundaries of Epirus, and ſeizes the Halonneſus. Olymp. cix. 1. A. C. 344.

Philip proceeded from Corinth by the neareſt route into Macedon, where he continued the remainder of that year, directing the improvements that were carrying on in his kingdom, and inſpecting with particular care the education of his ſon Alexander, whoſe capacious and fervid mind, like a rich and luxuriant ſoil, producing promiſcuouſly flowers and weeds, ſtrongly required the hand of early culture[24]. But theſe uſeful occupations did not divert his attention from the politics of neighbouring ſtates. He extended the boundaries of Epirus, then governed by his brother-in-law Alexander, the moſt faithful and devoted of his vaſſals, by adding to that little principality the province of Caſſiopœa, which was chiefly inhabited by Elian colonies. At the ſame time he exerciſed his fleet by wreſting Halonneſus, an iſland near the coaſt of Theſſaly, from the hands of corſairs, and kept poſſeſſion of his conqueſt, without paying any regard to the claim of the Athenians, the ancient and lawful proprietors of the iſland[25].

Settles the commotions in Thrace, and protects the Cardians. Olymp. cix. 2. A. C. 343.

Next year Philip was ſummoned into Upper Thrace by a rebellion of the petty princes in that country, fomented by Amadocus, king of the Odryſians. The warlike tribes of that great nation, acting with little concert or union, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; and the dexterity of the king of Macedon ſeconding his uſual good fortune, he ſoon ranked the moſt obſtinate of his enemies in the number of his vaſſals or courtiers[26]. At his return from the inhoſpitable wilds of Thrace, he took under his protection the city and republic of Cardia, occupying the neck of land which joins the Thracian Cherſoneſus to the continent. The reſt of the peninſula had long been ſubject to the Athenians, whoſe authority the citizens of Cardia always ſet at defiance. The Athenians had lately ſtrengthened the Cherſoneſites by a new colony,

[23] Plut. in Alexand.
[24] Plut. ibid.
[25] Demoſth. Orat. de Halon.
[26] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 404.

which

which had continual diſputes with the Cardians about the extent of their boundaries. Matters had actually come to a criſis, and the Cardians were ready to be overwhelmed by the ſtrength and numbers of the enemy, when they were ſeaſonably protected by the Macedonian arms [27].

These measures rouſe the Athenians from their lethargy.

The ſeizing of Halonneſus, the conquering of Grecian colonies for the tyrant of Epirus, above all, the open aſſiſtance given to their inveterate enemies, the Cardians, once more rouſed the Athenians from their lethargy. Theſe freſh inſults brought back to their recollection the ancient grounds of animoſity, and the manifold injuries which they had ſuffered ſince the concluſion of the peace with Macedon. But inſtead of oppoſing Philip with arms, the only means by which he might yet be reſiſted with any hope of ſucceſs, they employed the impotent defence of ſpeeches, reſolutions, and embaſſies. Their complaints were loud and violent in every country of Greece. They called the attention of the whole confederacy to the formidable encroachments of a Barbarian, to which there ſeemed no end; and exhorted the Greeks to unite in repreſſing his inſolent uſurpation [28].

Philip diſpatches Python of Byzantium with a letter to that people.

Philip, who then agitated ſchemes from which he wiſhed not to be diverted by a war with the Athenians, ſent proper agents throughout Greece, to counteract the inflammatory remonſtrances of that people; and diſpatched to Athens itſelf, Python of Byzantium, a man of a daring and vigorous mind; but who concealed, under that paſſionate vehemence of language which ſeems to ariſe from conviction and ſincerity, a mercenary ſpirit, and a perfidious heart. Python had long ago ſold himſelf, and, as far as depended on himſelf, the intereſt of his country, to the king of Macedon, from whom he now conveyed a letter to the ſenate and people of Athens, written with that ſpecious moderation and artful plauſibility, which Philip knew ſo well to aſſume in all his tranſactions. "He offered to make a pre- Its contents.

[27] Demoſthen. Orat. de Halon. p. 34. & Plut. in Vit. Eumen.

[28] Demoſthen. de Cherſoneſo, p. 35, & ſeqq.

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ſent to the Athenians of the iſland of Halonneſus, and invited them to join with him in purging the ſea of pirates: he intreated them to refer to impartial arbitrators all the differences that had long ſubſiſted between the two nations, and to concert amicably together ſuch commercial regulations as would tend greatly to the advantage of both. He denied that they could produce any proof of that duplicity on his part, of which they ſo loudly complained. That for himſelf, he was ready not only to terminate all diſputes with them by a fair arbitration, but to compel the Cardians to abide by the award; and he concluded, by exhorting them to diſtruſt thoſe deſigning and turbulent demagogues, whoſe ſelfiſh ambition longed to embroil the two countries, and involve them in the horrors of war [29]."

Diopeithes, the Athenian general in Thrace, acts rigorouſly againſt Philip.

The ſubtle artifices of Philip, though ſupported on this occaſion by the impetuous eloquence of Python, were overcome by Hegeſippus and Demoſthenes, who refuted the various articles of the letter with great ſtrength and perſpicuity, and unveiled the injuſtice of Philip with ſuch force of evidence, that the Athenians reſolved ſending a conſiderable armament to the Cherſoneſus, to protect their ſubjects in that peninſula [30]. Diopeithes, who commanded the expedition, was a determined enemy to the Macedonians, and a man of courage and enterpriſe. Before he arrived in the Cherſoneſus, Philip, truſting to the effect of his letter and intrigues, had returned into Upper Thrace. Diopeithes availed himſelf of this opportunity to act with vigour. Having provided for the defence of the Athenian ſettlements in Thrace, he made an incurſion into the neighbouring country; ſtormed the Macedonian ſettlements at Crobylé and Tiriſtaſis; and having carried off many priſoners, and a conſiderable booty, lodged them in the ſafe retreat of the Cherſoneſus. On this emergency Amphilochus, a Macedonian of rank, was ſent as Ambaſſador, to treat of the ranſom of priſoners; but Diopeithes, regardleſs of

[29] Demoſthen. ſeu Hegeſipp. de Halon. p. 33, & ſeq.

[30] Idem, ibid.

this

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this character, ever held ſacred in Greece, caſt him in priſon, the more ſurely to widen the breach between Athens and Macedon; and, if poſſible, to render it irreparable. With equal ſeverity he treated a herald, whom he had taken in his late excurſion, charged with letters from Philip; which were ſent to Athens, and read in full aſſembly [31].

The partiſans of Philip cabal to ruin Diopeithes.

The King of Macedon, when informed of theſe hoſtilities and inſults, gave free ſcope to his complaints and threats; and his emiſſaries had an eaſier game at Athens, as Diopeithes had not only violated the peace with Macedon, but, in order to maintain his troops, which were very ſparingly ſupplied by the republic, levied conſiderable contributions from the Greek ſettlements in Aſia. The partiſans of Macedon inveighed againſt this commander as a robber and pirate, the common enemy of Greeks and Barbarians; Philip's letters demanded vengeance from the juſtice of Athens, if not, he would be his own avenger; the perſonal enemies of Diopeithes joined in the outcry, and inſiſted, that ſuch a daring offender ought immediately to be recalled, and puniſhed for his miſconduct [32].

He is powerfully defended by Demoſthenes.

On this occaſion Demoſthenes undertook to defend the accuſed general, whoſe meaſures he warmly approved; and motives of private friendſhip heightening the ardour of patriotiſm, render his diſcourſe on the affairs of the Cherſoneſus one of the moſt animated and intereſting of his productions. The impeachment of Diopeithes he aſcribes entirely to malice or perfidy, which had been too ſucceſsfully employed to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the main object of their concern, the continual encroachments of Philip, to unjuſt complaints and calumnies againſt their fellow-citizens. Diopeithes, if really criminal, might be recalled, and puniſhed whenever they thought proper. A ſimple mandate from the republic could, at any time, reduce *him* to his duty.

[31] Epiſtol. Philipp. & Liban. Argum. in Demoſthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſo.

[32] Demoſthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſo.

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But Philip, the public enemy, who was continually infringing the peace, who, before the expedition of Diopeithes, had oppreſſed the Cherſoneſites, had ſtormed Serrium and Doriſcus, how was Philip to be reſtrained, unleſs they repelled force by force? Inſtead of recalling their troops from the Cherſoneſus on the remonſtrance of a crafty tyrant, who would not acknowledge himſelf at war with them, till he aſſaulted the walls of Athens, they ought to exert their utmoſt ability in augmenting the army in that quarter. Should their forces be withdrawn, Philip would wait the approach of winter, or the ſetting in of the Eteſian winds, to fall on the Cherſoneſus. Will it then be ſufficient to accuſe Diopeithes? Or will this ſave our allies? "O, but we will ſail to their relief." But if the winds will not permit you? Even ſhould our enemy attack, not the Cherſoneſus, but Megara or Chalcis, as he lately did Oreum, would it not be better to oppoſe him in Thrace, than to carry the war to the frontiers of Attica? The exactions demanded by Diopeithes from the Aſiatic Greeks are juſtified by the example of all his predeceſſors, who, according to the ſtrength of their reſpective armaments, have always levied proportional contributions from the colonies; and the people who grant this money, whether more or leſs, do not give it for nothing. It is the price for which they are furniſhed with convoys to protect their trading veſſels from rapine and piracy. If Diopeithes had not that reſource, how could he ſubſiſt his troops, he who receives nothing from you, and who has nothing of his own. From the ſkies? No; but from what he can collect, and beg, and borrow. Who does not perceive that this pretended concern for the colonies, in men who have no concern for their country, is one of the many artifices employed to confine and fix you to the city, while the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war at pleaſure? That ſuch traitors ſhould exiſt, is leſs ſurpriſing than that you ſhould patiently receive from them ſuch counſels, as Philip himſelf would dictate. For what elſe could the king of Macedon, who underſtands his own intereſt ſo well, adviſe, but that you

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ſhould remain quietly at home, decline perſonal ſervice in the war, deny pay to your ſoldiers, revile and inſult your general. When a man, hired to betray you, riſes up in the aſſembly, and declares Chares or Diopeithes to be the cauſe of your calamities, ſuch an hypocrite is heard with ſatisfaction. You deſpiſe the voice of him, who, animated by a ſincere love for his country, calls out, "Be not deceived, Athenians! Philip is the real cauſe of all your misfortunes and diſgrace." The diſagreeable truth renders the man who declares it odious; for the inſidious diſcipline of certain miniſters has ſo changed your principles and characters, that you are become fierce and formidable in your courts of juſtice, but tame and contemptible in the field. You rejoice, therefore, to hear your diſtreſs charged on thoſe whom you can puniſh at home; but are unwilling to believe that it proceeds from a public enemy, whom you muſt oppoſe with arms in your hands. Yet, Athenians, if the ſtates of Greece ſhould thus call you to account for your conduct: "Men of Athens, you are continually ſending embaſſies to aſſure us, that Philip is projecting *our* ruin, and *that* of all the Greeks. But O, moſt wretched of mankind! when this common foe was detained ſix months abroad by ſickneſs, the ſeverity of winter, and the armies of his enemies, did you profit by that opportunity to recover your loſt poſſeſſions? Did you reſtore even Eubœa to liberty, and expel thoſe troops and tyrants who had been placed there in ambuſh, and directly oppoſite to Attica? No. You have remained inſenſible to your wrongs, and fully convinced us, that were Philip ten times to die, it would not inſpire you with the leaſt degree of vigour. Why then theſe embaſſies, theſe accuſations, all this unneceſſary ferment! If the Greeks ſhould aſk this, what could we anſwer? I know not.

"There are men who think to perplex a well-intentioned ſpeaker by aſking, What ought we to do? My anſwer is ſincere, None of thoſe things which you do at preſent. I explain my opinion at greater length, and may you be as ready to receive, as to aſk, advice! Firſt

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of all, you muſt hold it as matter of firm belief, that Philip has broken the peace, and is at war with your republic: that he is an enemy to your city, to the ground on which it ſtands, to all thoſe who inhabit it, and not leaſt to ſuch as are moſt diſtinguiſhed by his favours. The fate of Euthycrates and Laſthenes[33], citizens of Olynthus, may teach *our* traitors the deſtruction that awaits them, after they have ſurrendered their country. But though an enemy to your city, your ſoil, and your people, Philip is chiefly hoſtile to your government, which, though ill fitted to acquire, or to maintain, dominion over others, is admirably adapted to defend both yourſelves and them, to repel uſurpation, and to humble tyrants. To your democracy, therefore, Philip is an unrelenting foe, a truth, of which you ought to be deeply perſuaded; and next, that wherever you repreſs his encroachments, you act for the ſafety of Athens, againſt which, chiefly, all his batteries are erected. For who can be ſo fooliſh as to believe, that the cottages of Thrace (Drongila, Cabila, and Maſtira), ſhould form an object worthy of his ambition; that, in order to acquire them, he ſhould ſubmit to toils and dangers; that, for the ſake of the rye and millet of Thrace, he ſhould conſent to ſpend ſo many months amidſt winter ſnows and tempeſts; while, at the ſame time, he diſregarded the riches and ſplendour of Athens, your harbours, arſenals, gallies, mines, and revenues? No, Athenians. It is to get poſſeſſion of Athens, that he makes war in Thrace and elſewhere. What then ought we to do? Tear ourſelves from our indolence, not only ſupport, but augment the troops which are on foot, that, as Philip has an army ever ready to attack and conquer the Greeks, you alſo may be ready to ſuccour and to ſave them[34]."

Demoſthenes ventures not to propoſe the war in form.

It is worthy of obſervation (becauſe nothing betrays more evidently the tyrannical ſpirit of democracy), that Demoſthenes does not propoſe the war in form, by bringing in a writen bill or decree, to

[33] See above, c. xxxv.

[34] Demoſthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſ. p. 35, & ſeqq.

be

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be approved or rejected by the votes of his countrymen. This decree must have been recorded among the Athenian archives; and, if the war should prove unfortunate, might be produced at some future time for the destruction of its author, whose enemies would not fail to allege this instrument as a proof that he had occasioned the rupture with Philip, and all the calamities consequent on that measure. The party accused would, in that case, vainly endeavour to shelter himself under the votes of the assembly, since an ordinary court of justice could call him to account for misleading the people[35], and punish him with banishment or death. Demosthenes artfully glances at this disagreeable subject: "Rash, impudent, and audacious, I neither am, Athenians, nor wish ever to become; yet possess more true fortitude than the boldest of your demagogues, who capriciously distributing honours and largesses on the one hand, and as capriciously impeaching, condemning, and confiscating on the other, have, in either case, a sure pledge of impunity in the flattery and artifices by which they have long seduced the public. The courage of that minister is put to an easy trial, who is ever ready to sacrifice your permanent interest to your present pleasure. But he is truly courageous, who, for the sake of your safety and glory, opposes your most favourite inclinations, rouses you from your dream of pleasure, disdains to flatter you, and having the good of his country ever in view, assumes that post in the administration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himself responsible for the issue. Such a minister am I, whose unpopular counsels tend to render, not myself, but my country great."

The arguments and remonstrances of Demosthenes not only saved Diopeithes, but animated the Athenians with a degree of [36] vigour which they had been long unaccustomed to exert. A fleet was fitted out under the command of Callias, who seized all Macedonian ships as

The Athenians oppose the common enemy with spirit by sea and land.

[35] By the γραφὴ παρανόμων. Vide Demosth. de Coron. passim.
[36] Vid. Epist. Philip.

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as lawful prize, and made a deſcent on the coaſt of Theſſaly, after plundering the harbours in the Pelaſgic gulph. A conſiderable body of forces was ſent into Acarnania to repel the incurſions of Philip, aſſiſted by his kinſman and ally, Alexander of Epirus. The inhabitants of the iſland of Peperathus, truſting to the protection of Athens, expelled the Macedonian garriſon from Halonneſus. Repeated embaſſies were diſpatched to the Peloponneſians and Eubœans, exhorting them to throw off the ignominious yoke of Macedon, and to unite with their Grecian brethren againſt the public enemy. Philip was not unattentive to theſe commotions, but his deſigns againſt the valuable cities on the Propontis and Thracian Boſphorus [37] being ripe for execution, he was unwilling to allow any ſecondary conſideration to divert him from that important enterpriſe.

Philip attempts to get poſſeſſion of Byzantium and Perinthus. Olymp. cix. 3. A. C. 342.

His intrigues and bribery had gained a conſiderable party in Byzantium, at the head of which was the perfidious Python, whoſe vehement eloquence gave him great influence with the multitude. A conſpiracy was formed to ſurrender one of the gates of the city; the Macedonian army of thirty thouſand men hovered round; but the deſign was ſuſpected or diſcovered, and Philip, to ſcreen his partiſans from public vengeance, ſeaſonably withdrew his army, and inveſted the neighbouring city of Perinthus. The news of theſe tranſactions not only increaſed the activity of Athens, but alarmed Ochus king of Perſia, who being no ſtranger to Philip's deſign of invading his dominions, trembled at beholding that ambitious prince gradually approach his frontier. To prevent this danger Ochus adopted the ſame policy, which, in ſimilar circumſtances, had been ſucceſsfully employed by his predeceſſors [38]. The Perſian gold was profuſely ſcattered among the moſt eminent of the Grecian demagogues. Demoſthenes, whoſe patriotiſm was not always proof

[37] Demoſth. de Coron. & Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxii.

[38] Plut. in Alexand.

againſt

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againſt an unworthy alliance[39] with intereſt, rejoiced at being paid for doing what he conſidered as his duty. At Athens his invectives were louder than ever againſt the king of Macedon; and the affairs of Eubœa gave him an opportunity of exerting himſelf with equal zeal in that iſland.

The Athenians recover Eubœa.

The factious ſpirit of the Eubœans rendered them alike incapable of independence, and of remaining quietly under the government either of Athens or Macedon, to which they were alternately ſubject. The recent prevalence of the Macedonian party had been marked by many acts of violence and oppreſſion. The cities of Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria prepared to rebel, having previouſly ſolicited aſſiſtance from Peloponneſus, Acarnania, Attica, and every province of Greece, which they had any reaſon to deem favourable to their views. From other ſtates they brought back promiſes and hopes; from Athens they obtained, chiefly by the influence of Demoſthenes, a conſiderable body of troops commanded by the brave and virtuous Phocion. The orator accompanied the expedition; and being allowed to addreſs the popular aſſemblies in moſt of the cities of Eubœa, he inflamed them with ſuch animoſity againſt Philip and his partiſans, that little remained to be done by the valour of the Athenian general. The Eubœans every where took arms in defence of their freedom, the Macedonian garriſons were expelled from the principal cities, and driven from one poſt to another, till they were compelled entirely to evacuate the iſland. This event occaſioned great joy at Athens; and the principal merit was aſcribed to Demoſthenes, who, at the motion of Ariſtonicus, a man of merit and eminence, was crowned by the ſenate and people with a golden crown; which honour was publicly proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the repreſentation of the new tragedies, amidſt an immenſe concourſe of people, citizens and ſtrangers[40].

The merit of Demoſthenes acknowledged on this occaſion.

[39] Plut. in Demoſth.

[40] Demoſth. de Coron. & Plut. in Demoſth.

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Circumſtances which enabled the Perinthians to make an obſtinate defence. Olymp. cix. 4. A. C. 341.

The loſs of Eubœa was ill compenſated to Philip by the military operations againſt Perinthus, in which he found an enemy worthy of his courage and perſeverance. The town was ſituated on the ſloping ridge of an iſthmus, and ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature, the houſes and ſtreets riſing one above another like the ſeats of an amphitheatre, ſo that the higher edifices overlooked and defended the lower. Having ſcoured the neighbouring country with his cavalry, Philip exhauſted, in the ſiege of Perinthus, all the military ſkill known to the ancients. He raiſed towers forty cubits high, which enabled his men to fight on equal ground with the beſieged; his miners were buſy at the foundation; at length the battering rams advanced to the wall, in which a conſiderable breach was made. During this time, however, the townſmen had not been idle. The ſuperior diſcharge of darts, arrows, and every kind of miſſile weapon from the Macedonian towers, had indeed diſlodged the Perinthians from thoſe parts of the wall and battlements, againſt which the principal attack had been directed. But with inceſſant toil, the beſieged built a new wall within the former, on which they appeared in battle array, prepared to repel the enemy who entered the breaches [41]. The Macedonians, who advanced with impetuous joy to reap the fruits of their labour, were infinitely mortified to find that their work muſt be begun anew. Philip employed rewards and puniſhments, and all the reſources of his mind fertile in expedients, to reſtore their hopes, and to animate their activity. The ſiege recommenced with freſh ardour, and the Perinthians were thrice reduced to extremity, when they were unexpectedly ſaved, firſt by a large ſupply of arms and proviſions from Byzantium, next by a ſtrong reinforcement of men in Perſian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens; and laſtly by the advantageous ſituation of the town, which, being built in a conical form, preſenting its apex or narrow

[41] Diodor. p. 466, & ſeqq.

point

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point to the beſiegers, gradually roſe and widened towards the remoter parts, from which it was eaſy to obſerve all the motions of the enemy, and to overwhelm them with miſſile weapons as they advanced to the charge. Philip, ever ſparing of the lives of his men, was deterred by this circumſtance from venturing an aſſault, though his machines had effected a breach in the new wall: he therefore determined to change the ſiege into a blockade. Perinthus was ſhut up as cloſely as poſſible by ſea and land: part of the Macedonian troops who had become mutinous for want of pay (for Philip at this time owed above two hundred talents, or forty thouſand pounds ſterling), were indulged in plundering the rich territory of Byzantium, while the remainder were conducted to the ſiege of Selembria, and ſoon after of Byzantium itſelf, the taking of which places, it was hoped, might compenſate their loſt labour at Perinthus [42].

The Thracian cities, ſupported by numerous allies, reſiſt the arms of Philip.

During the military operations againſt the cities of the Propontis, Demoſthenes did not ceaſe exhorting his countrymen to undertake their defence, as eſſential to their own ſafety. The hoſtilities and devaſtations of Philip, he repreſented as the periodical returns of the peſtilence and other contagious diſorders, in which all men were alike threatened with their reſpective ſhares of calamity. He, who was actually ſound and untainted, had an equal intereſt with the diſeaſed and infirm, to root out the common evil, which, if allowed to lurk in any part, would ſpeedily pervade and afflict the whole. The Macedonians now beſieged Selembria and Byzantium; if ſucceſsful in theſe enterpriſes, they would ſoon appear before Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. Yet he knew not by what fatality the Greeks looked on the ſucceſſive encroachments of Philip, not as events which their vigorous and united oppoſition might ward off and repel, but as diſaſters inflicted by the hand of Providence; as a

[42] Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xxii.

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tempeſtuous cloud of hail, ſo deſtructive to the vines in autumn, which all beheld, with horror, hovering over them, but none took any other means to prevent, than by deprecating the gods that it might not fall on his own fields [43]. Theſe animated and juſt repreſentations of the common diſtreſs or danger, engaged the Athenians to enter into a cloſe correſpondence with the beſieged cities [44]. Demoſthenes undertook a journey to Byzantium; and Leon, a Byzantine orator and patriot, the friend and fellow-ſtudent of the virtuous Phocion, reſided as ambaſſador in Athens. At the ſame time the principal cities of the Propontis maintained an uninterrupted intercourſe of good offices with each other, as well as with their allies of Rhodes and Chios, from whom they received repeated ſupplies of arms and proviſions.

Philip attacks and defeats Diopeithes, and juſtifies his conduct to the Athenians.

Philip, meanwhile, ceaſed not to aſſure the Athenians, by his letters and emiſſaries, that he was extremely deſirous of maintaining peace with the republic, and gently chid them for their evident marks of partiality towards his enemies, which, however, he took care to aſcribe, not to the general temper and diſpoſition of the people, but to the prevalence of a dangerous faction, inflamed by ſeditious and ſelfiſh demagogues. By a rapid march he had recently ſurpriſed an Athenian detachment ravaging the territory of Cardia. Diopeithes, the Athenian general in the Cherſoneſus, commanded this predatory band, who, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, were repelled with the loſs of their leader, ſlain by a dart, while he rallied his men with his voice and arm. Philip failed not, by letter, to excuſe this act of hoſtility, to which, he aſſured the Athenians, that he had been compelled, much againſt his inclination: he affected to con-

[43] Αλλα ἱμως ταυτ' οραντες οἱ ἑλληνες ανεχονται· και τον αυτον τροπον, οπερ οἱ την χαλαζαν, ἱμοιγε δοκουσι θειαν μεν και ἑαυτης εκαστοι γινεσθαι, κωλυειν δε ηδης επιχειρουν. Demoſt. in Philipp. iii. p. 48. In the country where I now write (the Païs de Vaud) the beauty and force of this compariſon is too well underſtood. Lofty mountains covered with ſnow, ſunny hills, and fertile vallies —Such too is the geography of Greece, which rendered the hail ſtorms ſo alarming and ſo deſtructive.

[44] Demoſthen. de Corona.

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fider Diopeithes as the inſtrument of a malignant faction, headed by Demoſthenes, rather than as the general of the republic; and as that commander had acted unwarrantably in plundering the Cardians, a people ſtrictly allied with Macedon, Philip aſſured himſelf that the ſenate and people would not take it amiſs that, provoked by repeated injuries, he had at length repelled violence, and defended the lives and fortunes of his long-injured confederates.

Philip's admiral ſeizes an Athenian convoy deſtined for the relief of Selymbria.

While the Athenians and Philip were on this footing of correſpondence, the former ſent twenty veſſels laden with corn to the relief of the Selymbrians. Leodamas, who commanded this convoy, ſeems to have imagined that the treaty formerly ſubſiſting between the two powers, would protect him from injury. But in this he was diſappointed. His fleet was ſurrounded and taken by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon, and who determined to retain his prize, without paying any regard to the complaints and remonſtrances of Leodamas, who pretended that the convoy was not deſtined for Selymbria, but employed in conveying the ſuperabundance of the fertile Cherſoneſus to the rocky and barren iſland of Lemnos.

Philip reſtores the captured veſſels, and writes an artful letter to the Athenians. Olymp. cix. 4. A. C. 341.

The news of the capture of their ſhips occaſioned much tumult and uneaſineſs among the Athenians. After frequent deliberations on this ſubject, a decree was framed for ſending ambaſſadors to Philip, in order to redemand their property, and to require that Amyntas, if he had exceeded his inſtructions, ſhould be puniſhed with due ſeverity. Cephiſophon, Democritus, and Polycrates, who were named for this commiſſion, repaired without delay to Philip in the Helleſpont, who, at their requeſt, immediately releaſed the captured veſſels, and diſmiſſed the Athenians with the following letter: "Philip king of Macedon, to the ſenate and people of Athens, Health. I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambaſſadors, who have conferred with me about the releaſe of certain ſhips, commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but admire their

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ſimplicity in thinking to perſuade me that theſe ſhips were intended to convey corn from the Cherſoneſus to the iſle of Lemnos, and not deſtined for the relief of the Selymbrians, actually beſieged by me, and nowiſe included in the treaty of pacification between Athens and Macedon. This unjuſt commiſſion Leodamas received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magiſtrates, and others now in private ſtations, who are too buſy in urging you to violate your engagements, and to commence hoſtilities againſt me; a matter which they have more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive advantage from ſuch a rupture. Deeply perſuaded that our mutual intereſt requires us to fruſtrate their wicked ſchemes, I have given orders to releaſe the captured veſſels; and do you, in return, remove ſuch pernicious counſellors from the adminiſtration of your affairs; and let them feel the ſeverity of your juſtice. On my part, I ſhall endeavour to preſerve inviolate the treaty, by which we ſtand mutually engaged [45]."

Demoſthenes perſuades the Athenians to ſuccour the beſieged cities in Thrace.

The moderate and friendly ſentiments expreſſed in this letter afforded great advantage to the Macedonian partiſans at Athens. But Demoſthenes, and Leon of Byzantium, ſpared no pains to detect and expoſe the artifices and duplicity of Philip, who employed this humble and peaceful tone, during his operations againſt the cities of the Propontis, in order to ſtifle the reſentment of the Athenians, at a criſis when they might act againſt him with peculiar advantage. In elaborate and powerful orations [46], in which, without urging any new matter, Demoſthenes condenſed, invigorated, and enlivened his former obſervations and reaſonings, he convinced his countrymen of the expediency of being for once before-hand with their enemy, and of anticipating his deſigns againſt themſelves by a ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance to their diſtreſſed brethren of Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium. By his convincing eloquence the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthuſiaſm which had not appeared

[45] Epiſt. Philip. in Demoſth. [46] Orat. iv. in Philip. & Orat. de Epiſt. Philip.

peared in them during many years, and which produced the laſt tranſitory glimpſe of ſucceſs and ſplendor, before the glory of Athens was extinguiſhed for ever.

Diſhonourable expedition of Chares. Olymp. cx. 1. A. C. 340.

It was decreed by the ſenate and people, to fit out a fleet of an hundred and twenty gallies; but unfortunately the command was given to Chares, whoſe character rendered him as contemptible to the enemies, as he was formidable to the allies, of the republic. The Byzantines excluded him from their harbour, and he was defeated by Amyntas, the Macedonian admiral, off the oppoſite ſhore of Chalcedon. This diſaſter, which was chiefly occaſioned by the incapacity of their commander, made the Athenians caſt their eyes on Phocion [47], who, though ever ready to ſerve his country, was moſt frequently called for in times of danger and calamity.

Philip fails in his attempt to ſurpriſe Byzantium.

Before Phocion reached the Propontis, Philip, fluſhed with his naval ſucceſs, made an attempt to ſtorm Byzantium. That city was environed on three ſides by the ſea, and defended on the fourth by a ſtrong wall, and a large and deep trench, covered by lofty towers, ſeparated at ſmall intervals from each other. Confident in the ſtrength of the place, and the abundance of their magazines, the inhabitants of Byzantium, without riſking a ſally, allowed Philip to carry on his works, and gradually to make his approaches to their walls. During this inaction of the townſmen, Philip carefully advanced his battering engines, and ſeemed determined to aſſault the walls; but, meanwhile, embraced proper meaſures for gaining the place by ſurpriſe. For executing this deſign, he choſe the gloom of a tempeſtuous night; a determined band of Macedonians paſſed the ditch; the ſcaling-ladders were already fixed; when the centinels of Byzantium were alarmed by the barking of maſtiffs, kept in the towers even in time of peace, to ſecure them in the night. The alarm ſpread with rapidity among the ſeveral guards, who ruſhing

[47] Plutarch in Phocion.

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tumultuouſly from their reſpective ſtations, as if the enemy had been already maſters of the town, were on the point of blindly aſſaulting each other, when a bright meteor, or repeated flaſhes of lightning, enabled them to diſtinguiſh their friends, and to diſcern the danger. Having formed in ſome degree of order, they advanced againſt the Macedonians, who had already gained the rampart, from which they were with difficulty repulſed by ſuperior numbers [48].

The Athenians, commanded by Phocion, ſave the Thracian cities; Olymp. cx. 1. A. C. 340.

The defeat of this bold and dangerous enterpriſe did not diſcourage Philip from carrying on his operations with indefatigable diligence and vigour. His perſeverance muſt finally have prevailed over the obſtinacy of the beſieged, had not the Athenian fleet, under Phocion, arrived in the Thracian Boſphorus. The Byzantines received him with open arms, expecting that under ſuch a commander, their auxiliaries would prove not leſs modeſt and inoffenſive in their quarters, than active and intrepid in the field. Nor were their hopes diſappointed; the arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by ſimilar addreſs; nor could he expect by force or fraud to gain any advantage over an opponent alike brave and vigilant [49]. The king of Macedon, who had as much flexibility in varying his meaſures, as firmneſs in adhering to his purpoſes, was unwilling any farther to preſs his bad fortune. In the actual ſtate of his affairs, he judged it neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege of Byzantium, to withdraw his forces from Selymbria and Perinthus, and to leave the Athenians in poſſeſſion of the northern ſhore of the Propontis. Theſe were humiliating reſolutions, but fortunately for Philip, an event fell out, which prevented the execution of them from reflecting much diſcredit on his arms or policy.

and ravage the Macedonian territories.

Phocion, to whoſe conduct the ſafety of ſo many important cities was principally owing, ſailed from Byzantium amidſt the

[48] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 478.

[49] Plut. in Phocion.

grateful

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grateful vows and acclamations of innumerable ſpectators. In his voyage to the Cherſoneſus, he captured a fleet of victuallers and tranſports, carrying arms and proviſions for the enemy. When he arrived in that peninſula, he repreſſed the inſolence of the Cardians, who, reinforced by a Macedonian garriſon, had recently undertaken an expedition againſt the city of Seſtos. He recovered ſeveral places on the coaſt of Thrace, which had reluctantly ſubmitted to the dominion of the Macedonians; and, in concert with the inhabitants, took ſuch meaſures as ſeemed moſt proper to protect the Athenian allies in thoſe parts, from future danger. Inſtead of burdening the confederates with the maintenance of his army, he plentifully ſupplied all the wants of his ſoldiers from the enemy's country. He commanded in perſon the parties that went out to forage and to plunder; and in one of thoſe expeditions, received a dangerous wound, yet did not embark for his return, until he had ſpread the terror of the Athenian name, by ravaging with fire and ſword the hereditary dominions of Philip [50].

Extraordinary honours conferred on the Athenians and Phocion, by the cities which they had relieved.

The meritorious ſervices of Phocion were deeply felt and acknowledged by the communities whom he had protected and relieved [51]. The deliverance and gratitude of the Cherſoneſus, of Perinthus, and of Byzantium, were teſtified by crowns, ſtatues, inſcriptions, and altars; and are ſtill recorded in an oration of Demoſthenes [52], which has deſervedly ſurvived thoſe ſolid and authentic monuments of gold and marble. The decree of the Byzantines and Perinthians, after deſcribing the ancient and recent benefits of Athens towards them, enacted, that, in return for thoſe favours, the Athenians ſhould be entitled to the right of intermarriage, the privilege of purchaſing lands in their territories, the freedom of their reſpective cities, and the firſt and moſt honourable place in all their entertainments and aſſemblies: That whatever Athenians chole to reſide with them ſhould be exempted from all taxes: And that, further, three ſtatues, each ſixteen

[50] Plut. in Phocion; & Diodor. ubi ſupra.

[51] Idem. ibid.

[52] Demoſthen. de Corona.

cubits

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cubits high, ſhould be erected in the port of Byzantium, repreſenting the republic of Athens, crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians: That this crown ſhould be proclaimed at the four principal feſtivals of Greece, in order to commemorate the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians." The inhabitants of the Cherſoneſus were not leſs forward in their acknowledgments and rewards. After a ſimilar preamble, ſetting forth the manifold favours of their great and generous allies, they reſolved to crown the ſenate and people of Athens with a golden crown worth ſixty talents; and to conſecrate an altar to Gratitude and the Athenians. Theſe public and ſolemn honours afforded matter of equal triumph to Phocion, who had executed, and to Demoſthenes, who had adviſed the meaſures, in conſequence of which ſuch juſt glory had been acquired. At the diſtance of ſeveral years, the orator ſtill boaſted of this important ſervice. "You have frequently, Athenians! rewarded with crowns, the ſtateſmen moſt ſucceſsful in conducting your affairs. But name, if you can, any other counſellor, any other ſtateſman, by whoſe means the ſtate itſelf hath been thus honoured [53]."

Atheas king of Scythia invites Philip to aſſiſt him againſt the Istrians.

The circumſtance which enabled Philip to elude the violence of the ſtorm with which the hoſtility of Athens, Perſia, and ſo many other powers, had been long preparing to overwhelm him, took its riſe from an error of judgment, occaſioned by that boundleſs ambition which formed the ruling paſſion of the Macedonian prince. Beyond the confines of Thrace, and beyond the northern frontier of the Lower Mœſia, dwelt a powerful Scythian tribe, in the valuable peninſula contained between the weſtern waves of the Euxine, and the majeſtic ſtream of the Danube. The roving and unſettled life of the Scythians, like that of their deſcendants the Tartars, had led them into this country, from their native and proper territories, embracing the ſix mouths of the Danube or Iſter, the banks of the Bo-

[53] Demoſth. de Coron.

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risthenes, and the shores of the Palus Mœotis, which districts in ancient times had the name of Little Scythia [54], and are still called Little Tartary. A monarch less warlike, and less ambitious than Philip, might have observed, with indignation and regret, those fierce and rapacious Barbarians, extending themselves beyond their natural limits, and enjoying an establishment to the south of the Danube; which great river, as he was already master of Thrace, and counted the Triballi of Mœsia among the number of his tributaries, Philip's proud and usurping fancy had already grasped as the frontier of his empire, and the proper line of separation between barbarous and civilized nations. It was not, therefore, without such excess of joy as transported him beyond the bounds of sound policy, that, amidst his preparations against the cities on the Propontis, he received an invitation from Atheas [55], who styled himself king of the Scythians, to march to his assistance, and to defend his dominions, consisting in the peninsula above mentioned, against an invasion of the Istrians, which the domestic forces of Atheas was totally unable to resist. To this proposal was added a condition extremely alluring to the king of Macedon, that if his auxiliary arms enabled Atheas to vanquish and expel the invaders, Philip should be named heir to the *kingdom* of Scythia; for, according to the fashion of ancient times, Atheas dignified with the name of kingdom, a territory little larger than the principality of Wales,

Perfidy and insolence of that Barbarian.

In greedily snatching this bait laid for his ambition, Philip was not enough on his guard against the usual perfidy and levity of Barbarians; nor did he sufficiently consider, that by sending a powerful detachment into Scythia, he must greatly weaken his exertions against the cities of the Propontis. With an ardour and alacrity too rapid for reflection, he eagerly closed with the propositions of Atheas, sent a great body of forces to the north, and promised to

[54] Herodotus, & Strabo, passim.

[55] Justin. l. ix. c. ii.

assist

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assist them in person at the head of his whole army, should they encounter any difficulty in the execution of their purpose. Meanwhile the warlike chief of the Istrians, whose courage alone animated, and whose conduct rendered successful, the arms of his followers, was cut off by sudden death: the dispirited Istrians were attacked, defeated, and repelled; and, without the assistance of Macedon, Atheas once more regained possession of his kingdom. This unexpected revolution served to display the crafty and faithless Barbarian in his genuine deformity. The Macedonian troops were received coldly, treated with contempt, and absolutely denied their stipulated pay and subsistence. Their just remonstrances and complaints Atheas heard with scorn, and totally disavowed the propositions and promises of those who styled themselves his ambassadors; observing "how unlikely it was, that he should have solicited the assistance of the Macedonians, who, brave as they were, could fight only with men, while the Scythians could combat cold and famine; and that it would have been still more unnatural to appoint Philip his successor, since he had a son of his own, worthy to inherit his crown and dignity[56]."

Philip remonstrates with him in vain.

Upon receiving an account of the insolent behaviour of a prince who had so recently solicited his alliance, Philip, while still busily, but unsuccessfully, employed against the cities of the Propontis, sent an embassy to Scythia, requiring Atheas to satisfy the just demands of the Macedonian troops, and to indemnify himself for the expence incurred in his defence. The ambassadors found the king of Scythia in his stable, currying his horse. When they testified surprise at seeing him engaged in such an occupation, he asked them, Whether their master did not often employ himself in the same manner? adding, that for his own part, in time of peace, he made not any distinction between himself and his groom. When they opened their commission, and explained the demands of Philip, the subtle

[56] Justin. l. ix. c, ii.

Barbarian

Barbarian told them, that the poverty of Scythia could not furniſh a preſent becoming the greatneſs of their maſter; and that, therefore, it ſeemed more eligible to offer nothing at all, than a preſent totally unworthy of his acceptance[57].

Philip determines to chaſtiſe his ingratitude and perfidy.

This evaſive and mortifying anſwer, being brought to the king of Macedon when foiled and haraſſed, yet not diſheartened, by his unproſperous expedition againſt Byzantium, furniſhed him with a very honourable pretence for raiſing the ſiege of that place, and conducting a powerful army into Scythia, that he might chaſtiſe the treacherous ingratitude of a prince, who, after having overreached him by policy, now mocked him with inſolence. Having advanced to the frontier of Atheas's dominions, Philip had recourſe to his uſual arts, and ſent a herald with the enſigns of peace and friendſhip, to announce his arrival in Scythia, in order to perform a ſolemn vow which he had made during the ſiege of Byzantium, of erecting a brazen ſtatue to Hercules on the banks of the Danube. The cunning Atheas was not the dupe of this artifice, which he knew how to encounter and elude with ſimilar addreſs. Without praiſing or blaming the pious intention of the king, he coolly deſired him to forward the ſtatue, which he himſelf would take care to erect in the appointed place; that ſhould it be ſet up with his concurrence and direction, it would probably be allowed to ſtand; otherwiſe, he could give no aſſurance that the Scythians would not pull it down, and melt it, to make points for their weapons[58].

Succeſs of his Scythian expedition.

The return of the Macedonian herald was the ſignal for hoſtility. Philip entered the country with fire and ſword, deſtroying the foreſts and paſturage, and ſeizing the ſlaves and cattle, which formed the principal wealth of the Scythians. He ſeems to have employed ſeveral weeks in an expedition, the circumſtances of which, were they eſſential to the deſign of this work, could not be

[57] Juſtin. l. ix. c. ii.

[58] Idem, ibid.

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related with any fulneſs or accuracy. Countries in a paſtoral ſtate are but thinly peopled; and Philip was obliged to divide his forces, in order to vanquiſh with greater rapidity the wandering hordes, ſeparate from each other by wide intervals, according as a foreſt, a meadow, or a ſtream of freſh water, obtained their preference, and fixed their temporary abode. A party of Macedonian ſoldiers beat up the quarters of a numerous and warlike clan, by which they were repelled, with the loſs of ſeveral ſlain or taken. Among the latter was Iſmenias, an eminent muſician, who had been invited by liberal rewards to reſide at the court of Philip, after being long admired in Greece for his performance on the flute. This diſtinguiſhed captive was ſent as a preſent to Atheas, who was ſo little delighted with his accompliſhments, that having heard him perform, he acknowledged the neighing of his horſe to be to his ear far more agreeable muſic. The ſkirmiſh in which Iſmenias was taken, ſeems to have been the principal advantage obtained by the Barbarians, whoſe conſtitutional courage, and impetuous ill-directed fury, was every-where overcome by the diſciplined valour of the Macedonian phalanx[59].

The nature and quantity of the booty.

Philip reaped ſuch fruits from his expedition, as might be expected by a victory over a people who had no king but their general, no god but their ſword, and no cities but the ground on which they occaſionally encamped with their herds and families. The ſpoil conſiſted in arms, chariots, twenty thouſand robuſt captives, a greater number of mares, deſtined to repleniſh the ſtuds of Pella[60]. We are not informed whether Philip erected the promiſed ſtatue to the great founder and protector of his family and kingdom. It is probable that he impoſed a tribute on the Scythians, as a mark of their ſubmiſſion and dependence, purpoſing to reduce them more thoroughly, when he had effected his great deſigns in Greece, to

[59] Juſtin. l. ii. c. 5.

[60] Compar. Juſtin. l. ix. c. 2. & Strabo, p. 752.

which

which country the ſilent operation of his intrigues now ſummoned his return.

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But while he marched ſouthward at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and ſpoil, a very unexpected event threatened to blaſt his laurels, and to terminate at once his glory and his life. Allured by the hopes of ſharing the warlike plunder of the Scythians, the barbarous Triballi, who had been often conquered, but never thoroughly ſubdued, beſet by ambuſh, and vigorouſly aſſaulted the Macedonians, entangled amidſt the intricate windings of the mountains of Mœſia; hoping to cut off, by one ſtroke, the flower of a nation whoſe authority their own fierce ſpirit of independence had very reluctantly condeſcended to obey. The confuſion and the danger was increaſed by a mercenary band of Greeks, who, haraſſed by the fatigues of war and travelling, always clamorous for pay, which was very irregularly paid them, and perhaps jealous of the Macedonians, ſeized the preſent opportunity to deſert the ſtandard of Philip, and to reinforce the arms of the Triballi[61].

Philip, on his return, ſurpriſed by the Triballi.

The king of Macedon, too prudent to undertake ſuperfluous danger, never acquired by valour, what might be obtained by ſtratagem; but when a neceſſary occaſion ſolicited his courage and his proweſs, he knew how to aſſume the hero, and (if we may tranſpoſe an ancient proverb), "to eke out the fox's with the lion's ſkin[62]." The urgency of the preſent emergence ſummoned all the firmneſs of his mind. With his voice and example he encouraged the aſtoniſhed and diſheartened Macedonians; conducted his faithful guards to the heat of the battle, and fought with unexampled bravery, till the ſame weapon which pierced his horſe, laid the rider ſenſeleſs on the ground. The young Alexander, who fought near him, derived peculiar glory from ſaving the life of his father, whom he covered with his ſhield, and defended by his ſword, until his attendants conveyed

Alexander ſaves the life of his father.

[61] Juſtin. l. ix. c. iii. Plut. in Alexand.

[62] Vid. Plut. in Lyſand.

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and defeats the Triballi.

him to a place of ſafety[63]; the ſon ſo worthily ſucceeding to the command, that the tumult was fortunately appeaſed, and the Barbarians routed and put to flight. Philip's wound was attended with an incurable lameneſs, which he bore with much impatience. His magnanimous ſon endeavoured to remove his anxiety by aſking, how he could be chagrined at an accident, which continually reminded him of his valour[64]?

Philip appointed general of the Amphictyons. Olymp. cx. 2. A. C. 339.

To repair the effects of this unforeſeen delay, the Macedonians haſtened through Thrace, where Philip, as he had reaſon to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, appointing him general of their forces, and requeſting him to march into Greece with all convenient ſpeed. The ſecret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary meſſage, the remote as well immediate cauſes of which deſerve to be diſtinctly unravelled, being the laſt knot of a tragedy which involves the fate of Greece.

The ſituation of Philip's affairs encourages the Athenians to exert themſelves with vigour. Olymp. cx. 2. A. C. 339.

The ſpirited reſiſtance of Selymbria and Byzantium, the ſucceſsful expeditions of Phocion in the Helleſpont and Propontis, the prodigal terrors of Ochus king of Perſia, who thought it impoſſible to employ his wealth more uſefully than in bridling the ambition of Philip; above all, the continual expoſtulations and remonſtrances of Demoſthenes, conſpired to rouſe the Athenians from the lethargy in which they had been long ſunk, and animated them with a deſire to carry on the war with activity and effect againſt the common enemy of Greece. In order to ſave the ſtate, they conſented (though probably not without a violent ſtruggle) to aboliſh the very popular law, or rather abuſe, introduced by Eubulus. The theatrical amuſements, ſo paſſionately idoliſed by the multitude, were celebrated with leſs pomp and ſplendour; and the military fund was thenceforth applied to its original and proper deſtination. A fleet was

[63] Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. & Juſtin. l. ix. c. iii. [64] Plut. in Alexand.

equipped

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equipped far ſuperior to the naval ſtrength of Macedon[65]. The troops and partiſans of that kingdom were driven from their ambuſhes in Megara, and in the neighbouring territories, where they had long watched an opportunity of deſtroying the liberty of Athens. Demoſthenes, and Hyperides an orator ſecond only to Demoſthenes, were diſpatched into the Peloponneſus and other parts of Greece, to perſuade the ſeveral republics to ſecond the generous ardour of the Athenians, whoſe recent ſucceſs under Phocion added great weight to the arguments and eloquence of thoſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen[66].

Difficulties with which Philip had to ſtruggle.

Philip was accurately informed of all thoſe tranſactions; and the alarm univerſally ſpread among his faithful emiſſaries, inclined them rather to exaggerate, than to conceal, the danger. Highly provoked againſt the Athenians, the continual oppoſers of his greatneſs, he was unable to retaliate their injuries. If he attacked them by land, he muſt march through the territories of the Thebans and Theſſalians, who, ever ſelfiſh and capricious, would be ready to forſake him with his good fortune. His diſgraceful expedition againſt the cities of the Propontis, rendered the preſent juncture extremely unfavourable to ſuch a hazardous deſign. Nor could he attempt, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, to attack the enemy by ſea, ſince the Athenian fleet ſo far exceeded his own, that it had interrupted, and almoſt totally deſtroyed, the commerce of Macedon.

His intrigues with the incendiary Antiphon.

Amidſt this complication of difficulties, Philip ſhewed how well he underſtood the unſteady temper of the Greeks, by raiſing the ſiege of Byzantium, and burying himſelf in the wilds of Scythia, till the fuming animoſity of his adverſaries had time to evaporate. Not venturing on open hoſtility, he, meanwhile, employed two ſecret engines, which were at work during his abſence, and from which he had reaſon to expect very ſignal advantages before his return. There lived at Athens a man of the name of Antiphon, bold, loud, and

[65] Demoſthen. de Corona. [66] Idem, ibid.

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loquacious in the popular aſſembly, in which, however, he had not a title to vote, much leſs to ſpeak, his name not being recorded in the public regiſter of the city. This defect paſſed long unobſerved, through that ſupine negligence with which Demoſthenes ſo frequently upbraids his countrymen. At length the treaſon of Antiphon (for the Athenians regarded an unqualified voter in the aſſembly as an uſurper of ſovereign power) was diſcovered, and arraigned by one of the many citizens to whom his inſolence and calumny had juſtly rendered him obnoxious; in conſequence of which impeachment, the ſuppoſititious Athenian was diveſted of his borrowed character, and driven with ignominy from a country, whoſe moſt auguſt rights and honours he had uſurped and diſgraced. Stung with diſappointment and rage, Antiphon had recourſe to the king of Macedon, and offered himſelf for any enterpriſe, however bloody or deſperate, by which, in ſerving the intereſt of Philip, he might gratify his own thirſt for vengeance. The ambitious Macedonian kept his ends too ſteadily in view, and purſued them with too much ardour and perſeverance, to be very delicate in chooſing the means by which he might diſtreſs his adverſaries. He greedily cloſed, therefore, with the propoſal of Antiphon, in whom he rejoiced to find an inſtrument ſo fit for his ſervice.

Who attempts to ſet fire to the Athenian docks.

The ſuperiority of the Athenians by ſea, which their actual diligence in their docks and arſenals ſhewed them determined to maintain and increaſe, formed the chief obſtacle to the grandeur of Macedon. By whom the deſign was ſuggeſted, is unknown; but it was agreed between Philip and Antiphon, that the latter ſhould return to Athens in diſguiſe, inſinuate himſelf into the Piræus, and lie there in concealment, until he found an opportunity to ſet fire to the Athenian docks, and thus deſtroy at once the main hope of the republic. While the artful king of Macedon eluded the ſtorm of his enemies by wandering in the woods of Scythia, his perfidious accomplice lurked, like a ſerpent, in the boſom of Athens, being lodged without ſuſpicion

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ſuſpicion in the harbour, which glowed with the ardour of naval preparation, and into which were daily accumulated new maſſes of tar, timber, and other materials, alike proper for a fleet, and for the purpoſe of Antiphon.

The deſign detected by Demoſthenes.

But the vigilance of Demoſthenes diſcovered this deſperate deſign, when on the point of execution. He immediately flew to the Piræus, dragged Antiphon from his concealment, diveſted him of his diſguiſe, and produced him at the bar of the aſſembly. The capricious and deluded multitude, alike prone to anger and to compaſſion, were on this occaſion very differently affected from what might be conjectured. Inſtead of execrating a wretch capable of ſuch black deeds, they beheld, with pity, a man once regarded as their fellow-citizen, brought before them after a long abſence, and accuſed, perhaps on vain preſumptions, of ſuch a horrid crime. They knew, beſides, the wicked artifices of their orators, who, to encreaſe their own importance, often terrified the public with falſe alarms, and imaginary dangers. Æſchines, and other partiſans of Philip, were at hand to ſtrengthen theſe impreſſions. They repreſented the whole tranſaction of Demoſthenes as a complication of fraud and cruelty; loudly inveighed againſt his inſolent triumph over the calamities of the unfortunate; and reproached his entering by force into the houſe where Antiphon was concealed, as a violation of freedom pregnant with the moſt dangerous conſequences, and as trampling on the reſpected maxim of Athenian law and religion, that every man's houſe was his ſanctuary [67]. Such was the effect of theſe clamours, that Antiphon was diſmiſſed without the formality of a trial, and might, perhaps, have reſumed his purpoſe with more ſecurity than before, had not the ſenate of the Areopagus more carefully examined the information of Demoſthenes. By the authority of that court, the traitor was again ſeized, and tried. Torture, which the inſtitution of domeſtic ſlavery introduced and rendered familiar in Greece, ex-

[67] Lyſias paſſim in Agorat. & Eratoſth.

torted

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torted from him a late and reluctant confeſſion; and his enormous guilt was puniſhed with as enormous ſeverity [68].

Philip's intrigues for embroiling the affairs of Greece.

Had the deteſtable enterpriſe of Antiphon been crowned with unmerited ſucceſs, Philip would have attained his purpoſe of ruining Athens, by a rude ſtroke of vulgar perfidy. But the engines which he ſet in motion for gaining the ſame end, at a time when he was obliged to fly the awakened reſentment of Greece, and to bury in the wilds of Scythia the diſgrace ſuſtained before the walls of Byzantium, will not be eaſily matched by any parallel tranſactions in hiſtory, whether we conſider the profound artifice with which the plan was contrived and combined, the nice adaptation of the ſeveral parts, or the unwearied dexterity with which the whole was carried into execution. It is on this occaſion that Demoſthenes might juſtly exclaim, "In one circumſtance, chiefly, is Philip diſtinguiſhed above all his ambitious predeceſſors, the enemies of Grecian freedom. His meaſures required the co-operation of traitors, and traitors he has found more corrupt and dexterous than ever appeared in any former age; and, what is moſt worthy of remark, nouriſhed the principal inſtruments of his ambition in the boſom of that ſtate, whoſe public councils moſt openly oppoſed his greatneſs [69]."

His partiſans ſent from Athens as deputies to the Amphictyons.

The time approached for convening at Delphi the vernal aſſembly of the Amphictyons. It was evidently the intereſt of the Athenians, and might have been expected from their juſt reſentment againſt Philip, that they ſhould ſend ſuch deputies to the city of Apollo, as were moſt hoſtile to the Macedonian, and moſt zealous in the cauſe of liberty, and their country. But intrigue and cabal prevailed over every motive of public utility; and the negligent or factious multitude were perſuaded, at a criſis which demanded the moſt faithful and incorrupt miniſters, to employ, as their repreſentatives in the Amphictyonic council, Æſchines and Midias; the former of whom

[68] Demoſthenes de Coron. who gives the honourable account of his own conduct deſcribed in the text. [69] Idem, ibid.

had

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had ſo often reproached, and the latter had, on one occaſion, ſtruck Demoſthenes in the public theatre[70]; and who were both not only the declared enemies of this illuſtrious patriot, but, as well as their colleagues Diognetus and Thraſicles, the warm and active partiſans of the king of Macedon. Soon after their arrival at Delphi, Midias and Diognetus[71] pretended ſickneſs, that they might allow Æſchines to diſplay, uncontrouled, his ſuperior dexterity; and to act a part, which, requiring the deepeſt diſſimulation, might be performed moſt ſucceſsfully by a ſingle traitor. The Amphictyons were employed in repairing the temple; the ſacred offerings, which had been removed and ſold by the impiety of the Phocians, were collected from every quarter of Greece; and new preſents were made by ſeveral ſtates, to ſupply the place of the old, which could not be recovered.

Who preſent a dedication to the temple highly offenſive to the Thebans.

The Athenians particularly ſignaliſed their pious munificence, and ſent, among other dedications, ſeveral golden ſhields, with the following inſcription: "Taken from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought againſt Greece." This offering, highly offenſive to the Theban deputies, was prematurely ſuſpended in the temple; the Thebans murmured, the Amphictyons liſtened to their complaints, and it was whiſpered in the council, that the Athenians deſerved puniſhment for preſenting their gift to the god, before it had been regularly conſecrated, together with the other offerings. Pretending high indignation at theſe murmurs, Æſchines[72] ruſhed into the aſſembly, and began a formal, yet ſpirited defence of his countrymen; when he was rudely interrupted by a Locrian, of Amphiſſa[73], a city eight miles

[70] Demoſth. in Mid. & Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

[71] Æſchines ſays, Διογνητον πιεζεσθαι; "That Diognetus was ſeized with a fever, and that the ſame misfortune happened to Midias," p. 290.

[72] Ἀρχομενῳ δε μοι λεγειν, και προθυμοτερον πως ἐσιλελειβοτος μοι το συνεδριον. Æſchin. p. 290.

[73] Æſchines varniſhes the ſtory with inimitable addreſs: ἀπεβοησας τις των Ἀμφισσεων, ἀυξωπος ἀσιλλογιστος, και ὡς ἐμοι φαινεται ὑδιμιας παιδιας μετεσχηκως, ἰσως δε και δαιμονιων; ἐξαμαρτανειν αυτον προαγοντων. "He was interrupted by the vociferation of a certain Amphiſſean, a man the moſt impudent, totally illiterate, and perhaps impelled to folly by ſome offended divinity."

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distant from Delphi, which growing populous and powerful on the ruins of Crissa and Cirrha, had ventured to cultivate the Cirrhean plain, which, near three centuries before, had been desolated by the Amphictyons, solemnly consecrated to Apollo, and devoted to perpetual sterility [74].

The Athenians reproached by the deputy of Amphissa.

The artful Locrian, affecting a religious zeal not less ardent than the patriotism of Æschines, clamorously interrupted that orator, calling aloud in the assembly, that it ill became the dignity of the Amphictyons to hear with patience the justification, much less the praises of Athens, a city impious and profane, which, in defiance of human and divine laws, had so recently abetted the execrable sacrilege of the Phocians; that if the Amphictyons followed his advice, or consulted the dictates of duty and honour, they would not allow the detested name of the Athenians to be mentioned in that august council [75]."

Æschines in-veighs against the Locrians for cultivating the Cirrhean plain;

Æschines thus obtained an opportunity of exciting such tumults in the assembly as suited the views of Philip [76]. In the ardour of patriotic indignation, which he knew so well to assume, he poured forth a torrent of impetuous invective against the insolent Locrian, and his city Amphissa; not only justified the innocence, but displayed, with ostentation, the illustrious merit of the Athenians; and then addressing the Amphictyons with a look peculiarly earnest and expressive, "Say, ye Grecians! shall men who never knew the exalted pleasures of virtue and renown, be suffered to tear from us the inestimable rewards of glory so justly [77] earned? Shall men, themselves

[74] See these events particularly related, vol. i. c. v. p. 157.

[75] Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

[76] Demosthen. de Corona.

[77] The persuasive energy with which Æschines defends his treachery, or rather displays his patriotism, on this occasion, is not excelled by any thing in Demosthenes himself. Had the works of the latter perished, the two orations of Æschines (de Falsa Legatione, and in Ctesiphont.) would have justly been regarded as the most perfect models of eloquence produced by human genius. But the works, and even the name of Æschines, are eclipsed in the fame of his rival. So disproportionate are the rewards of acting a first and a second part, and so just the poet's advice to all candidates for fame:

Αιν αριστευειν και υπειροχον εμμεναι αλλων.

polluted

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polluted by ſacrilege, and already devoted to deſtruction by the moſt awful imprecations, preſume to call the Athenians profane and impious? Look down, ye reverend guardians of religion! look down on that plain (pointing to the Cirrhean plain, which might be ſeen from the temple), behold theſe lands anciently devoted to the god, but now appropriated and cultivated by the Amphiſſeans; behold the numerous buildings which they have erected there, and that accurſed port of Cirrha, juſtly demoliſhed by our anceſtors, now rebuilt and fortified." Æſchines here read the oracle of Apollo, which condemned that harbour and thoſe lands to perpetual deſolation. Then proceeding with increaſed vehemence: "For myſelf, ye Grecians! I ſwear, that I myſelf, my children, my country, will diſcharge our duty to heaven; and, with all the powers and faculties of mind and body, avenge the abominable violation of the conſecrated territory. Do you, Amphictyons! determine as wiſdom ſhall direct. Your offerings are prepared, your victims are brought to the altar; you are ready to offer ſolemn prayers for bleſſings on yourſelves, and on the republics which you repreſent. But conſider with what voice, with what heart, with what confidence, you can breathe out your petitions, while you ſuffer the profanation of the Amphiſſeans to paſs unrevenged. Hear the words of the imprecation, not only againſt thoſe who cultivate the conſecrated ground, but againſt thoſe who neglect to puniſh them: "May they never preſent an acceptable offering to Apollo, Diana, Latona, or Minerva the provident; but may all their ſacrifices and religious rites be for ever rejected and abhorred!"

The warmth of Æſchines occaſioned the utmoſt tumult in the aſſembly. The golden ſhields, irregularly dedicated by the Athenians, were no longer the ſubject of diſcourſe. This ſlight impropriety diſappeared amidſt the enormous impieties of the Amphiſſeans, which had been ſo forcibly painted to the ſuperſtitious fancies of the

which excites the third ſacred war.

[78] Pauſanias Phocic. & Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

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terrified multitude. It was determined, after violent contentions between thoſe who accuſed, and thoſe who defended this unhappy people, that the Amphictyons, having ſummoned the aſſiſtance of the citizens of Delphi, ſhould next day repair to the Cirrhean plain, in order to burn, cut down, and deſtroy the houſes and plantations, which had ſo long adorned and defiled that devoted territory. The ravagers met with little oppoſition in performing this pious devaſtation; but as they returned towards the temple, they were overtaken and aſſaulted by a numerous party of Amphiſſeans, who threw them into diſorder, made ſeveral priſoners, and purſued the reſt to Delphi. The ſignal of war was now raiſed; the inſulted Amphictyons, in whoſe perſons the ſanctity of religion had been violated, complained to their reſpective republics, while the recent audacity of the Amphiſſeans aggravated their ancient crimes and enormities. But agreeably to the languor inherent in councils which poſſeſs only a delegated authority, the meaſures of the Amphictyons were extremely ſlow and irreſolute; and when they at length raiſed an army under the command of Cottyphus, a Theſſalian, and a creature of Philip's, their operations were ill conducted and unſucceſsful [79].

The Amphictyons appoint Philip their general.

Affairs were thus brought to the iſſue which had been expected by Æſchines, and the accomplices who aſſiſted him, in promoting the intereſt of the king of Macedon. They loudly declaimed in the council againſt the lukewarm indifference of the Grecian ſtates in a war which ſo deeply concerned the national religion. "It became the Amphictyons, therefore, as the miniſters of Apollo and the guardians of his temple, to ſeek out and employ ſome more powerful inſtrument of the divine vengeance. Philip of Macedon had formerly given proof of his pious zeal in the Phocian war. That prince was now returning in triumph from his Scythian expedition. His aſſiſtance muſt again be demanded (nor would it be demanded in vain)

[79] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

vain) to defend the cauſe of Apollo and the ſacred ſhrine." This propoſal being approved, a deputation of the Amphictyons met Philip in Thrace. He received their welcome meſſage with well-affected ſurpriſe, but declared his veneration for the commands of the council, which he ſhould be ever ready to obey [80].

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Philip eludes the Athenian fleet by a ſtratagem.

The vigilant prince had already taken proper meaſures for acting as general of the Amphictyons, and provided a ſufficient number of tranſports to convey his army into Greece. He underſtood that notwithſtanding the intrigues of Æſchines and his aſſociates, the Athenians had been perſuaded by Demoſthenes to oppoſe his deſign, and that their admirals Chares and Proxenus prepared to intercept his paſſage with a ſuperior naval force. To baffle this oppoſition, Philip employed a ſtratagem. A light brigantine was diſpatched to Macedon with letters of ſuch import as gave reaſon to believe that he purpoſed immediately returning into Thrace [81]. Beſides writing to Antipater, his principal confidant and miniſter, he took care to maſk his artifice, by ſending letters to his queen Olympias. The brigantine purpoſely fell into the hands of the Athenians. The diſpatches were ſeized and read; but the letter of the queen was politely forwarded to its deſtination [82]. The Athenian admirals quitted their ſtation, and Philip arrived, without oppoſition, on the coaſt of Locris, from whence he proceeded to Delphi.

Philip defeats the Athenian mercenaries, and takes poſſeſſion of Amphiſſa.

Though the Macedonians alone were far more numerous than ſeemed neceſſary for the reduction of Amphiſſa, the king, in the month of November, diſpatched circular letters through moſt parts of Greece, requiring from the Thebans, Peloponneſians, and other ſtates, the aſſiſtance of their combined arms to maintain the cauſe of the Amphictyons and Apollo. The Thebans, rather intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, of whoſe deſigns they had lately become extremely jealous, ſent a ſmall body of infantry to join the ſtandard of Philip. The

[80] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. [81] Polyæn. l. iv. c. ii. [82] Plut. in Demetr.

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Lacedæmonians, long diſguſted with the meaſures of Greece, and envying the power of Macedon, which they had not public ſpirit to oppoſe, beheld all recent tranſactions with a contemptuous diſregard, and ſeemed firm in their purpoſe of preſerving a ſullen neutrality. The Athenians, awakened by the activity of Demoſthenes to a ſenſe of their danger, oppoſed Philip with ten thouſand mercenaries, deſpiſing the threats of the oracle, againſt thoſe who took part with the impious Amphiſſeans. The orator boldly accuſed the Pythian prieſteſs and her miniſters of being bribed to Philippiſe, or to propheſy as might beſt ſuit the intereſt of Philip; while Æſchines, on the other hand, accuſed his adverſary of having received a thouſand drachmas, and an annual penſion of twenty minæ, to abet the impiety of Amphiſſa [83]. The king of Macedon, without waiting for any farther reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans, beſieged, took, and garriſoned that unfortunate city; and having routed and put to flight the Athenian mercenaries, ſpread the terror of his arms round all the neighbouring territory [84].

The Athenians, while they negociate with Philip, raiſe a confederacy againſt that prince.

The news of theſe events occaſioned dreadful conſternation in Athens. The terrified citizens, who could not be perſuaded to tear themſelves from their beloved pleaſures in order to defend Amphiſſa, believed the moment approaching when they muſt defend their own walls againſt the victorious invader. After leſs altercation and delay than uſually prevailed in their councils, they ſent an embaſſy to Philip, craving a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and, at the ſame time, diſpatched their ableſt orators to rouſe the Greeks from their ſupine negligence, and to animate and unite them againſt a Barbarian, who, under pretence of avenging the offended divinity of Apollo, meditated the ſubjugation of their common country. Megara, Eubœa, Leucas, Corinth, Corcyra, and Achaia, favourably received the ambaſſadors, and readily entered into a league againſt Macedon. Thebes fluctuated in uncertainty, hating the Athenians

[83] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. [84] Demoſthen. de Corona.

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as rivals, and dreading Philip as a tyrant. The ſituation of the Theban territory, through which Philip muſt march before he could invade Attica, rendered the deciſion of that people peculiarly important [85]. To gain or to retain their friendſhip, the intrigues of Philip, the eloquence of Athens had been employed with unwearied aſſiduity. The Thebans temporiſed, deliberated, reſolved, and changed their reſolutions. The partiſans of Athens were moſt numerous, thoſe of Macedon moſt active, while the great body of the Theban people heard the clamours and arguments of both parties with that ſtupid indifference, and took their meaſures with that lethargic ſlowneſs, which diſgraced even the heavy character of the Bœotians [86].

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The Thebans fluctuate between the party of Philip and that of the Athenians.

To fix their wavering irreſolution, and to awaken their ſenſibility, Philip at length had recourſe to the ſtrong impreſſion of terror. From the general wreck of Phocis, his foreſight and policy had ſpared the walls of Elatæa, a city important by its ſituation between two ranges of mountains, which opened into Phocis and Bœotia. The citadel was built on an eminence, waſhed by the river Cephiſſus, which flowed in a winding courſe through Bœotia into the lake Copais; a broad expanſe of water, which, by ſeveral navigable ſtreams, communicated with Attica. This valuable poſt, conveniently ſituate for receiving reinforcements from Theſſaly and Macedon, commanding the paſſage into Bœotia, diſtant only two days march from Attica, and which, being garriſoned by a powerful army, might continually alarm the ſafety of Thebes and Athens, Philip ſeized with equal boldneſs and celerity [87], drew the greater part of his troops thither, repaired and ſtrengthened the walls of the place, and having thus ſecured himſelf from ſurpriſe, watched a favourable opportunity of inflicting puniſhment on the Athenians, who had given him ſufficient ground to repreſent them as the ene-

Philip ſeizes Elatæa. Olymp. cx. 3. A. C. 338.

[85] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 475.
[86] Demoſthen. de Coron.
[87] Diodor. & Demoſthen. ubi ſupra.

mies

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mies of the Amphictyonic council[88], by whose authority the king of Macedon affected to be guided in all his operations.

Alarm thereby excited in Athens.

We are not acquainted with the immediate effect of this vigorous measure over the minds of the Thebans; but the terror and consternation of the uncorrupt part of the citizens, may be conjectured by what happened on this occasion at Athens. It was late in the evening when a courier arrived with the melancholy tidings that Philip had taken possession of Elatæa. The people had retired to their houses; the magistrates supped in the Prytanæum; but in a moment all were abroad. Some hastened to the generals; others went in quest of the officer[89] whose business it was to summon the citizens to council; most flocked to the market-place; and, in order to make room for the assembly, pulled down or burned the temporary wooden edifices erected by the tradesmen and artificers who exposed their wares to sale in that spacious square. Before dawn the confusion ceased; the citizens were all assembled; the senators took their places; the president reported to them the alarming intelligence that had been received. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice, "That he who had any thing to offer on the present emergence, should mount the rostrum, and propose his advice." The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with silence and dismay. The magistrates, the generals, the demagogues, were all present; but none obeyed the summons of the herald, which Demosthenes calls the voice of their country imploring the assistance of her children[90].

Demosthenes exhorts the Athenians to oppose Philip to the utmost of their power by sea and land.

At length that accomplished orator arose, and obtained the noblest triumph of patriotism; having proposed, amidst universal consternation, an advice equally prudent, generous, and successful. He began

[88] Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

[89] Τον σαλπιγκτην εκαλει, p. 317.

[90] Κλησης δε της κοινης της πατριδος φωνης τον ιεντα υπερ σωτηριας· ην γαρ ο κηρυξ κατα της νομος φωνην αφησι, ταυτην κοινην της πατριδος δικαιον εστι καγεσθαι, p. 317. The passage that follows has been often cited, and can never be too much studied, as one of the finest examples of oratorical narration.

by

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by darting a ray of hope into the deſponding citizens, and aſſuring them that, were not the Thebans, the greater part at leaſt of the Thebans, hoſtile to Philip, that prince would not be actually poſted at Elatæa, but on the Athenian frontier. He exhorted his countrymen to ſhake off the unmanly terror which had ſurpriſed them; and, inſtead of fearing for themſelves, to fear only for their neighbours, whoſe territories were more immediately threatened, and who muſt ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the invaſion. "Let your forces," continued he, "immediately march to Eleuſis, in order to ſhow the Thebans, and all Greece, that as thoſe who have ſold their country, are ſupported by the Macedonian forces at Elatæa, ſo you are ready to defend with your hereditary courage and fortune thoſe who fight for liberty. Let ambaſſadors at the ſame time be ſent to Thebes, to remind that republic of the good offices conferred by your anceſtors; to aſſure the Thebans, that you do not conſider them as aliens; that the people of Athens have forgot all recent hoſtilities with the citizens of Greece, and will never forſake the cauſe of their common country, which is actually, in a peculiar manner, the cauſe of Thebes. To this community, therefore, offer your moſt diſintereſted ſervices. To make any demand for yourſelves, would be highly improper in the preſent juncture. Aſſure them that you are deeply affected by their danger, and prepared generouſly to defend them to the utmoſt of your power."

The decree for that purpoſe, dated Auguſt.

Theſe propoſals being received with general approbation, Demoſthenes drew up a formal decree for carrying them into execution; a decree which may be conſidered as the expiring voice of a people, who, agreeably to the magnanimous counſel of Pericles, had determined, that when every thing mortal periſhed, the fame of Athens ſhould remain[91]. Having painted, in the moſt odious colours, the perfidy

[91] See vol. i. c. xv. p. 497. In defending his own conduct, notwithſtanding the unfortunate conſequences with which it was attended, Demoſthenes ſeems animated by the true

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perfidy and violence of Philip; and having ſtigmatiſed with due ſeverity the recent inſtances of his injuſtice and luſt of power, the orator concludes, "For ſuch reaſons, the ſenate and people of Athens, emulating the glory of their anceſtors, to whom the liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the intereſt of their particular republic, and humbly revering the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whoſe aid they now implore, have reſolved to ſend to the coaſt of Bœotia a fleet of two hundred ſail, to march to Eleuſis with their whole military ſtrength, to diſpatch ambaſſadors to the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, encouraging them to remain unterrified amidſt the dangers which threaten them, and to exert themſelves manfully in defence of the common cauſe, with aſſurance that the people of Athens, unmindful of old or later differences which have prevailed between the two republics, are determined and ready to ſupport them with all their faculties, their treaſures, their navies, and their armies, well knowing, that to contend for pre-eminence with the Greeks is an

true ſpirit of Pericles. Βελτιον τι και παραδοξον ειπειν; και μα τους θεους και θεας! μηδεις την υπερβολην θαυμαζων, αλλα μαλ' εις ους λεγω βλεψατω· ει γαρ απασι προ τουτου τα μελλοντα γινωσκεσθαι, και προειδεσαν παντες, και σι προειπον Αισχινης, και διεμαρτυρω, ουκ αν και κεκραγως, ουδ' ηθελησεν· ουδ' ητω απεστατην τη πολει τεταραγμενην υπερ της δοξης της προγονων της του μελλοντος αιωνος ισχειν λογον. The beauties of ſuch paſſages, depending chiefly on collocation of words and ſentiments, of which Demoſthenes, of all writers, was the greateſt maſter, cannot be tranſlated. The meaning is, "I will venture to ſay what is contrary to common opinion, and, in the name of the Gods! regard not its extravagance, but examine it with indulgence. Had all of you foreſeen what was going to happen, had the conſequences of our conduct been manifeſt, and had you, Æſchines, repeatedly proclaimed them with a loud voice, you, who then opened not your mouth, yet the Athenians ought not to have forſaken the cauſe of Grecian freedom, unleſs they forſook their glory, their anceſtors, and their renown with ſucceeding ages." The ſame thought is expreſſed in language ſtill bolder, after the hearers are prepared for it, by a page of the moſt animated eloquence: Αλλα μη γαρ εστι, ουκ εστι, τοις τροπαιοις τοις υπερ της απαντων ελευθεριας και δοξης κινδυνευσασι παραπλησιον ουδεν τοις εν Μαραθωνι κινδυνευσασι των προγονων, &c. See the paſſage, p. 343. He ſwears by thoſe who fought at Marathon, Platæa, Salamis, and Artemiſium, that the Athenians did not err in defending, with unequal fortune, and againſt ſuperior force, the public ſafety and liberty. Such paſſages, when detached, may appear extravagant and gigantic; but, as in the church of St. Peter's, where all is arranged with ſuch admirable ſymmetry, that no figure appears beyond the natural ſize, ſo, in the works of Demoſthenes, nothing appears monſtrous, becauſe all is great.

honour-

honourable conteſt; but to be commanded by a foreigner, and to ſuffer a Barbarian to wreſt the ſovereignty from their hands, would tarniſh their hereditary glory, and diſgrace their country for ever."

Demoſthenes perſuades the Thebans to join the ſtandard of Athens.

The ſame undaunted ſpirit which dictated this decree, attended the exertions of Demoſthenes in his embaſſy to Thebes, in which he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and over the eloquence of Philon of Byzantium, the emiſſaries employed by Philip on this important occaſion. The Thebans paſſed a decree for receiving with gratitude the proffered aſſiſtance of Athens; and the Athenian army having ſoon after taken the field, were admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with all the flattering diſtinctions of ancient hoſpitality[92].

Preparations on both ſides for the battle of Chæronæa.

Meanwhile Philip having advanced towards the Bœotian frontier, his detached parties were foiled in two rencounters with the confederates. Regardleſs of theſe loſſes, to which, perhaps, he purpoſely ſubmitted, as neceſſary ſtratagems to draw the enemy from their walls, he proceeded with his main body, thirty-two thouſand ſtrong, to the plain of Chæronæa. This place was conſidered by Philip as well adapted to the operations of the Macedonian phalanx; and the ground for his encampment, and afterwards the field of battle, were choſen with equal ſagacity; having in view, on one ſide, a temple of Hercules, whom the Macedonians regarded as the author of their royal houſe, and the high protector of their fortune; and, on the other, the banks of the Thermodon, a ſmall river flowing into the Cephiſſus, announced by the oracles of Greece as the deſtined ſcene of deſolation and woe to their unhappy country[93]. The generals of the confederate Greeks had been much leſs careful to avail them-

[92] Demoſthenes, who furniſhes the above narrative, avoids dwelling on the following melancholy events, which are related by Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 475, & ſeqq. Plut. in Alexand. Strabo, l. ix. p. 414. Juſtin. l. ix. c. iii. & Pauſanias Bœotic.

[93] Plut. in Vit. Demoſth.

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ſelves of the powerful ſanctions of ſuperſtition. Unreſtrained by inauſpicious ſacriſices, the Athenians had left their city at the exhortation of Demoſthenes, to wait no other omen but the cauſe of their country. Regardleſs of oracles, they afterwards advanced to the ill-fated Thermodon, accompanied by the Thebans, and the ſcanty reinforcements raiſed by the iſlands, and ſtates of Peloponneſus, which had joined their alliance. Their army amounted to thirty thouſand men, animated by the nobleſt cauſe for which men can fight, but commanded by the Athenians Lyſicles and Chares, the firſt but little, and the ſecond unfavourably, known; and by Theagenes the Theban, a perſon ſtrongly ſuſpected of treachery; all three creatures of cabal, and tools of faction, ſlaves of intereſt or voluptuouſneſs, whoſe characters (eſpecially as they had been appointed to command the only ſtates whoſe ſhame, rather than virtue, yet oppoſed the public enemy) are alone ſufficient to prove that Greece was ripe for ruin.

Alexander routs the Thebans.

When the day approached for aboliſhing the tottering independence of thoſe turbulent republics, which their own internal vices, and the arms and intrigues of Philip had been gradually undermining for twenty-two years, both armies formed in battle array before the riſing of the ſun. The right wing of the Macedonians was headed by Philip, who judged proper to oppoſe in perſon the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His ſon Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but ſurrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were poſted in the centre. In the beginning of the action, the Athenians charged with impetuoſity, and repelled the oppoſing diviſions of the enemy; but the youthful ardour of Alexander obliged the Thebans[94] to retire, the Sacred Band being cut down to a man. The activity of the young

[94] Plutarch. in Alexand.

prince

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prince completed their diſorder, and purſued the ſcattered multitude with his Theſſalian cavalry.

Philip defeats the Athenians.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much elated by their firſt advantage, loſt the opportunity to improve it; for, having repelled the centre and left wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, which was compoſed of choſen men, and immediately commanded by the king, they, inſtead of attempting to break this formidable body, by attacking it in flank, preſſed[95] forward againſt the fugitives, the inſolent Lyſicles exclaiming in vain triumph, "Purſue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip obſerved this raſh folly with contempt, and ſaying to thoſe around him, "our enemies know not how to conquer," commanded his phalanx, by a rapid evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence, from which they poured down, firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians, whoſe confidence of ſucceſs had rendered them totally inſenſible to danger. But the irreſiſtible ſhock of the Macedonian ſpear converted their fury into deſpair. Above a thouſand fell, two thouſand were taken priſoners; the reſt eſcaped by a precipitate and ſhameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken. Few of the confederates periſhed, as they had little ſhare in the action, and as Philip, perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to ſpare the vanquiſhed, with a clemency unuſual in that age, and not leſs honourable to his underſtanding than his heart; ſince his humanity thus ſubdued the minds, and gained the affections of his conquered enemies[96].

Philip viſits the field of battle.

According to the Grecian cuſtom, the battle was followed by an entertainment, at which the king, preſiding in perſon, received the congratulations of his friends, and the humble ſupplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their ſlain. Their requeſt, which ſerved as an acknowledgment of their defeat, was readily granted; but before they availed themſelves of the permiſſion

[95] Polyæn. Stratagem, l. iv. c. ii. [96] Pauſan. Achaic. Diodor. & Juſtin, ubi ſupra.

to

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to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural intemperance had protracted the entertainment till morning, iſſued forth with his licentious companions to viſit the field of battle; their heads crowned with feſtive garlands, their minds intoxicated with the inſolence of wine and victory; yet the ſight of the ſlaughtered Thebans, which firſt preſented itſelf to their eyes, and particularly the ſacred band of friends and lovers, who lay covered with honourable wounds, on the ſpot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back theſe inſolent ſpectators to the ſentiments of reaſon and humanity. Philip beheld the awful ſcene with a mixture of admiration and pity; and, after an affecting ſilence, denounced a ſolemn curſe againſt thoſe who baſely ſuſpected the friendſhip of ſuch brave men to be tainted with criminal and infamous paſſions [97].

His levity reprimanded by Demades.

But this ſerious temper of mind did not laſt long; for having proceeded to that quarter of the field where the Athenians had fought and fallen, the king abandoned himſelf to all the levity and littleneſs of the moſt petulant joy. Inſtead of being impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of his recent danger, and with dutiful gratitude to Heaven for the happineſs of his eſcape, and the importance of his victory, Philip only compared the boaſtful pretenſions, with the mean performances of his Athenian enemies; and, ſtruck by this contraſt, rehearſed, with the inſolent mockery of a buffoon, the pompous declaration of war lately drawn up by the ardent patriotiſm, and too ſanguine hopes of Demoſthenes. It was on this occaſion that the orator Demades at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by aſking him, Why he aſſumed the character of Therſites, when fortune aſſigned him the part of Agamemnon [98]?

The different treatment of the Athenians and Thebans.

Whatever might be the effect of this ſharp reprimand [99], it is certain that the king of Macedon indulged not, on any future occaſion, a vain triumph over the vanquiſhed. When adviſed by his generals

[97] Plutarch in Pelopid.
[98] Idem in Demoſthen.
[99] Plutarch aſcribes to this ſmart obſervation the moderation of Philip's ſubſequent conduct.

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generals to advance into Attica, and to render himſelf maſter of Athens, he only replied, " Have I done ſo much for glory, and ſhall I deſtroy the theatre of that glory [100]?" His ſubſequent conduct correſponded with the moderation of this ſentiment. He reſtored, without ranſom, the Athenian priſoners; who, at departing, having demanded their baggage, were alſo gratified in this particular; the king pleaſantly obſerving, that the Athenians ſeemed to think he had not conquered [101] them in earneſt. Soon afterwards he diſpatched his ſon Alexander, and Antipater, the moſt truſted of his miniſters, to offer them peace on ſuch favourable terms as they had little reaſon to expect. They were required to ſend deputies to the Iſthmus of Corinth, where, to adjuſt their reſpective contingents of troops for the Perſian expedition, Philip purpoſed aſſembling, early in the ſpring, a general convention of all the Grecian ſtates; they were ordered to ſurrender the iſle of Samos, which actually formed the principal ſtation of their fleet, and the main bulwark and defence of all their maritime or inſular poſſeſſions; but they were allowed to enjoy, unmoleſted, the Attic territory, with their hereditary form of government, and flattered by the acquiſition of Oropus, for which they had ſo long contended with the unhappy Thebans [102]. It was not only in being deprived of this city, that the Thebans experienced the indignation of the conqueror; from the tranſactions between Macedon and Thebes, in the early part of his reign, Philip thought himſelf entitled to treat that people, not as open and generous enemies, whoſe ſtruggle for freedom deſerved his clemency, but as faithleſs and inſidious rebels, who merited all the ſeverity of his juſtice. He puniſhed the republican party with unrelenting rigour; reſtored the traitors, whom they had baniſhed, to the firſt honours

[100] Plutarch in Apophth.
[101] Idem, ibid.
[102] Pauſanias Bœotic. Diodorus, ubi ſupra.

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honours of the republic; and, in order to support their government, placed a Macedonian garrison in the Theban citadel [103].

Causes from which it proceeded.

In his opposite treatment of the two republics, Philip, it is probable, was swayed neither by affection nor hatred; his generosity and his rigour were alike artificial, and both directed by his interest. Besides the different characters of the Thebans and Athenians, which rendered the former as sensible to the impression of fear, as the latter were susceptible of gratitude and esteem, the Thebans had too long, and too early, abandoned the cause of Greece, and too strenuously exerted themselves in establishing the power of Macedon, to acquire much reputation by one unsuccessful attempt to resist Philip, to which they had been at length animated, less by their own public spirit or courage, than by the zeal and eloquence of Demosthenes. The Athenians, on the contrary, who from the beginning had opposed the views of this prince, though with far less prudence and activity than their situation required; who, through the whole course of his reign, had continued to traverse his measures, and to spurn his authority; and who, previously to the last fatal encounter at Chæronæa, had endeavoured to form a general confederacy, and when that proved impossible, had determined, almost unassisted and alone, to resist the common foe, seemed entitled to such gratitude and applause, as compassion bestows on ill-directed valour and unfortunate patriotism; and the rigorous treatment of such a people must have shocked the sentiments, and exasperated the hatred, of every citizen of Greece, who yet retained the faintest tincture of ancient principles, or who was still animated by the smallest spark of public spirit.

Daring measures of the Athenians after their defeat.

Philip too well understood his interest, thus to tarnish the glory, and risk the fruits of victory, although the daring and imprudent behaviour of the Athenians, after the battle, might have served to

[103] Justin. l. ix. c. iv.

justify

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juſtify the harſheſt meaſures. The firſt news of their defeat filled the city with tumult or conſternation. But when the diſorder ceaſed, the people ſhewed themſelves diſpoſed to place their whole confidence in arms, none in the mercy of Philip. Upon the motion of Hyperides [154], a decree paſſed for ſending to the Piræus their wives, children, and moſt valuable effects, together with the ſacred images and ornaments of their gods. By the ſame decree, the rights and freedom of the city were beſtowed on ſtrangers and ſlaves, and reſtored to perſons declared infamous, on this one condition, that they exerted themſelves in the public defence. Demoſthenes, with equal ſucceſs, propoſed a decree for repairing the walls and fortifications, a work which, being himſelf appointed to ſuperintend, he generouſly accompliſhed at the expence of his private fortune [155]. The orator Lycurgus undertook the more eaſy taſk of impeaching the worthleſs Lyſicles, whoſe miſconduct in the day of battle had been the immediate cauſe of the late fatal diſaſter. In a diſcourſe calculated to revive the ſpirit of military enthuſiaſm, which had anciently animated the Athenians, the ſpeaker thus warmly apoſtrophiſed the conſcious guilt of the mute and trembling general: "The Athenians have been totally defeated in an engagement; the enemy have erected a trophy to the eternal diſhonour of Athens; and Greece is now prepared to receive the deteſted yoke of ſervitude. You were our commander on that inglorious day; and ſhall *you* breathe the vital air, enjoy the light of the ſun, and appear in our public places, a living monument of the diſgrace and ruin of your country?" The quick reſentment of the hearers ſupplied the conſequence, and the criminal was dragged to execution [156].

Neither the inflammatory decrees, nor the hoſtile preparations, of Athens, could ſhake the moderation of Philip, or determine him to alter the favourable terms of accommodation, which he had already

Preparation and victory.

[154] Plut. in Vita Hipperid. [155] Demoſth. de Corona. [156] Dioder. l. xvi. p. 477.

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propoſed by his ambaſſadors. The patriotic or republican party, headed by the orators juſt mentioned, breathed hatred and revenge; but, at the interceſſion of the Areopagus, which on this occaſion acted ſuitably to the fame of its ancient wiſdom, the prudent and virtuous Phocion[107] was appointed to the chief command. The diſcernment of this ſtateſman and general, whoſe merit had been neglected while it was yet time to perform any eſſential ſervice, might eaſily perceive the vanity of attempting to recover the honour of a people, who, antecedently to their defeat by Philip, had been ſtill more fatally ſubdued by their own pernicious vices. Amidſt the important events of the Macedonian war, and amidſt the dreadful miſfortunes which, in conſequence of its melancholy iſſue, hung over their country, a ſet of Athenian citizens, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and fortune, and known by the appellation of the Sixty, from the accidental number of their original inſtitution, daily aſſembled into a club, where all ſerious tranſactions were treated with levity and ridicule, and the time totally dedicated to feaſting, gaming, and the ſprightly exerciſes of wit and pleaſantry. This deteſtable ſociety ſaw[108], without emotion, their countrymen arming for battle; with the moſt careleſs indifference they received accounts of their captivity or death; nor did the public calamities in any degree diſturb their feſtivity, or interrupt, for a moment, the tranquil courſe of their pleaſures. Their fame having reached Macedon, Philip ſent them a ſum of money, to ſupport the expence of an inſtitution ſo favourable to his views. But what opinion muſt Phocion have formed of ſuch an eſtabliſhment; or how was it poſſible for any diſpaſſionate man of ordinary prudence to expect, that a republic ſo totally degenerate, as to foſter ſuch wretches within its boſom, could ſucceſsfully wage war againſt a vigilant and enterpriſing enemy?

Extreme corruption of the Athenians.

[107] Plutarch in Phocion.

[108] Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 614.

The

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They determine to accept the terms of peace offered by Philip.

The arguments of the wiſeſt portion of the community for accepting the peace proffered by Philip, were ſtrengthened and confirmed by the return of Demades with the Athenian priſoners taken at Chæronæa, who unanimouſly blazed forth the praiſes of their generous conqueror. Ambaſſadors were accordingly diſpatched to the king of Macedon, to accept and ratify the treaty of peace, upon the terms which he had condeſcended to offer; and the only marks of deference ſhewn to the violent party, who ſtill clamoured for war, were, that Demochares, who oſtentatiouſly affected a rude boldneſs of ſpeech againſt Philip, was named among the ambaſſadors; and that Demoſthenes, the irreconcilable enemy of that prince, was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of thoſe ſlain at Chæronæa.

Inſolence of Demochares.

Demochares acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion with that ridiculous petulance which naturally flowed from his character; and which, in the Grecian commonwealths, too frequently diſgraced the decency of public tranſactions. At their audience of leave, Philip, with leſs ſincerity than politeneſs, laviſhed on the ambaſſadors his uſual profeſſions of friendſhip, and obligingly aſked them, if there was any thing farther in which he could gratify the Athenians? "Yes," ſaid Demochares, "hang thyſelf." The juſt indignation of all preſent broke forth againſt this unprovoked inſolence, when Philip, with admirable coolneſs, ſilenced the clamour, by ſaying, "Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmoleſted;" and then turning to the other ambaſſadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that thoſe who can utter ſuch outrages are leſs juſt and moderate, than he who can pardon them [109]."

Oration of Demoſthenes in honour of thoſe ſlain at Chæronæa.

The honourable employment conferred on Demoſthenes, which ſhewed that, notwithſtanding the unfortunate iſſue of his counſels, the Athenians ſtill approved his principles and his patriotiſm, might have been expected to elevate his ſentiments and his language to the

[109] Seneca de Ira.

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highest strain of eloquence. But the complexion of the times no longer admitted those daring flights to which he had been accustomed to soar; and the genius of the orator seems to have fallen with the fortunes of his country. With too apparent caution he avoids the mention of all recent transactions, and dwells with tiresome minuteness on the ancient, and even fabulous parts, of the Athenian story. One transient flash of light breaks forth towards the end of his discourse, when, commemorating the glory of the slain, he says, that the removal of those zealous republicans from their country was like taking the sun from the world [110]; a figure bold, yet just; since, after the battle of Chæronæa, there remained no further hopes of resisting the conqueror—the dignity of freedom was for ever lost, and the gloom of night and tyranny descended and thickened over Greece [111].

[110] Ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰ τις ἐκ τοῦ καθεστηκότος κόσμου τὸ φῶς ἐξέλοιτο, δύσχρηστος καὶ χαλεπὸς ἅπας ὁ λοιπὸς μένοι βίος· ἔτω τοίνυν ἀνδρῶν ἀναιρεθέντων, ἐν σκότει καὶ πολλῇ δύσκλεια πᾶς ὁ πρώτος ζῆλος τῶν ἔργων ἔκειτο. p. 155. "For as if light were taken from the world, the remaining life of mortals would be involved in difficulties and misery; so by the death of those warriors, the original glory of Greece was buried in darkness and ignominy."

[111] Hic dies universæ Græciæ, et gloriam dominationis, et vetustissimam libertatem finivit. Justin. l. ix. c. iii. Demosthenes, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias, all express the same sentiments, and nearly in the same words.

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Liberal Spirit of the Macedonian Government.—Philip appointed General of the Greeks.—Rebellion of Illyria.—Aſſaſſination of Philip.—His Character.—Acceſſion of Alexander.—His Expedition againſt the Illyrians and Triballi.—He paſſes the Danube.—Rebellion in Greece.—Deſtruction of Thebes.—Heroiſm of Timoclea.—Alexander croſſes the Helleſpont.—State of the Perſian Empire.—Battle of the Granicus.—Siege of Miletus and Halicarnaſſus.—Bold Adventure of two Macedonian Soldiers.—Alexander's judicious Plan of War.—Arts by which he ſecured his Conqueſts.—The Battle of Iſſus.—The Virtues of Alexander expand with his Proſperity.

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Liberal ſpirit of the Macedonian government.

THE Greeks acknowledged, with reluctance and ſorrow, that by the deciſive victory of Chæronæa, Philip became maſter of their country [1]. But we ſhould form a very erroneous notion of the Macedonian government, if we compared it with the deſpotiſm of the Eaſt, or the abſolute dominion of many European monarchs. The authority of Philip, even in his hereditary realm, was modelled on that admirable ſyſtem of power and liberty, which diſtinguiſhed

[1] Demoſth. Æſchin. Diodor. Plutarch. Arrian, paſſim. I ſhall cite only the words of Strabo: "Χαιρώνεια δὲ [illegible] πρὸς Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνος, Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων κρατήσαντος, ἐν μιᾷ μάχῃ, περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀγωνισαμένων." "And Chæronæa, where Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, having conquered the Athenians, Bœotians, and Corinthians, in a great battle, rendered himſelf maſter of Greece. Strab. Geograph. l. ix. p. 414.

and

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and ennobled the *policies* of the heroic ages[2]. He adminiſtered the religion, decided the differences, and commanded the valour, of ſoldiers and freemen[3]. Perſonal merit entitled him to hold the ſceptre, which being derived from Jove, could not long be ſwayed by unworthy hands. The ſuperiority of his abilities, the vigilant and impartial juſtice of his adminiſtration, formed the main pillars of his prerogative; ſince, according to the principles and feelings of the Macedonians, he who infringed the rights of his ſubjects[4], ceaſed from that moment to be a king.

Nature and extent of Philip's authority in Greece.

Having effected the conqueſt of Greece, the prudence of Philip could not be ſuppoſed ambitious of introducing into that country ſeverer maxims of government than thoſe which prevailed in Macedon. He affected, on the contrary, to preſerve inviolate the ancient forms of the republican conſtitution, and determined to govern the Greeks by the ſame policy with which he had ſubdued them. While Macedonian garriſons kept poſſeſſion of Thermopylæ and the other ſtrong holds of Greece, the faithful and active partiſans of Philip controuled the reſolutions, and directed the meaſures, of each particular republic. The ſuperintendence of the ſacred games, as well as of the Delphi temple, rendered him the only viſible head of the national religion: in conſequence of the double right of preſiding and voting in the Amphictyonic council, he appeared in the character of ſupreme civil magiſtrate of Greece; and his illuſtrious victory at Chæronæa over the only communities that oppoſed his greatneſs, pointed him out as the general beſt entitled to conduct

[2] When Alexander, intoxicated with proſperity, claimed too exalted honours, he was told by Calliſthenes the philoſopher, "Οι προγονοι εξ Αργους εις Μακεδονιαν ηλθον, ουδ' ὡς αλλα νόμῳ Μακεδονων αρχοντες διετελεσαν. "Your anceſtors came from Argos to Macedon, and continued there, governing the Macedonians, not by force, but by law." Arrian. Exped. Alexand. p. 87.

[3] In capital caſes, ſays Curtius, the ſoldiers judged in time of war, the citizens in time of peace. He then adds, "Nihil poteſtas regum valebat niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas;" ſcilicet populi. Curtius, l. vi. c. ix. p. 441.

[4] A very mean ſubject literally told Philip, "If you refuſe to do me juſtice, ceaſe to be a king." Plut. Apophth.

the military force of Greece and Macedon in the long projected invaſion of Perſia; an office which, as he might have aſſumed it without blame, he therefore ſolicited with applauſe from the impartial ſuffrages of the people [5].

Philip named general of the Greeks. Olymp. cx. 4. A. C. 337.

That this condeſcenſion muſt have been highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, appears from the tranſactions at Corinth, where Philip, the year following the battle of Chæronæa, had aſſembled a general convention of the Amphictyonic ſtates [6]. In this aſſembly Dius of Epheſus repreſented, with affecting energy, the vexations and oppreſſion which the feeble colonies of Aſia daily experienced from the rapacious cruelty of the Perſian ſatraps. The general voice of the aſſembly approved his complaint, while they recollected, with indignation, the continual outrages of a people who had anciently invaded their country, inſulted their religion, burned their temples, and, not ſatisfied with theſe acts of vengeance, had reduced and oppreſſed their colonies, and uninterruptedly excited and nouriſhed thoſe cruel animoſities which had long filled every part of Greece with ſedition and blood [7]. Philip had private wrongs to urge againſt the Perſians, whoſe hatred and jealouſy had, on ſeveral occaſions, thwarted his meaſures, and diſturbed his government. Yet he inſiſted chiefly on their public injuries, and notorious enmity to the whole Grecian name, the honour of which could only be redeemed by a ſucceſsful expedition into Aſia.

Amount of their forces.

This expedition was determined with univerſal conſent. Philip was appointed general of the confederacy; and (although the Lacedæmonians ſullenly abſented themſelves from the convention) when the ſeveral ſtates came to aſcertain the contingent of troops which they could reſpectively raiſe, the whole, excluſive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and

[5] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556. Των Ελλήνων ἱλομένων αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν, &c.

[6] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556.

[7] Iſocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

fifteen

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fifteen thouſand horſe[8]; a prodigious force, of which the domeſtic diſſentions of the Greeks had hitherto, perhaps, prevented them from forming an adequate notion. On no former occaſion had the ſeveral republics appeared ſo thoroughly united in one common cauſe; never had they ſhewn themſelves ſo ſenſible of their combined ſtrength; never had they teſtified ſuch general alacrity to take the field, or ſuch unlimited confidence in the abilities of their commander.

The expedition retarded by a rebellion in Illyria, and domeſtic diſſentions in Macedon. Olymp. cii. 1. A. C. 336.

It belongs to the biographers of the king of Macedon, to examine the circumſtances of the bloody tranſaction which clouded this glorious proſpect. In the general hiſtory of Greece, it is ſufficient to mention, that Philip, having diſpatched Parmenio with a body of troops to protect the Aſiatic colonies, was prevented from immediately following that commander by an inſurrection of the Illyrian tribes[9]. This unſeaſonable diverſion from the greateſt enterpriſe of his reign, was rendered more formidable by the domeſtic diſcord which ſhook the palace of Philip. A ſpirit leſs proud and jealous than that of Olympias, mother of Alexander, might have been juſtly provoked by the continual infidelities of her huſband, who, whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war, never ceaſed to augment the number of his wives or concubines[10]. The generous mind of Alexander muſt naturally have eſpouſed the cauſe of his mother, although his own intereſt had not been deeply concerned in preventing Philip from continually giving him ſo many new rivals to the throne. The young prince defended the rights of Olympias and his own, with the impetuoſity natural to his character; at the nuptials of Philip with Caſſandra, the niece of Attalus, one of his generals and favourites, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father and his more haughty ſon[11]; and the latter, concluding all thoſe to be his own friends who were

[8] Juſtin. l. ix. c. v.
[9] Diodor. ad Olymp.
[10] Athenæus, l. xiii.
[11] Plutarch. in Alexand.

enemies

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enemies to the former, ſought refuge among the rebellious Illyrians, who were already in arms againſt their ſovereign.

Philip extricates himſelf from theſe difficulties. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

The dexterity of Philip extricated him from theſe difficulties. Having conquered the Illyrians, he ſoftened Alexander by aſſuring him that his illuſtrious merit, which was alike admired in Greece and Macedon, had not eſcaped the anxious vigilance of a parent, who, by giving him many rivals to the throne, had only given him an opportunity of ſurpaſſing them all in glory and in the merited affection of the Macedonians [12]. Soothed by this condeſcenſion, Olympias and her ſon again appeared at court with the diſtinction due to their rank; and to announce and confirm this happy reconcilement with his family, Philip married his beloved daughter Cleopatra to the king of Epirus, maternal uncle of Alexander; and celebrated the nuptials by a magnificent feſtival which laſted ſeveral days, during which the Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other in ſhewing their obſequious reſpect towards their common general and maſter.

is aſſaſſinated in going to the theatre.

Amidſt the tumultuous amuſements of the feſtivity, Philip often appeared in public with unguarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment of all his ſubjects: but proceeding one day from the palace to the theatre, he was ſtabbed to the heart by Pauſanias [13], a Macedonian; whether the aſſaſſin was ſtimulated merely by private reſentment, or prompted by the ill-applied rage of Olympias, or inſtigated to commit this atrocity by the Perſian ſatraps; which laſt is aſſerted by Alexander [14], who alleged the aſſaſſination of his father among his reaſons for invading the Perſian empire.

His character.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign; the firſt prince whoſe life and actions hiſtory hath deſcribed with ſuch regular accuracy, and circumſtantial fulneſs, as render his adminiſtration a maſter of inſtruction to ſucceeding ages. With a reach of foreſight and ſagacity peculiar to

[12] Plut. Apophth.
[13] Diodor. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.
[14] Arrian. l. ii. c. 14. & Curtius, l. ix. c. i.

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himſelf, he united all the prominent features of the Grecian character; valour, eloquence, addreſs, flexibility to vary his conduct without changing his purpoſe, the moſt extraordinary powers of application and perſeverance, of cool combination and ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of his career by the hand of an aſſaſſin, he was prevented from undertaking the juſteſt and nobleſt deſign of his reign; a deſign which he had long meditated, and in which his near proſpect of ſucceſs promiſed to reward the labours and dangers of his toilſome life. Had not his days been ſhortened by a premature death, there is reaſon to believe that he would have ſubdued the Perſian empire; an enterpriſe more dazzling, but leſs difficult, than the exploits which he had already atchieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long and ſucceſsful reign would have been ennobled and illuminated by the ſplendour of extenſive foreign conqueſt; Philip would have reached the height of ſuch renown as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the purſuit of unbounded greatneſs; and, in the opinion of poſterity, would perhaps have ſurpaſſed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this ſuppoſition, there is not any man of ſenſe and probity, who, if he allows himſelf time for ſerious reflection, would purchaſe the imagined grandeur and proſperity of the king of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes; and to a philoſopher, who conſidered either the means by which he had obtained his triumphs, or the probable conſequences of his dominion over Greece and Aſia, the buſy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful ſcene of ſplendid miſery.

Difficulties attending the acceſſion of Alexander to the Macedonian throne. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

A prince who is his own miniſter, and almoſt the ſole depoſitary of his own ſecrets, commonly leaves an arduous taſk for the labours of his ſucceſſor. This difficulty preſented itſelf to Alexander; but it was not the only circumſtance that rendered his ſituation difficult. The regular order of ſucceſſion had never been clearly eſtabliſhed in Macedon,

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Macedon, and was, in ſome meaſure, incompatible with the ſpirit of royal government, which, as then generally underſtood, required ſuch qualities and accompliſhments in the firſt magiſtrate, as could not be expected from a promiſcuous line of hereditary princes. The numerous wives of Philip had, however, been moſt fruitful in female offspring. Nor had Alexander much to apprehend from the rivalſhip of his brothers, ſince Ptolemy, born of Arſinoë, and afterwards king of Egypt, was reputed to be the ſon of Lagus, to whom Philip had married Arſinoë, while ſhe was with child by himſelf; and Aridæus, the ſon of Philina, who, for ſix years after the death of Alexander, held a pageant royalty in the Eaſt, by the terror of his brother's name, and through the diſcordant ambition of his lieutenants, poſſeſſed too feeble an underſtanding to diſpute the ſucceſſion. But Alexander's title was conteſted by Amyntas, ſon of Perdiccas, the elder brother of Philip, in whoſe name the laſt-mentioned prince originally adminiſtered the government, till the tender age of Amyntas being rejected by the Macedonians, Philip ſo little feared the revival of his pretenſions to the throne, that he had given him his daughter Cyna in marriage. This new advantage ſtrengthened the claim of Amyntas, which, it was probable, would be warmly ſupported by Attalus, a bold and enterpriſing commander, the perſonal enemy of Olympias and her ſon, of whom the former had recently put to death his kinſwoman Cleopatra, with ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty. Alexander privately took meaſures with his friends for cruſhing thoſe dangerous enemies[13]; and being acknowledged king of Macedon, haſtened into Greece to reap the fruits of his father's labours, which might be loſt by delay.

In his journey thither, he experienced the perfidious inconſtancy of the Theſſalians, whom he chaſtiſed with proper ſeverity; and having aſſembled the deputies of the ſtates at Corinth, he was in-

He is acknowledged general of the Greeks in an aſſembly of the ſtates at Corinth.

[13] Diodorus, l. xvii. 2. & ſeqq. & Juſtin. xi. 1. & ſeqq.

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veſted with the ſame honours [16] which had been conferred on his predeceſſor. During his reſidence in that city there happened an incident which more clearly diſplays the character of Alexander, than can be done by the moſt elaborate deſcription. Curioſity led him to viſit Diogenes the cynic, whoſe ſingular manners and mode of life have been mentioned on a former occaſion. He found him baſking in the ſun [17], and having made himſelf known as the maſter of Macedon and Greece, aſked the philoſopher what he could do to oblige him? "Stand from between me and the ſun," was the anſwer of the cynic: upon which the king obſerved to his attendants, that he would chooſe to be Diogenes [18] if he were not Alexander. The obſervation was natural and ſublime; ſince, under the moſt diſſimilar veils of external circumſtances and purſuits, their characters concealed a real reſemblance. Both poſſeſſed that proud erect ſpirit which diſdains authority, ſpurns controul, and aſpires to domineer over fortune. But, by diminiſhing the number of his wants, Diogenes found, in his tub, that independence of mind, which Alexander, by the unbounded gratification of his deſires, could not attain on the imperial throne of Perſia.

His character diſplayed in his converſation with Diogenes the cynic.

His expedition againſt the Illyrians and Triballi. Olymp. cxi. 2. A. C. 335.

Alexander, having returned to Macedon, prepared for his eaſtern expedition by diffuſing the terror of his name among the northern Barbarians. The Illyrians and Triballi, mindful of the injuries of Philip, had haſtily taken arms to oppoſe, ere it became too late, the youth and inexperience of his ſon. But the diſcernment of the young prince readily perceived the danger of leaving ſuch formidable enemies on his frontier. With a well appointed army he marched from Amphipolis, and, leaving the city Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, arrived in ten days at the principal paſs of Mount Haemus, which led into the territory of the Triballi. There he found a

[16] Diodor. & Juſtin. xvii. 2. & ſeqq. & Juſtin. xi. 1. & ſeqq.

[17] Pauſan. l. ii p. 88.

[18] Laertius in Vit. Diogen.

new

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He defeats the independent tribes of Thrace.

new, and not leſs formidable enemy. The independent tribes of Thrace, having embraced the cauſe of the Triballi, had ſeized an eminence commanding the paſs; and, inſtead of a breaſtwork, had fortified themſelves with their carriages or waggons, which they purpoſed to roll down on the Macedonians. To elude this unuſual attack, Alexander commanded ſuch of his troops as could not conveniently open their ranks, and allow free iſſue to the intended violence, to fall flat on the ground, and carefully cloſe their ſhields, that the deſcending waggons might harmleſs bound over them. In conſequence of this contrivance, the hoſtile artillery was exhauſted in vain. Alexander then attacked the Thracians with admirable order and celerity. Fifteen hundred fell; their ſwiftneſs and knowledge of the country ſaved the greater number. The priſoners, women, and booty, were ſent for ſale to the maritime cities on the Euxine[19].

The Triballi take refuge in Peucé.

Alexander having intruſted this buſineſs to Lyſanias and Philotas, paſſed the mountains, and purſued the Triballi. By galling them with his bowmen and ſlingers, he gradually forced them from their faſtneſſes, and defeated a powerful body of their warriors encamped on the woody banks of the Lyginus, diſtant three days march from the Danube. The remainder of the nation, conducted by the valour of their chieftain Syrmus, and reinforced by a numerous band of Thracians, took refuge in Peucé, an iſland in the Danube, defended by abrupt and rugged banks, ſurrounded by deep and foaming ſtreams. Alexander, though he had juſt received ſome ſhips of war from Byzantium, judged it too hazardous to aſſault the iſland; and the hoſtile appearance of the Getæ on the northern bank, furniſhed him with an honourable pretence for declining the ſiege of Peucé. On the margin of the Danube, that audacious people had drawn up four thouſand horſe, and above ten thouſand foot, ſhowing, by their countenance and demeanour, a determined reſolution to oppoſe the landing of an enemy. Provoked by thoſe ſigns of defiance, and

Alexander paſſes the Danube.

[19] Arrian. Alexand. Expedit. l. i. p. 2. & ſeqq.

animated

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animated by the glory of paſſing the greateſt of all European rivers, and that which was ſurrounded with the greateſt and moſt warlike nations, Alexander filled the hides uſed in encampment with ſtraw and other buoyant materials, and collected all the boats employed by the natives of thoſe parts in fiſhing, commerce, or piracy. Amidſt the darkneſs of the enſuing night, he thus tranſported fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thouſand infantry, to that part of the oppoſite bank, which was covered with high and thick corn. At the dawn of day, he commanded his foot to march through thoſe rich fields [20] with tranſverſed ſpears; while they remained concealed in the corn, the cavalry followed them; but as ſoon as they emerged into the naked plain, the horſe advanced to the front, and both ſuddenly preſenting an irreſiſtible object of terror, the Getæ abandoned their poſt, and fled to their city, which was four miles diſtant. There, they at firſt propoſed to make a vigorous defence; but perceiving that Alexander cautiouſly ſkirted the river, to avoid the danger of an ambuſh, reflecting on his aſtoniſhing boldneſs in paſſing, without a bridge, the Danube in one night, and beholding the impenetrable firmneſs of his phalanx, and the irreſiſtible impetuoſity of his cavalry [21], they regarded farther oppoſition as vain, forſook their habitations, and retired precipitately, with their wives and children, into the northern deſert [22].

receives the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring nations.

The Macedonians entered, and ſacked the town. The ſpoil was entruſted to Philip and Meleager; Alexander, mindful of ſo many favours, returned ſacrifices of thanks to Jupiter, Hercules, and the

[20] [illegible] The ſpears were tranſverſed, not only for the purpoſe of concealment, "but to make a road through the corn."

[21] Φέρεσθαι δὲ [illegible] ἢ ξυσκευὴ, [illegible] δὲ ἡ τῶν ἱππέων [illegible], Arrian, p. 4. Alexander knew the proper uſe of cavalry, which was ſo little underſtood in the laſt century, that the three ranks fired ſucceſſively before the charge; each, after firing, paſſing, by a carocel, behind the reſt. Guſtavus Adolphus allowed only his firſt rank to fire; which was, doubtleſs, a great improvement, and paved the way for reducing the ſervice of cavalry to its true principle, what Arrian calls "ἡ ἱππικὴ μάχη."

[22] Arrian, l. i. p. 3. & ſeqq.

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god of the Danube; and, encamping on the northern bank of the river, received very ſubmiſſive embaſſies from the ſurrounding nations. Even Syrmus, the intrepid leader of the Triballi, ſent propitiatory preſents, and readily obtained pardon from a prince, who could admire virtue in a Barbarian, and an enemy.[23].

Arrogance of the Celtæ.

Neceſſity alone compelled Alexander to carry his arms into thoſe inhoſpitable regions. Animated by an ambition to ſubdue the Aſiatic plains, he turned with contempt from bleak heaths and barren mountains, not deigning to chaſtiſe the boaſtful arrogance of the Celtæ. The Boii and Senones, Celtic or German tribes (for thoſe nations were often confounded by the Greeks), ſent ambaſſadors to Alexander, who obſerving their lofty ſtature and haughty ſpirit, endeavoured to humble them by aſking, "what, of all things, they moſt feared?" not doubting they would anſwer, "Yourſelf;" but they replied, "the fall of Heaven." The king declared them his friends and allies, but whiſpered to thoſe around him, "the Celtæ are an arrogant people[24]." Could we admit the truth of this narrative, and believe that ambaſſadors were really ſent to Alexander by the nations inhabiting the northern receſſes of the Ionian gulph, it would be intereſting to obſerve the early character and firſt proceedings of a people, who were deſtined to ſubdue the conquerors of the Macedonian empire.

Alexander reduces the Taulantii, and other Illyrian tribes.

In his return towards Pella, Alexander marched through the friendly country of the Paonians, where he received the unpleaſant intelligence that the Illyrian tribes were in arms, headed by Clitus, ſon of Bardyllis, the hereditary foe of Macedon. Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, prepared to join the arms of Clitus; the Autariatæ, likewiſe an Illyrian nation, had determined to obſtruct the march of Alexander. Amidſt theſe difficulties, he was encouraged by Langarus, chief of the Agrians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the ridges of

[23] Arrian, l. i. p. 3, & ſeqq.

[24] Idem, p. 5. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 208, & 209.

Mount

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Mount Hæmus. Even in the life-time of Philip, Langarus[25] had diſcerned the ſuperior merit of his ſon, with whom he had early entered into a confidential correſpondence. Conducted by the activity of Langarus, the Agrian targeteers, who thenceforth had an important ſhare in all the Macedonian victories, invaded the country of the Autariadæ. Their ravages were equally rapid and deſtructive; the Autariadæ, broken by domeſtic calamity, or alarmed by private danger, abandoned the deſign of co-operating with the enemies of Alexander. That prince thus advanced without oppoſition to Pellion, the principal ſtrong hold of the Illyrians. His army encamped on the banks of the Eordaicus. The enemy were poſted on the adjacent mountains, and concealed among thick woods, purpoſing to attack the Macedonians by a ſudden and united aſſault. But their courage failed them in the moment of execution. Not daring to wait the approach of the phalanx, they precipitately retreated to their city, leaving behind them the horrid veſtiges of their bloody ſuperſtition, three boys, three maids, and as many black rams, which, having juſt ſacrificed, they wanted time to remove[26].

Meanwhile Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, approached with a great force[27] to relieve Pellion, and aſſiſt his ally. Alexander had diſpatched Philotas to forage at the head of a ſtrong body of cavalry. Glaucias attempted to intercept and cut off this detachment. Alexander, leaving part of his army to awe Pellion, marched to the aſſiſtance of Philotas; Clitus reinforced Glaucias; a deciſive action thus ſeemed inevitable, if the thickneſs of lofty foreſts, and the intricacies of winding mountains, had afforded a proper ſcene for a general engagement. The Barbarians excelled in knowledge of the

[25] Λαγγαρος [illegible] Φιλωτου ξ[illegible] πε-ζαις Αγριανων, και ιππεων τοξοτων περ' αυτον. Arrian, p. 5.

[26] Arrian, p. 5.

[27] Μετα πολλης δυναμεως. Idem, p. 6. Neither Thrace nor Illyria were populous in thoſe days; but as every man was a ſoldier, the princes of thoſe countries often brought numerous armies into the field.

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country; the Macedonians in ſkill and courage. The war was widely diffuſed, and ably ſupported. But the diſcipline of Alexander finally prevailed. By ſurpriſe, by ſtratagem, by the terror of his military engines, which deſtroyed at a diſtance, and by ſuch prompt and ſkilful manœuvres[28] as had never been before ſeen, on the banks of the Apſus[29] and Erigonè, he totally diſperſed this immenſe cloud of Barbarians. Many were ſlain, and many made captive; a remnant having burnt their city, which they deſpaired being able to defend, ſought refuge among the Taulantian mountains[30].

Rebellion in Greece. Olymp. cxi. 2. A. C. 335.

Meanwhile a report circulated in Greece, that Alexander had periſhed in Illyria; and, as men readily *believe* that which their intereſt makes them *wiſh*[31], this vague rumour was greedily embraced by the partiſans of Grecian independence. The Athenian demagogues reſumed their uſual boldneſs; the Lacedæmonians already fancied themſelves heading the revolt[32]; but the firſt acts of rebellion were committed by the Thebans, who, having ſecretly recalled their exiles, treacherouſly[33] murdered Amyntas and Timolaus, commanders of the Cadmæa, and prepared to expel the Macedonian garriſon from that fortreſs.

Deſtruction of Thebes. Olymp. cxi. 2. A. C. 335.

Alexander, when appriſed of theſe proceedings, relinquiſhed the purſuit of the Barbarians, deſcended by rapid marches along the weſtern frontier of Macedon, traverſed Theſſaly, entered Bœotia, and in the ſpace of fourteen days after his receiving the firſt news of the rebellion, beſieged and demoliſhed Thebes. The deciſive boldneſs of this meaſure has been highly extolled by hiſtorians, be-

[28] Theſe are laboriouſly deſcribed by Arrian, p. 6. who, it muſt be acknowledged, appears ſometimes too fond of diſplaying his ſkill in tactics.

[29] Otherwiſe called the Tordaicus.

[30] Arrian, p. 7.

[31] Ου γινωσκοντες τα οντα, τα μαλιστα κατ' ἐλπιδα ... ἐφερον ἀκαξαν. "Not knowing the truth, hope regulated their conjectures." Idem, p. 8.

[32] The Lacedæmonians, ſays Arrian, were γνωμας ἀφεστηκοτες, revolted in their minds.

[33] They ſeized them without the garriſon, μηδεν ὑποπτευοντας πολεμιον, "ſuſpecting no hoſtility."

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cauſe nothing could have a more direct tendency to quaſh the ſeditious ſpirit of the Greeks, than the rapid puniſhment of Thebes, which at once filled the neighbouring cities with pity and terror. A ſpectacle of that dreadful kind was neceſſary, it has been ſaid, to ſecure the future tranquillity of Greece and Macedon, and to enable Alexander to undertake his Perſian expedition, without the danger of being interrupted by rebellions in Europe [34]. But, notwithſtanding this ſagacious reflection, it appears that the deſtruction of Thebes was the effect, not of policy, but of obſtinacy and accident. In approaching that unfortunate city, Alexander repeatedly halted, to allow the inſurgents time to repent of their raſhneſs. The wiſer part of the Thebans propoſed to embrace the opportunity of ſending ambaſſadors to crave his pardon. But the exiles and authors of the ſedition encouraged the multitude to perſevere; and inſtead of ſhewing any remorſe for their paſt crimes, ſent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who aſſaulted and ſlew ſeveral of the Macedonian out-guards [35].

The occaſion and circumſtances of that event.

Exaſperated by theſe inſults, Perdiccas, commander of an advanced party, attacked the Theban wall, without waiting the orders of Alexander. A breach was ſpeedily effected; the brigade of Perdiccas was followed by that of Amyntas, ſon of Andromenes; but both were ſo warmly received by the enemy, that Alexander ſaw the neceſſity of reinforcing them, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded and cut off. The Thebans were then repelled in their turn; but, ſoon rallying, beat back the aſſailants, and purſued them with diſordered ranks. Alexander then ſeized the deciſive moment of advancing

[34] Plut. Diodor. Juſtin. Among the moderns, Mably ſur les Grécs, and the learned author of the Examen des Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre, who ſays, p. 46, "Alexandre devoit aſſurer ſa domination dans la Grêce par quelque coup d'eclat, avant que de paſſer en Aſie; la revolte de Thebes lui preſenta une occaſion favorable à ſes vues." Yet Arrian, whoſe narrative was copied from the relation of eye-witneſſes, expreſſes, thrice in the ſame page, the reluctance of Alexander to attack the Thebans. Ἐκδίδως ἔτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τὴν μεταγνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμένοις, πρὶν ἐς σαίνιο παρ' αὐτῶν. And again, Ἔτι γὰρ τὸν Θηβαίοις διὰ φιλίας ἐλθεῖν μᾶλλον τι ἢ διὰ κηδεμονίαν. And ſtill to the ſame purpoſe, Ἀλλ' ἐκδέχεσθαι δὲ ἔδοξε ὡς, τὴν πόλιν προσιβαλεῖν. Arrian, p. 8.

[35] Ibid. p. 8, & ſeqq.

with

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with a close phalanx. His assault was irresistible. The Thebans fled amain: and such was their trepidation, that having entered their gates, they neglected to shut them against the pursuers. The Macedonians, and their Greek auxiliaries, thus rushed tumultuously into the place. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Platæans, rejoiced at gaining an opportunity to gratify their implacable resentment against Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, exceeding thirty thousand in number[36], were either put to the sword, or dragged into captivity. A feeble remnant escaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was razed to the ground; but the citadel was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops, and long maintained as a convenient post for overawing the adjacent territory.

Cruelty of the Greek auxiliaries.

The severities exercised against Thebes were reluctantly permitted by Alexander, at the instigation of his Grecian auxiliaries[37]. The few acts of forbearance or mercy, which appeared in this lamentable transaction, flowed from the humanity of his own nature. By his particular orders, the house and family of Pindar were saved from the general desolation. He commanded, likewise, that the sacred families should be spared, as well as those connected with Macedon by the ties of hospitality; and, as he is the only great conqueror who built many more towns than he destroyed, he took care that the demolition of Thebes should be immediately followed by the restoration of Orchomenus and Platæa. Even the gloomiest events of his reign were distinguished by some flashes of light, that displayed his magnanimity. It happened in the sack of Thebes, that a band of fierce Thracians broke into the house of Timoclea, an illustrious Theban matron, the ornament of her sex. The soldiers plundered her house; their brutal commander violated her person. Having

A few acts of mercy owing to Alexander.

Heroism of Timoclea.

[36] According to the lowest computation, Thebes at that time contained above thirty thousand citizens. Comp. Diodor. Plut. ibid. Ælian Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. vii. Agatharchid. apud Phot. Bibl. 1337.

[37] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 569.

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gratified his luſt, he was next ſtimulated by avarice, and demanded her gold and ſilver. She conducted him to a garden, and ſhewed him a well, into which ſhe pretended to have thrown her moſt valuable treaſure. With blind avidity, he ſtooped to graſp it, while the woman, being behind, puſhed him headlong into the ciſtern, and covered him with ſtones. Timoclea was ſeized by the ſoldiers, and carried in chains to Alexander. Her firm gait, and intrepid aſpect, commanded the attention of the conqueror. Having learned her crime, Alexander aſked her, "Who ſhe was, that could venture to commit ſo bold a deed?" "I am," replied ſhe, "the ſiſter of Theagenes, who fell at Chæronæa, fighting againſt Philip in defence of Grecian freedom." Alexander admired both her action and her anſwer, and deſired her to depart free with her children[38].

Alexander receives the congratulatory embaſſies of the Greeks.

While Alexander returned towards Macedon, he received many congratulatory embaſſies from the Greeks. Thoſe affected moſt friendſhip in their ſpeeches, who had moſt enmity in their hearts. The Athenians ſent to deprecate his wrath againſt themſelves, and to excuſe their compaſſionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander demanded the perſons of Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and five other orators, to whoſe inflammatory ſpeeches he aſcribed the ſeditious ſpirit that had recently prevailed in Athens. An aſſembly was immediately ſummoned to deliberate on this demand; and a decree unanimouſly paſſed for trying the orators accuſed by Alexander, and for inflicting on them ſuch puniſhment as their offences ſhould appear to merit. This pretended forwardneſs in the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, was highly agreeable to Alexander. The artful decree, which was immediately tranſmitted to him, was rendered ſtill more acceptable, by being delivered by Demades, an avowed friend to Macedon, whom the party of Demoſthenes

[38] Plut. de Vit. Alexand. p. 7.

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mosthenes bribed with five talents to undertake this useful service [39]. Amidst the various embassies to the king, the Spartans alone preserved a sullen, or magnanimous silence. Alexander treated them with real, or well-affected contempt; and without deigning to require their assistance, prepared for the greatest enterprize that ever was undertaken by any Grecian general.

Transactions in Macedon, previous to Alexander's expedition to the East. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 334.

The arrival of the army in Macedon was celebrated with all the pomp of Grecian superstition. A faithful image of the Olympic solemnity was exhibited in the ancient city of Ægæ. Continual games and sacrifices were performed in Dium, during the space of nine days, in honour of the Muses. Alexander entertained at his table the ambassadors of the Grecian states, together with the principal officers of his army, whether Greeks or Macedonians. In the interval of public representations, he discoursed with his confidential friends concerning the important expedition which chiefly occupied his thoughts. Parmenio and Antipater, the most respected of his father's counsellors, exhorted him not to march into the East, until by marriage, and the birth of a son, he had provided a successor to the monarchy. But the ardent patriotism of Alexander disdained such considerations. He remembered that he was elected general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father [40].

Alexander crosses the Hellespont with his army. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

Having entrusted to Antipater the affairs of Greece and Macedon, and committed to that general an army of above twenty thousand men [41], to maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries, he departed early in the spring, at the head of above five thousand horse.

[39] The circumstances of this transaction are differently related by all the authors who mention it. Compare Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 498. Æschin. in Ctesiphont. Plut. in Vit. Alexand. & Arrian, l. i. p. 11. In military affairs Arrian's authority stands unrivaled; but Æschines, a contemporary orator, must have been better informed concerning the civil transactions of the Athenians.

[40] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 493.

[41] Diodorus, who enters into some detail on this subject, says, twelve thousand infantry, and eleven thousand five hundred cavalry.

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horſe, and ſomewhat more than thirty thouſand infantry[42]. In twenty days march, he arrived at Seſtos, on the Helleſpont. From thence the army was conveyed to Aſia, in an hundred and ſixty gallies, and probably a ſtill greater number of tranſports. The armament landed without oppoſition on the Aſiatic coaſt, the Perſians, though long ago appriſed of the intended invaſion, having totally neglected the defence of their weſtern frontier.

State of the Perſian empire.

The cauſes of this negligence reſulted, in ſome degree perhaps, from the character of the prince, but ſtill more from that of the nation. Codomannus had been raiſed by aſſaſſinations and intrigues to the throne of Perſia, about the ſame time that Alexander ſucceeded his father Philip. The firſt year of his reign had been employed in ſtifling domeſtic rebellion, in ſecuring, and afterwards in diſplaying, the fruits of victory. This prince aſſumed the appellation of Darius, but could not recal the principles or manners which diſtinguiſhed his countrymen, during the reign of the firſt monarch of that name. In the ſpace of about two hundred and thirty years, the Perſians had been continually degenerating from the virtues which characteriſe a poor and warlike nation, without acquiring any of thoſe arts and improvements which uſually attend peace and opulence. Their empire, as extended by Darius Hyſtaſpes, ſtill embraced the moſt valuable portion of Aſia and Africa. The revenue paid in money was ſtill eſtimated, as during the reign of that monarch, at fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Eubœic talents. Immenſe treaſures had been accumulated in Damaſcus, Arbela, Suſa, Perſepolis, Ecbatan, and other great cities of the empire. The revenue paid in kind cannot be appreciated; but ſuch was the extraordinary opulence of this great monarchy, that the conqueſts of Alexander are ſuppoſed to have given him an income of ſixty millions ſterling[43]; a ſum which

[42] Arrian, p. 12.

[43] Juſtin. xiii. 1.

will

will admit allowance for exaggeration, and ſtill appear ſufficiently great. CHAP. XXXVII.

Circumſtances which prepared it for deſtruction.

Although the extravagance and vices of Suſa, Babylon, and other imperial cities, correſponded to the extent and wealth of the monarchy, yet the Perſians were prepared for deſtruction rather by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces, moreover, had ceaſed to maintain any regular communication with the capital, or with each other. The ſtanding military force proved inſufficient to keep in awe the diſtant ſatraps, or viceroys. The ties of a common religion and language, or the ſenſe of a public intereſt, had never united into one ſyſtem this diſcordant maſs of nations, which was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. When to theſe unfavourable circumſtances we join the reflection, that under the younger Cyrus, twelve thouſand Greeks baffled the arms, and almoſt divided the empire of Perſia, we ſhall not find much reaſon to admire the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking his Eaſtern expedition; unleſs we are at the ſame time appriſed, that Darius was deemed a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Perſian ſubjects, and aſſiſted by the valour of fifty thouſand Greek mercenaries [44].

Deliberation of the Perſian ſatraps.

Having arrived in Aſia, Alexander, than whom none ever employed more ſucceſsfully the power of ſuperſtition [45], confirmed the confidence of his followers by many auſpicious predictions and prodigies. While, with every military precaution, he purſued his march along the coaſt, Arſites, Spithridates, Memnon, and other governors of the maritime provinces, aſſembled in the town of Zeleia, diſtant ſixty miles from the Helleſpont. They had neglected to oppoſe the invaſion by their ſuperior fleet; they had allowed the enemy to encamp, unmoleſted, on their coaſts; fear now compelled

[44] Arrian, Diodorus, and Curtius.

[45] Plut. Curtius, and Arrian, paſſim.

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pelled them to reluctant union, but jealouſy made them reject the moſt reaſonable plan of defence.

Judicious advice of Memnon

This was propoſed by Memnon the Rhodian, the ableſt general in the ſervice of Darius. He obſerved the danger of reſiſting the Macedonian infantry, who were ſuperior in number, and encouraged by the preſence of their king. That the invaders, fiery and impetuous, were now animated by hope, but would loſe courage on the firſt diſappointment. Deſtitute of magazines and reſources, their ſafety depended on ſudden victory. It was the intereſt of the Perſians, on the other hand, to protract the war, above all to avoid a general engagement. Without riſking the event of a battle, they had other means to check the progreſs of the invaders. For this purpoſe, they ought to trample down the corn with their numerous cavalry, deſtroy all other fruits of the ground, and deſolate the whole country, without ſparing the towns and villages. Some re-

rejected.

jected this advice, as unbecoming the dignity of Perſia[46]; Arſites, governor of Leſſer Phrygia, declared with indignation, that he would never permit the property of *his* ſubjects to be ravaged with impunity. Theſe ſentiments the more eaſily prevailed, becauſe many ſuſpected the motives of Memnon. It was determined, therefore, by this council of princes, to aſſemble their reſpective forces with all poſſible expedition, and to encamp on the eaſtern bank of the Granicus, a river (midway between Zeleia and the Helleſpont), which iſſuing from Mount Ida, falls into the Propontis.

Alexander prepares to paſs the Granicus. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

The ſcouts of Alexander having brought him intelligence of the enemy's deſign, he immediately advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line[47], the cavalry on the wings, the waggons and baggage in the rear. The advanced guard,

[46] Ἀναξιον τῆ Περσῶν μεγαλοψυχίᾳ, "Unworthy the magnanimity of Perſia." Diodor. p. 501.

[47] The διπλῆ φαλαγξ, is explained in this ſenſe by Ælian and Arrian. In ordinary caſes the phalanx marched by its flank, that is, with a front of ſixteen men. The διπλῆ φαλαγξ, therefore, contained a front of thirty two men.

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consisting of horsemen armed with pikes, and five hundred light infantry, the whole commanded by Hegelochus, were detached to examine the fords of the Granicus, and to observe the disposition of the enemy. They returned with great celerity, to acquaint Alexander, that the Persians were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, their horse amounting to twenty thousand, and their foreign mercenaries, drawn up on the slope of a rising ground, behind the cavalry, scarcely less numerous. Notwithstanding this alarming intelligence, the young prince determined to pass the river. Having advanced within sight of the hostile ranks, his horse spread to the right and left, the massy column of infantry opened, and the whole formed along the bank in order of battle. The phalanx, divided into eight sections, composed the main body, which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left.

Rejects the cautious counsels of Parmenio.

While Alexander made these dispositions, the cautious Parmenio approached, and remonstrated against passing the Granicus in the face of an enemy. The river, he observed, was deep and full of eddies; its banks abrupt and craggy; "it would be impossible, therefore, to march the Macedonians in front, and if they advanced in columns, their flanks must be exposed naked and defenceless. To try such dangerous manœuvres seemed unnecessary in the present juncture, because the Barbarians would certainly quit their station in the night, rather than remain encamped in the neighbourhood of so formidable an army." These prudential considerations prevailed not with Alexander, who declared that, in the first conflict, the Macedonians must act with equal promptitude and vigour, and perform something worthy of the terror which they bore. Saying this, he sprung on his horse, assumed the command of the right wing, and committed the left to Parmenio.

Battle of the Granicus. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

Animated by the hope of soon closing with the enemy, he disdained to employ his military engines. The balistas and catapults, by

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by which, in a ſimilar ſituation, he had repelled the Taulantii, were rejected as tedious or ineffectual. Alexander diſtributed his orders; a dreadful ſilence enſued; the hoſtile armies beheld each other with reſentment or terror. This ſolemn pauſe was interrupted by the Macedonian trumpet, which, on a ſignal given by Alexander, reſounded from every part of the line. His brother Ptolemy, as had been previouſly regulated, then rode forth at the head of a ſquadron of cuiraſſiers[48], followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas. While theſe troops boldly entered the Granicus, Alexander likewiſe advanced with the choſen cavalry on the right wing, followed by the archers and Agrians. In paſſing the river, both Alexander and Ptolemy led their troops obliquely down the current, to prevent, as much as poſſible, the Perſians from attacking them in flank, as they ſucceſſively reached the ſhore. The Perſian cavalry behaved with courage; the firſt ſquadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the ſtream. But Alexander, who animated the *companions*[49] with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle, when he obtained an opportunity of fighting. In the equeſtrian engagement which followed, the Macedonians owed much to their ſkilful evolutions and diſcipline[50]; ſtill more to their ſtrength and courage; and not a little to the excellence of their weapons, which being made of the cornel-tree[51], far ſurpaſſed the brittle javelins of the enemy.

[48] I have uſed this word to expreſs thoſe troops which the Greeks called *Cataphracts*, from the completeneſs of their defenſive armour. Milton mentions them in Samſon Agoniſtes,

"Archers and ſlingers, Cataphracts and ſpears."

[49] The eight ſquadrons of choſen cavalry, which were of that kind called Cataphracts, were honoured with the name of Companions and friends of the king. Arrian & Diodor. paſſim.

[50] They derived great advantages, particularly, from the light infantry intermixed with their ſquadrons. The targeteers and Agrians proved extremely uſeful in helping the Macedonians to keep off the Perſian cavalry, which, when too near, hindered them from the proper uſe of their lances.

[51] At myrtus validis haſtilibus & bona bello
Cornus.
VIRG. GEORG. ii. v. 447.

Meanwhile

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Perſonal proweſs of Alexander and the Macedonian captains.

Meanwhile Parmenio croſſed the Granicus, at the head of the left wing, with equal ſucceſs, but unequal glory, becauſe Alexander had already proved, by his example, that the difficulty might be overcome, which would have otherwiſe appeared unſurmountable. The attention of the enemy was ſo deeply engaged by the ſucceſſive attacks of the cavalry, that they ſeem not to have made much oppoſition to the paſſage of the phalanx. But before this powerful body of infantry had croſſed the river, the Macedonian horſe had already reaped the faireſt honours of the field. Alexander animated them by his preſence, and, after performing all the duties of a great general, diſplayed ſuch perſonal acts of proweſs as will be more readily admired than believed by the modern reader. But in the cloſe combats of antiquity, the forces, when once thoroughly engaged, might be ſafely abandoned to the direction of their own reſentment and courage, while the commanders diſplayed the peculiar accompliſhments to which they had been trained from their youth, in the more conſpicuous parts of the field. Alexander was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the brightneſs of his armour, and the admirable alacrity of his attendants. The braveſt of the Perſian nobles impatiently waited his approach. He darted into the midſt of them, and fought till he broke his ſpear. Having demanded a new weapon from Aretes, his maſter of horſe, Aretes ſhewed him his own ſpear, which likewiſe was broken. Demaratus the Corinthian ſupplied the king with a weapon. Thus armed, he rode up, and aſſaulted Mithridates, ſon-in-law of Darius, who exulted before the hoſtile ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himſelf ſtruck by Rœſaces with a hatchet. His helmet ſaved his life. He pierced the breaſt of Rœſaces; but a new danger threatened him from the ſcimitar of Spithridates. The inſtrument of death already deſcended on his head, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell with the graſped weapon.

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The Perſians defeated.

The heroiſm of Alexander animated the valour of the *companions*, and the enemy firſt fled, where the king commanded in perſon. In the left wing, the Grecian cavalry muſt have behaved with diſtinguiſhed merit, ſince the Perſians had begun on every ſide to give way before the Macedonian infantry had completely paſſed the river [52]. The ſtern aſpect of the phalanx, ſhining in ſteel and briſtling with ſpears, confirmed the victory. Above a thouſand Perſian horſe were ſlain in the purſuit. The foot, conſiſting chiefly in Greek mercenaries, ſtill continued in their firſt poſition, not firm, but inactive, petrified by aſtoniſhment, not ſteady through reſolution [53]. While the phalanx attacked them in front, the victorious cavalry aſſailed their flanks. Surrounded on all ſides, they fell an eaſy prey; two thouſand ſurrendered priſoners; the reſt all periſhed, unleſs a few ſtragglers perchance lurked among the ſlain.

Loſs on both ſides.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to moſt of the Perſian commanders. Arſites, the chief adviſer of the engagement, died in deſpair by his own hand. The generals Niphates and Petenes, Omares leader of the mercenaries, Spithridates ſatrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes governor of Cappadocia, Mithridates, ſon-in-law of Darius, and Arbupales ſon of Artaxerxes, were numbered among the ſlain. Such illuſtrious names might lead us to ſuſpect, that the

[52] Guiſchardt, p. 208, ſays, "Auſſitôt que la phalange fut en état d'agir contre l'ennemie, avec tout ſon front heriſſé de piques, la victoire ceſſa d'être douteuſe." It appears not, however, that the phalanx at all acted againſt the Perſian cavalry. The battle of Granicus was entirely an equeſtrian engagement, as had been propheſied to Alexander by his nameſake, a prieſt of Minerva in the Troade. See Diodor. l. xvii. p. 571.

[53] Εκπλήξει μᾶλλον τι τῳ παραλόγῳ, ἢ λογισμῷ, ξίφεσιν. Arrian. It might be ſuſpected that the Greek mercenaries were not very hearty in the Perſian cauſe, and had delayed declaring themſelves till they beheld the iſſue of the equeſtrian engagement. This is conjectured by Guiſchardt in his admirable Memoires Militaires, p. 208. But the fidelity of their countrymen to Darius on all ſubſequent occaſions, as well as the ſevere treatment they met with in the preſent battle, ſeem ſufficient to remove that diſhonourable ſuſpicion. Their conduct, ſeemingly unaccountable, is aſcribed by Arrian, to their aſtoniſhment, that Alexander's cavalry ſhould have paſſed the Granicus, and repelled the Perſian horſe, which was four times more numerous.

Perſians

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Perſians were ſtill more numerous than Arrian[54] repreſents them; and, notwithſtanding the nature of ancient weapons and tactics, which rendered every battle a rout, and commonly prevented the retreat of the vanquiſhed, it is ſcarcely to be believed, that in ſuch an important engagement, Alexander ſhould have loſt only eighty-five horſemen, and thirty light infantry[55]. Of the former, twenty-five belonged to the royal band of Companions. By command of Alexander, their ſtatues were formed by the art of his admired Lyſippus[56], and erected in the Macedonian city of Dium.

Humanity and prudence of Alexander.

This important victory enabled Alexander to diſplay both his humanity and his prudence. He declared the parents and children of the deceaſed thenceforth exempted from every ſpecies of tribute[57]. He carefully viſited the wounded, attentively aſked how each of them had received harm, and heard with patience and commendation their much boaſted exploits. The Perſian commanders were interred; and the Greeks, both officers and ſoldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a puniſhment for bearing arms againſt the cauſe of their country. But even this ſeverity Alexander ſoftened by a very ſeaſonable compliment to the Athenians, whoſe city he preferred to be the repoſitory of his trophies and renown. Immediately after the battle, he ſent three hundred ſuits of Perſian armour, as dedications to Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent preſent was inſcribed with the following words: "Gained by Alexander, ſon of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians) from the Barbarians of Aſia." It is re-

[54] Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 572, makes them amount to one hundred and ten thouſand. Juſtin is quite extravagant. The Perſians, he ſays, were ſix hundred thouſand.

[55] Others diminiſhed the loſs to thirty-five horſemen and nine foot ſoldiers. Anitobul. apud Plut. in Vit. Alexand.

[56] Arrian ſays ὡσπερ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρου μονος ἀξιωθεὶς ἐποιει. "Who was alone preferred to make the image of Alexander." This, doubleſs, increaſed the honour conferred on the Companions. Arrian would have ſpoke more accurately, had he ſaid, "to caſt the figure of Alexander in bronze." Other artiſts repreſented him in marble, in gems, medals, &c. of which hereafter.

[57] Arrian diſtinguiſhes τῳ σωματι λειτουργιας; καὶ κατα τας κτησεις εισφορας, perſonal ſervices; and contributions, in proportion to their property.

markable,

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markable, that on this occaſion he omits mention of the Macedonians, whether becauſe he wiſhed them to be comprehended under the name of Greeks; or becauſe, in the Perſian war, he always affected rather to avenge the cauſe of Greece, than to gratify his own ambition; or, finally, that the Greeks being thus excluſively aſſociated to his honours, might thenceforth continue zealous in making new levies for his ſervice.

Immediate conſequence of the victory.

The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conqueſt of Ionia, Caria, Phrygia; in a word, all the Aſiatic provinces weſt of the river Halys, which had anciently formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns ſurrendered at his approach. Sardis, the ſplendid capital of Crœſus, opened its gates to a deliverer, and once more obtained the privilege of being governed by its ancient laws, after reluctantly enduring, above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Perſia. The Grecian cities on the coaſt were delivered from the burden of tribute, and the oppreſſion of garriſons; and, under the auſpices of a prince, who admired their ancient glory in arts and arms, reſumed the enjoyment of their hereditary freedom. During the Perſian expedition of Alexander, the Epheſians were ſtill employed in rebuilding their temple, which had been ſet on fire by Heroſtratus, twenty years before that period, and on the ſame night, it is ſaid, which gave birth to the deſtined conqueror of the Eaſt. Alexander encouraged their pious and honourable undertaking; and, in order to accelerate its progreſs, commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Perſians, to be appropriated to the temple of Diana [58].

Siege of Miletus and Halicarnaſſus.

Miletus and Halicarnaſſus alone retarded the progreſs of the conqueror. The latter place, commanded by Memnon the Rhodian, made a memorable defence. Alexander had ſcarcely ſat down before it, when the garriſon, conſiſting of Greeks and Perſians, ſallied

[58] Comp Arrian, p. 18. & Strab. p. 949.

forth,

forth, and maintained a desperate conflict. Having repelled them with much difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, which the besieged, with incredible diligence, had drawn round their wall. This being effected, he advanced wooden towers, on which the Macedonians erected their battering engines, and prepared to assault the enemy on equal ground. But a nocturnal sally attacked these preparations; a second engagement was fought with still greater fury than the first; three hundred Macedonians were wounded, darkness preventing their usual precaution in guarding their bodies [59].

Bold adventure of two Macedonian soldiers.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus, which had so obstinately resisted skill and courage, was on the point of yielding to rashness and accident. The battalion of Perdiccas happened to be posted on that side of the wall, which looked towards Miletus. Two soldiers, belonging to this corps, while they supped together in their tent, boasted their military exploits; each, as usual, preferring his own. Wine heated their emulation. They rushed forth to assault the wall of Halicarnassus, animated less with the mad hope of victory, than with an ambition to display their respective prowess. The centinels perceived their audacity, and prepared to repel them; but they killed the first men who approached, and threw javelins at others who followed them. Before their boldness was overwhelmed by numbers, many soldiers belonging to the same battalion advanced to their relief. The Halicarnassians, also, hastened to the defence of their friends; a sharp conflict ensued; the garrison was repelled; the wall attacked; two towers and the intervening curtain thrown down; and had greater numbers joined in the assault, the town must have been taken by storm [60].

Halicarnassus taken and reluctantly demolished. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 331.

The humanity of Alexander rendered him unwilling to come to that extremity. But the extraordinary success of such an unpremeditated enterprise,

[59] Arrian, p. 20. [60] Ibid. p. 22.

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terpriſe, engaged him to ply the walls with new vigour. The defence was as obſtinate as before; two deſperate ſallies were made, and repelled with conſummate bravery. Alexander's tenderneſs for the Halicarnaſſians prevented him from entering the place with an enraged and licentious ſoldiery. He therefore recalled his troops in the moment of victory, hoping that the beſieged would finally ſurrender, and thus ſave their lives and properties. From the various breaches in the walls, and the numbers who had periſhed, or been wounded, in repeated conflicts, Memnon and his colleagues perceived, that much longer reſiſtance was impoſſible. In this emergency they diſplayed the ſame deciſive boldneſs which had appeared in every part of their defence. Having ſummoned the braveſt of their adherents, they, in the night-time, ſet fire to a wooden tower, which they had erected as a defence againſt the ſhocks of the enemy's engines, as well as to their arſenal and magazines, and eſcaped to two neighbouring caſtles of great ſtrength. About midnight, Alexander perceived the raging flames, and immediately ſent a detachment to puniſh thoſe who had excited, or who fomented, the conflagration; but with ſtrict orders to ſpare ſuch of the townſmen as were found in their houſes. Next day, he examined the caſtles, and perceived that they could not be taken without much loſs of time; but that independent of the town, they were of themſelves of little value; a circumſtance which obliged him, reluctantly, to demoliſh Halicarnaſſus, that it might never thenceforth ſerve as a retreat to his enemies [61].

Alexander commits the government of Caria to Ada.

The inactive ſeaſon of the year was employed by Alexander in ſecuring and improving his advantages. The inferior cities were committed to the diſcretion of his lieutenants; the king in perſon viſited his more important conqueſts; and few places were honoured with his preſence without experiencing his bounty. Before leaving Caria, where the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus long detained his impatient

[61] Arrian, p. 23.

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activity, he committed the adminiſtration to Ada, the hereditary governeſs of that province. Ada was the ſiſter, and the wife of Hidrieus, on whoſe deceaſe ſhe was entitled to reign, both by the Carian laws and thoſe of Upper Aſia, where female ſucceſſion had been eſtabliſhed ever ſince the age of Semiramis. But the great king, with the uſual caprice of a deſpot, had rejected the juſt claim of Ada, and ſeated a pretender on her tributary throne. The injured princeſs, however, ſtill maintained poſſeſſion of the ſtrongly fortified city Alinda. When Alexander appeared in Caria, Ada haſtened to meet him, addreſſed him by the name of ſon, and voluntarily ſurrendered to him Alinda. The king neither rejected her preſent, nor declined her friendſhip; and, as he always repaid favours with intereſt, he committed to her, at his departure, the government of the whole province, and left a body of three thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, to ſupport her authority.

His judicious plan of war.

The meaſures of Alexander were equally deciſive and prudent. The Perſian fleet, ſupplied by Egypt, Phœnicia, and the maritime provinces of Lower Aſia, four times out-numbered his own, which, ſmall as it was, ſtill appeared too expenſive for his treaſury. Alexander determined to diſcharge it, declaring to his lieutenants, that, by conquering the land, he would render himſelf maſter of the ſea, ſince every harbour that ſurrendered to him muſt diminiſh the naval reſources of the enemy[61]. Agreeably to this judicious plan of conqueſt, he purſued his journey through the ſouthern provinces of the Aſiatic peninſula, while Parmenio traverſed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. At the ſame time Cleander was diſpatched into Greece to raiſe new levies; and ſuch ſoldiers as had married ſhortly before the expedition, were ſent home to winter with their wives; a meaſure which extremely endeared Alexander to the

[61] It will appear in the ſequel how faithfully Alexander adhered to this plan of war, which kept open his communication with Greece and Macedon, and enabled him to purſue, with ſecurity, his conqueſts in the Eaſt.

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Alexander commits the government of Caria to Ada.

The inactive season of the year was employed by Alexander in securing and improving his advantages. The inferior cities were committed to the discretion of his lieutenants; the king in person visited his more important conquests; and few places were honoured with his presence without experiencing his bounty. Before leaving Caria, where the siege of Halicarnassus long detained his impatient

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army, and enſured the utmoſt alacrity of his European ſubjects in furniſhing ſupplies towards the enſuing campaign.

The arts by which he ſecured his conqueſts.

Accompanied by ſuch winning arts, the valour and prudence of Alexander ſeemed worthy to govern the world. His conduct, perhaps, often proceeded from the immediate impulſe of ſentiment; but it could not have been more ſubſervient to his ambition, had it been invariably directed by the deepeſt policy. After the deciſive battle of the Granicus, he experienced little obſtinacy of reſiſtance from the numerous forts and garriſons in Lower Aſia. The tributary princes and ſatraps readily ſubmitted to a milder and more magnanimous maſter; and the Grecian colonies on the coaſt eagerly eſpouſed the intereſt of a prince who, on all occaſions, avowed his partiality for their favourite inſtitutions. In every province or city which he conquered, he reſtored to the Aſiatics their hereditary laws; to the Greeks, their beloved democracy. While he allowed them to aſſume the forms of independent government, he was careful to bridle the animoſity of domeſtic faction. Into whatever country he marched, he encouraged uſeful induſtry, and alleviated public burdens. His taſte and his piety alike prompted him to repair the ſacred and venerable remains of antiquity. He conſidered the Barbarians, not as ſlaves, but as ſubjects; the Greeks, not as ſubjects, but allies; and both perceived in his government ſuch moderation and equity as they had never experienced either from the deſpotiſm of Perſia, or from the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta [61].

Singular felicity of Alexander's march from Phaſelis to Perga.

Having received the ſubmiſſion of Xanthus, Patara, Phaſelis, and above thirty other towns or ſea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, probably for the ſake of greater expedition, divided the corps under his immediate command. A conſiderable detachment traverſed the Lycian and Pamphilian mountains, while the king in perſon purſued

[61] Compare Plut. in Alexand. Curtius & Arrian, paſſim; & Thucydid. Xenoph. Iſocrat. & Diodor.

the

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the ſtill more dangerous track, leading along the ſea-coaſt from Phaſelis to Perga. On this foaming ſhore, the ſea commonly beats againſt the rocks, and renders the paſſage impracticable, unleſs when the waves are repelled by a ſtrong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from the ſouth. Yet he advanced without fear, confiding in his fortune. His troops cheerfully followed him, encouraged by many artful prodigies [64] which announced ſucceſs to his undertaking. The event, which next happened, was well fitted to ſtrengthen their credulity, and confirm their implicit obedience. Before they had reached the main difficulties of the paſs, the ſouth wind gradually ceaſed; a briſk gale ſprang up from the north; the ſea retired; and their march thus became alike eaſy and expeditious. The authentic evidence of Arrian explains the marvellous in this occurrence, which Joſephus, with no leſs indecency than folly, compares with the paſſage of the Iſraelites over the Red Sea. Yet even the philoſophical Arrian acknowledges, that the many concurring inſtances of good fortune in the life of Alexander, ſeemed to be produced by the immediate interpoſition of divine power, which, in effecting an important revolution in the eaſtern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of men, ſubſervient to the ſecret purpoſes of its providence.

In proceeding eaſtward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambaſſadors from Aſpendus, the principal city and ſea-port of Pamphylia. The Aſpendians offered to ſurrender their city, but en-

[64] While Alexander deliberated whether he ſhould march forwards to attack Darius, a meaſure which promiſed glory and plunder to his troops, or proceed along the ſea-coaſt, and reduce the maritime cities, which would prevent the enemy from profiting of his abſence in Upper Aſia, to conquer Greece or Macedon with their fleet, a fountain near the city Xanthus in Lycia boiled up, and threw out a copper-plate, engraved with ancient characters, ſignifying that the time was come when the Perſian empire ſhould be overthrown by the Greeks. Plutarch adds, τοτε ουν θαρρησας, ετι μαλλον επεκδρομαις εχρησατο. "Encouraged by this prodigy, he haſtened to ſubdue the coaſt." It would perhaps have been more worthy of an hiſtorian to ſay, "Encouraged by this prodigy, the Greeks and Macedonians readily obeyed the commands of their prudent, not leſs than valiant general."

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treated, that they might not be burdened with a garriſon. Alexander granted their requeſt, on condition of their raiſing fifty talents to pay his ſoldiers, and delivering to him the horſes which they reared as a tribute for Darius. The ambaſſadors accepted theſe terms; but their countrymen, who were diſtinguiſhed by their ambition and rapacity, ſtill more than by their commerce and their wealth, diſcovered no inclination to fulfil them. Alexander was informed of their treachery while he examined the walls of Syllius, another ſtrong hold of Pamphylia. He immediately marched towards Aſpendus, the greater part of which was ſituate on a high and ſteep rock, waſhed by the river Eurymedon. Several ſtreets, however, were likewiſe built on the plain, ſurrounded only by a ſlight wall. At the approach of Alexander, the inhabitants of the lower part of the town aſcended the mountain. Alexander entered the place, and encamped within the walls. The Aſpendians, alarmed by the apprehenſion of a ſiege, intreated him to accept the former conditions.

He puniſhes the treachery of Aſpendus.

He commanded them to deliver the horſes, as agreed on; to pay, inſtead of fifty, an hundred talents, and to ſurrender their principal citizens as ſecurities, that they would thenceforth obey the governor ſet over them; pay an annual tribute to Macedon; and ſubmit to arbitration a diſpute concerning ſome lands, which they were accuſed of having unjuſtly wreſted from their neighbours [65].

Alexander enters Phrygia. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

Having chaſtiſed the inſolence and treachery of Aſpendus, Alexander determined to march into Phrygia, that he might join forces with Parmenio, whom he had commanded to meet him in that country. The new levies from Greece and Macedon were likewiſe ordered to aſſemble in the ſame province; from which it was intended, early in the ſpring, to proceed eaſtward, and atchieve ſtill more important conqueſts. To reach the ſouthern frontier of Phrygia, Alexander was under a neceſſity of traverſing the inhoſpitable

[65] Arrian, p. 26.

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mountains of the warlike Piſidians. Amidſt thoſe rocks and faſtneſſes the Macedonians loſt ſeveral brave men; but the undiſciplined fury, and unarmed courage, of the Piſidians was unable to check the progreſs of Alexander. The city of Gordium in Phrygia was appointed for the general rendezvous. This place is diſtant about ſeventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician Sea; and was famous, in remote antiquity, as the principal reſidence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief ſeat of their opulence and grandeur [66]. Alexander had not long arrived in that place when a deſire ſeized him of aſcending to the ancient caſtle or palace of Gordius, and of beholding the famous knot on his chariot, which was believed to involve the fate of Aſia. Gordius, as the ſtory went, was a man of ſlender fortune among the ancient Phrygians, who had but a ſmall piece of land, and two yokes of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon. It happened to Gordius, while he was one day ploughing, that an eagle alighted on his yoke, and ſat on it till evening. Alarmed by the prodigy, Gordius had recourſe to the Telmeſſians, a people inhabiting the loftieſt mountains [67] in Piſidia, and celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their ſkill in augury. At the firſt village of the Telmeſſians, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain, to whom, having communicated his errand, ſhe ordered him to aſcend the hill, and there ſacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius intreated her to accompany him, that the ſacrifice might be performed in due form. She obeyed. Gordius took her to wife. She bore him a ſon, Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was diſtinguiſhed by his beauty and valour. It ſhould ſeem that the father of Midas had, in conſequence of his marriage, ſettled among the Telmeſſians, with whoſe arts his ſon would naturally become acquainted.

His adventure at Gordium.

[66] See vol. i. c vii. p. 213.

[67] Arrian, p. 27, calls it επιφυεις, και παντη αποτομοι. "Exceedingly high, and every where abrupt." But in Gordius's time, at leaſt, the Telmeſſians muſt have poſſeſſed ſome villages on the plain. See Arrian, p. 30.

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quainted. The Phrygians, at that time, were haraſſed by cruel ſeditions; they conſulted an oracle, who told them, that a chariot ſhould ſoon bring them a king, who would appeaſe their tumults. While the aſſembly ſtill deliberated on the anſwer given them by the oracle, Midas arrived in his chariot[68], accompanied by his parents. The appearance of Midas juſtified the prediction, and announced him worthy of royalty. The Phrygians elected him king; their ſeditions ceaſed; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, conſecrated his father's chariot, and ſuſpended it by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, the knot of which was ſo nicely tied, that no eye could perceive where it began or ended. Whether Alexander untied, or cut the knot, is left uncertain by hiſtorians[69]; but all agree that his followers retired with complete conviction that he had fulfilled the oracle. A ſeaſonable ſtorm of thunder confirmed their credulity[70]; and the belief that their maſter was deſtined to be lord of Aſia, could not fail to facilitate that event.

Treachery of Alexander, the ſon of Æropus.

The rapid progreſs of Alexander, and his continual exertions during that ſeaſon of the year when armies are little accuſtomed to keep the field, tends to heighten our ſurpriſe at the inactivity of Darius, an ambitious prince, who had ſignaliſed his valour againſt the fierceſt nations of Aſia. But Darius, corrupted by the honours of royalty, employed very different weapons againſt Alexander, from thoſe by which the champion of Ochus had defeated the warlike chief of the Cardueſians[71]. Inſtead of oppoſing the invader in the field, he hoped to deſtroy him by the arm of an aſſaſſin.

[68] The Greek word ἅμαξα expreſſes either a chariot or a waggon. Perhaps neither the name, nor the thing, were then diſtinguiſhed in Phrygia. Curtius tells us, this ἅμαξα was "cultu haud ſane a vilioribus vulgatiſque uſu abhorrens," l. iii. c. i. p. 10.

[69] Curtius, l. iii. c. i. ſays, he cut it with his ſword. Plutarch ſays he untied it. Vit. Alexand. p. 1236. Arrian gives both accounts; and the latter on the authority of Ariſtobulus, which is therefore the more probable.

[70] Arrian, p. 31.

[71] Darius killed a warrior of that nation who challenged the braveſt of the Perſian to ſingle combat. This exploit gained him the government of Armenia, and made him be afterwards deemed worthy of the Perſian throne. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 565.

Many

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Many traitors were ſuborned for this infamous purpoſe, but none with greater proſpect of ſucceſs than Alexander, the ſon of Æropus. This man owed his life to the clemency of the ſon of Philip, when his brothers Heromenes and Arrabæus were condemned as acceſſary to the murder of that prince. He was numbered among the companions of Alexander, and had recently been entruſted with the command of the Theſſalian cavalry, after the nomination of Calas, who held that high office, to the government of Phrygia. The promiſe of ten thouſand talents, and of the kingdom of Macedon, obliterated his gratitude, and ſeduced his allegiance. But his treaſon eſcaped not the vigilance of Parmenio[72], who communicated the intelligence to his maſter, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Phaſelis. By the ſame faithful miniſter, the unworthy ſon of Æropus was ſeized, and committed to ſafe cuſtody.

The army of Darius marches from Upper Aſia.

Darius, without deſiſting from his intrigues, finally had recourſe to arms. His troops were aſſembled in the plains of Babylon. They conſiſted of an hundred thouſand Perſians, of whom thirty thouſand were cavalry. The Medes ſupplied almoſt half that number, and the Armenians almoſt as many as the Medes. The Barcani, the Hyrcanians, the inhabitants of the Caſpian ſhores, and nations more obſcure, or more remote, ſent their due proportion of cavalry and infantry for this immenſe army, which, including thirty thouſand Greek mercenaries in the Perſian ſervice, is ſaid to have amounted to ſix hundred thouſand men. The magnificence of the Perſians had not diminiſhed ſince the days of Xerxes; neither had their

[72] According to Arrian, p. 25. a ſwallow ſhared the honour with Parmenio. While Alexander was aſleep at mid-day, the ſwallow hovered around his head, perching ſometimes on one ſide of his couch, and ſometimes on another. Its inceſſant chattering rouſed the king from ſleep: but being exceedingly fatigued, he gently removed the bird with his hand. Inſtead of endeavouring to eſcape, the ſwallow perched on his head, and ceaſed not being extremely noiſy and troubleſome, till he thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was immediately communicated to Ariſtander the Telmeſſian ſoothſayer, who declared that a conſpiracy was formed againſt the king by one of his domeſtics and friends; but that it would certainly be diſcovered, becauſe the ſwallow is a domeſtic bird, a friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.

military

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military knowledge increaſed. Their muſter was taken by the ſame contrivance employed by that monarch[73]. Ten thouſand men were ſeparated from the reſt, formed into a compact body, and ſurrounded by a palliſade. The whole army, paſſing ſucceſſively into this enclоſure, were rather meaſured, than numbered, by their generals. Nothing could exceed the ſplendor that ſurrounded Darius; the trappings of his horſes, the rich materials and nice adjuſtment of his chariot, the profuſion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, veſt, and tiara. The dreſs, and even the armour of his guards, were adorned with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. He was attended by his family, his treaſures, and his concubines, all eſcorted by numerous bands of horſe and foot. His courtiers and generals copied, as uſual, too faithfully, the effeminate manners of their maſter[74].

Alexander paſſes the northern Gate of Cilicia.

While this pageant, for it deſerves not the name of army, ſlowly advanced towards Lower Aſia, Alexander left Gordium, and marched to Ancyra, a city of Galatia. In that place, he received an embaſſy from the Paphlagonians, who ſurrendered to him the ſovereignty of their province, but intreated that his army might not enter their borders. He granted their requeſt, and commanded them to obey Calas, ſatrap of Phrygia. Alexander then marched victorious through Cappadocia; and Sabictas being appointed to the adminiſtration of that extenſive province, the army encamped at the diſtance of ſix miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, ſince the memorable expedition performed and deſcribed by Xenophon, retained the name of Cyrus's camp. Towards the ſouth, the rich plain of Cilicia is waſhed by the ſea, and ſurrounded on three ſides by lofty and almoſt impervious mountains. Arſames, governor of that country, had ſent a body of troops to guard a poſt called the Gates, and the only paſs which leads from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Appriſed of this meaſure, Alexander left Parmenio and the

[73] See vol. i. c. ix. p. 308, & ſeqq.

[74] Propinquorum, amicorumque, conjuges huic agmini proximæ. Q. Curtius, l. iii. c. iii. & Diodor. l. xvii. p. 58.

heavy-armed

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heavy-armed troops in the camp of Cyrus. At the firſt watch of the night, he led the Targeteers, Archers, and Agrians, to ſurpriſe the Perſian forces ſtationed at the northern gate of Cilicia. The Barbarians fled on his approach; and the puſillanimous Arſames, to whom the whole province was entruſted by Darius, prepared to plunder, and then abandon, his own capital of Tarſus. But he had only time to ſave his perſon. The rapidity of Alexander prevented the deſtruction of that city, where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer.

Falls ſick at Tarſus.

At Tarſus, Alexander was detained by a malady, occaſioned by exceſſive fatigue; or, as others ſay, by imprudently bathing, when heated, in the cold waters of the Cydnus, which flows through that city, in a clear and rocky channel[75]. Philip the Acarnanian was the only perſon who deſpaired not of his life. While this ſkilful phyſician adminiſtered a draught to his royal patient, a letter came from Parmenio, warning Alexander to beware of Philip, who was bribed by Darius to poiſon him. Alexander took the potion, and gave Philip the letter; ſo that the phyſician read, while the king drank; a tranſaction which proved either his contempt of death, or his unſhaken confidence in his friends; but which, by the admiration of his contemporaries and poſterity[76], has been conſtrued into a proof of both.

Alexander marches to Mallos.

The ſickneſs of Alexander interrupted not the operations of the army. Parmenio was diſpatched to ſeize the only paſs on Mount Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Aſſyria. The king ſoon followed, having in one day's march reached Anchialos, an ancient city of vaſt extent, and ſurrounded with walls of prodigious thickneſs. The greateſt curioſity of Anchialos was the tomb of Sardanapalus,

[75] Curtius gives another reaſon for its exceſſive coldneſs. "Frigidiſſimus quippe nulla riparum amœnitate inumbratus," l. iii. c. iv. His laboured deſcription of this river ſeems as if he imagined *that* water muſt have poſſeſſed very extraordinary qualities, which proved hurtful to Alexander.

[76] See Arrian, p. 32. Curtius, l. iii. c. v.

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which was diſtinguiſhed by the ſtatue of that effeminate tyrant, in the attitude of clapping his hands; and, by an Aſſyrian inſcription, breathing the true ſpirit of modern Epicuriſm. The original ran in verſe to the following purpoſe: "Sardanapalus, ſon of Anacyndaraxas, built Anchialos and Tarſus in one day. As to you, ſtranger! eat, drink, and ſport[77], for other human things are not worth *this*." Alluding to the clap of his hands[78].

Alexander paſſes the Syrian ſtraits; and Darius, in an oppoſite direction, the defiles of Amanus.

Having arrived at Mallos, an Argive colony at the eaſtern extremity of Cilicia, Alexander learned that Darius lay with his army in the extenſive plain of Sochos, in the province of Comagene, diſtant only two days march from the Cilician frontier. The hoſtile armies were ſeparated by the mountains which divide Cilicia and Syria. Alexander haſtened to paſs the ſtraits called the Syrian Gates, proceeded ſouthwards along the bay of Iſſus, and encamped before the city Mariandrus. At this place, he received a very extraordinary piece of intelligence. His delay in Cilicia, which had been occaſioned by ſickneſs, and by the many pious ceremonies[79] with which he gratefully thanked Heaven for his recovery, was aſcribed to very different motives by Darius and his flatterers. That perfidious race, the eternal bane of kings[80], eaſily perſuaded the vain credulity of their maſter, that Alexander ſhunned his approach. The proud reſentment of Darius was exaſperated by the imagined fears of his adverſary; with the impatience of a deſpot, he longed to come to action; and not ſuſpecting that Alexander would traverſe the Syrian

[77] The word tranſlated "ſport," is παιζε in Arrian, p. 32. But that author ſays, the Aſſyrian original had a more lafcivious meaning. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand. tranſlates it αφροδισιαζε, "veneri indulge."

[78] Mr. de Guignes, ſo deſervedly celebrated for his Oriental learning, proves this inſcription to be entirely conformable to the ſtyle and manners of the Eaſt. See Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. tom. xxxiv. p. 416, & ſeqq.

[79] Proceſſions with lighted torches, ſacrifices to Æſculapius, gymnaſtic and muſical conteſts. Arrian, l. ii. p. 33.

[80] Arrian expreſſes this ſentiment with more than his uſual energy: Των κατα τον [illegible] ξενιτειαν επι κακω τοις απο[illegible] γενομενη.

Gates

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Gates in ſearch of the enemy, he haſtily determined to paſs, in an oppoſite direction[81], the ſtraits of Amanus in queſt of Alexander. This fatal meaſure was carried into immediate execution, notwithſtanding the ſtrong repreſentations of Amyntas[82] the Macedonian, and of all Darius's Grecian counſellors[83]; who unanimouſly exhorted him to wait the enemy in his preſent advantageous poſition. In the language of antiquity[84], an irreſiſtible fate, which had determined that the Greeks ſhould conquer the Perſians, as the Perſians had the Medes, and the Medes the Aſſyrians, impelled Darius to his ruin. Having paſſed the defiles of Amanus, he directed his march ſouthward to the bay of Iſſus, and took the city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the ſick and wounded Macedonians, who had not been able to follow the army in its expeditious march acroſs the mountains. The Perſians put theſe unhappy men to death with ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty[85], little thinking that Alexander was now behind, prepared to avenge their fate.

Circumſtances which encouraged the Macedonian army.

That enlightened prince, who could ſcarcely believe the folly of Darius, ſent a ſmall flat-bottomed veſſel to reconnoitre his motions. This veſſel ſpeedily returned to Alexander, and ſaluted him with the agreeable news, that his enemies were now in his hands. Having ſummoned an aſſembly, the king forgot none of thoſe topics of encouragement which the occaſion ſo naturally ſuggeſted, ſince the meaneſt Macedonian ſoldier could diſcern the injudicious movements of the Perſians, who had quitted a ſpacious plain, to intangle themſelves among intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry, in which they chiefly excelled, could perform no eſſential ſervice. In

[81] Theſe movements are explained only by Arrian. Diodorus, Plutarch, and Curtius, not attending to the geography of the country, are inconſiſtent and unintelligible.

[82] Amyntas, though an exile, was not a flatterer. He aſſured Darius, that Alexander would certainly come to any place where the Perſians encamped. Arrian, p. 34.

[83] Ariſtomenes the Pheræan, Bianor the Acarnanian, Thymondas, the ſon of Mentor, the Rhodian; and others mentioned by Arrian, paſſim.

[84] Arrian. Plut. Diodor. Curt.

[85] Χαλιπας αικισαμενος ανθρωπους, Arrian, p. 34. It is remarkable, that he aſcribes this ferocity to Darius himſelf.

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proceeding to this important conteſt, the ſpirits of the Macedonians were elevated by a recollection of many fortunate occurrences. Ptolemy, as they had recently learned, had made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fortreſſes in Caria. The brave Memnon, indeed, had eſcaped; but that able commander, who, to pave the way for invading Macedon, had attacked the Grecian iſles with his fleet, was ſince dead; and his ſucceſſors in command, after irritating the iſlanders by their inſolence and oppreſſion, were defeated in all their deſigns by the vigilance of Antipater. The army of Alexander had lately increaſed, by many voluntary acceſſions of the Aſiatics, who admired his courage, mildneſs, and uninterrupted good fortune; and the ſoldiers, who the preceding year had been ſent to winter in Europe, had not only rejoined the camp, but brought with them numerous levies from Greece, Macedon, and all the adjoining countries. By men thus diſpoſed to indulge the moſt ſanguine hopes, the military harangue of their prince was received with a joyous ardour. They embraced each other; they embraced their admired commander; and his countenance confirming their alacrity, they entreated to be led to battle [86].

Diſpoſition of both armies.

Alexander commanded them firſt to refreſh their bodies; but immediately diſpatched ſome horſe and archers to clear the road to Iſſus. In the evening he followed with his whole army, and about midnight took poſſeſſion of the Syrian ſtreights. The ſoldiers were then allowed a ſhort repoſe, ſufficient guards being poſted on the ſurrounding eminences. At dawn, the army was in motion, marching by its flank while the paſſage continued narrow; and new columns being ſucceſſively brought up, as the mountains gradually opened. Before reaching the river Pinarus, on the oppoſite bank of which the enemy were encamped, the Macedonians had thus formed in order of battle; Alexander leading the right wing, and

[86] Arrian, p. 33—36.

the

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the left being commanded by Parmenio. They continued to advance, till their right was flanked by a mountain, and their left by the ſea, from which Parmenio was ordered not to recede. Darius being appriſed of the enemy's approach, detached a body of fifty thouſand cavalry and light infantry acroſs the Pinarus, that the remainder might have room to form without confuſion. His Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thouſand, he poſted directly oppoſite to the Macedonian phalanx. The Greeks were flanked on both ſides by double that number of Barbarians, alſo heavy armed. The nature of the ground admitted not more troops to be ranged in front; but as the mountain, on Alexander's left, ſloped inwards, Darius placed on that ſinuoſity twenty thouſand men, who could ſee the enemy's rear, though it appears not that they could advance againſt them. Behind the firſt line, the reſt of the Barbarians were ranged, according to their various nations, in cloſe and unſerviceable ranks; Darius being every where encumbered by the vaſtneſs of a machine, which he had not ſkill to wield [87].

The battle of Iſſus. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

His puſillanimity was more fatal than his ignorance. When he perceived the Macedonians advancing, he commanded his men to maintain their poſt on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in ſome places high and ſteep; where the acceſs ſeemed eaſier, he gave orders to raiſe a rampart; precautions which ſhewed the enemy, that even before the battle began, the mind of Darius was already conquered [88]. Alexander, meanwhile, rode along the ranks, exhorting, by name, not only the commanders of the ſeveral brigades, but the tribunes and inferior officers, and even ſuch captains of the auxiliaries as were diſtinguiſhed by rank, or ennobled by merit. Perceiving it neceſſary to moderate the martial ardour that prevailed, he

[87] Arrian, p. 36.

[88] Και ταυτη ευθυς δηλος εγινετο τοις αμφι Αλεξανδρον τη γνωμη δεδουλωμενος. "And thence he immediately appeared to thoſe about Alexander to be already enſlaved in his mind." In thoſe times, ſlavery was the natural conſequence of being conquered in battle.

commanded

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commanded his forces to advance with a regular and ſlow ſtep, leſt the phalanx ſhould fluctuate through too eager a contention. Their motion quickened as they proceeded within reach of the enemy's darts. Alexander, with thoſe around him, then ſprung into the river. Their impetuoſity frightened the Barbarians, who ſcarcely waited the firſt ſhock [89]. But the Greek mercenaries perceiving that by the rapidity and ſucceſs of Alexander's aſſault, the Macedonians were bent towards the right wing, which was ſeparated from the centre, ſeized the deciſive moment of ruſhing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. A fierce engagement enſued, the Greeks eager to regain the honour of their name, the Macedonians ambitious to maintain the unſullied glory of the phalanx. This deſperate action proved fatal to Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus, and other officers of diſtinction, to the number of an hundred and twenty. Meanwhile, the Macedonian right wing having repelled the enemy with great ſlaughter, wheeled to the left, and, animated by recent victory, finally prevailed againſt the obſtinacy of the Greeks. A body of Perſian horſe ſtill maintained the battle againſt the Theſſalian cavalry; nor did they quit the field, till informed that Darius had betaken himſelf to flight [90].

Rout of the Perſians.

The overthrow of the Perſians was now manifeſt on all ſides. Their cavalry and infantry ſuffered equally in the rout; for their horſemen were heavy-armed, and encumbered by the narrowneſs of the roads, and their own terror. Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus [91], ſays, that the purſuers filled up the ditches with dead bodies. The number of the ſlain was computed at an hundred and ten thouſand, among whom were many ſatraps and nobles.

Eſcape of Darius.

The great king had diſcovered little obſtinacy in defending the important objects at ſtake. His left wing was no ſooner repelled by

[89] They did, however, wait it; for Arrian ſays, ὡὺς γὰρ ἐς τὰς χεῖρας μάχη ἐγένετο. The "μάχη ἐν χεῖρσι ἐγένετο." When the darts and javelins ceaſed, and the contending parties came to the uſe of manual, inſtead of miſſive weapons.

[90] Arrian, l. ii. p. 36. & ſeqq.

[91] Idem, ibid.

Alexander

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Alexander, than he drove away in his chariot, accompanied by his courtiers. When the road grew rough and mountainous, he continued his flight on horſeback, leaving his ſhield, his mantle, and his bow, which were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had received a troubleſome wound on the thigh [92], judged it improper to purſue him, till the Greek mercenaries were diſperſed; and the approach of night facilitated his eſcape.

The captives and booty.

The Perſian camp afforded abundant proof of Aſiatic luxury and opulence[93]. It contained however in money but three thouſand talents; the magnificent treaſures, which accompanied the great king, being depoſited, previous to the battle, in the neighbouring city of Damaſcus. This ineſtimable booty was afterwards ſeized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Syſigambis, and his infant ſon. In an age when priſoners of war were ſynonymous with ſlaves, Alexander behaved to his royal captives with the tenderneſs of a parent, blended with the reſpect of a ſon. In his chaſte attention to Statira, the faireſt beauty of the Eaſt, his conduct forms a remarkable contraſt with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equalled in valour, but far ſurpaſſed in humanity. Theſe illuſtrious princeſſes bore their own misfortunes with patience, but burſt into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunuch that he had ſeen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian ſoldier. Alexander ſent to aſſure them that Darius yet lived; and next day viſited them in perſon, accompanied by Hepheſtion, the moſt affectionate of his friends [94].

[92] Chares, cited by Plutarch, ſays, that Alexander received this wound from the hand of Darius; but the ſilence of Alexander's letter to Antipater, in which he gave an account of the battle, and of his wound on the thigh, refutes that improbable aſſertion.

[93] Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a caſket of exquiſite workmanſhip, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius's perfumes.—Alexander ſaid, "I uſe no perfumes, but ſhall put into it ſomething more precious." This was the Iliad of Homer, corrected by Ariſtotle, and often mentioned by ancient writers; ἡ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ, "the Iliad of the caſket." Strabo, l. xiii. p. 888. Plut. in Alexand.

[94] Alexander, with his uſual diſcernment, characteriſed the affection of Hepheſtion. "Craterus loves the prince; Hepheſtion loves Alexander." Plut. in Alexand.

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Syſigambis approached to proſtrate [95] herſelf before the conqueror, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt; but not knowing the king, as their dreſs was alike, ſhe turnèd to Hepheſtion. Hepheſtion ſuddenly ſtepping back, Syſigambis ſaw her miſtake, and was covered with confuſion. "You miſtook not, Madam!" ſaid the king, "Hepheſtion is likewiſe Alexander [96]."

The virtues of Alexander expand with his proſperity.

The virtues of Alexander long continued to expand with his proſperity; but he was never more inimitably great, than after the battle of Iſſus. The city of Soli, in Cilicia, though inhabited by a Grecian colony, had diſcovered uncommon zeal in the cauſe of Darius. To puniſh this unnatural apoſtacy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Soli; but, after the victory, he remitted this fine. Impelled by the ſame generous magnanimity, he releaſed the Athenian captives taken at the battle of the Granicus; a favour which he had ſternly refuſed, in the dawn of his fortune. In Damaſcus, ſeveral Grecian ambaſſadors were found among the captives. Alexander ordered them to be brought into his preſence. Theſſaliſcus and Dionyſodorus, the Thebans, he inſtantly declared free, obſerving, that the misfortunes of their country juſtly entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, and to every prince from whom they might derive relief. Iphicrates, the Athenian, he treated with the reſpect which appeared due both to his country and to his father. Euthycles the Spartan, alone, he detained in ſafe cuſtody, becauſe Sparta ſullenly rejected the friendſhip of Macedon. But as his forgiveneſs ſtill increaſed with his power [97], he afterwards releaſed Euthycles.

[95] Προσελθειν και προσκυνησαι. Arrian, l. ii. p. 39.

[96] Curtius, l. iii. c. xii. Arrian, p. 39.

[97] Arrian, p. 42.

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Siege of Tyre.—Desperate Resistance of Gaza.—Easy Conquest of Egypt.—Foundation of Alexandria.—Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon.—Marches into Assyria.—Battle of Gaugamela.—Darius betrayed and slain.—Alexander pursues the Murderers of Darius.—Bactrian and Scythian War.—Siege of the Sogdian Fortress.—Surrender of Chorienes.—Commotions in Greece—Checked by Antipater.—The Cause of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes.—Æschines banished.—State of Greece during Alexander's Reign.

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Alexander receives an embassy from Tyre. Olymp. cl. 4. A. C. 333.

IN his precipitate flight across the ridges of Amanus, Darius was gradually joined by about four thousand men, chiefly Greeks. Under this feeble escort, he departed hastily from Sochos, pursued his march eastward, and crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, eager to interpose that deep and rapid stream between himself and the conqueror [1]. Alexander's inclination to seize the person of his adversary could not divert him from the judicious plan of war, to which he immoveably adhered. In a council of his friends, he declared his opinion, that it would be highly imprudent to attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had thoroughly subdued the maritime provinces; because, should he be carried by an unseasonable celerity into Upper Asia, while the enemy commanded the sea, the war

[1] Ὡς ταχίστα μισθοῦ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντου διαβῆναι. Arrian, p. 40.

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might be removed to Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open enemies, and the Athenians ſuſpicious friends. Having appointed governors of Cilicia and Cœlo-Syria, he therefore directed his march ſouthward along the Phœnician coaſt. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon [1], readily opened their gates. The Tyrians ſent a ſubmiſſive embaſſy of their moſt illuſtrious citizens, among whom was the ſon of Azelmicus, their king, who had himſelf embarked with Autophradates in the Perſian fleet. They humbly informed Alexander, that the community [2] from which they came, was prepared to obey his commands. Having complimented the city and the ambaſſadors, he deſired them to acquaint their countrymen, that he intended ſhortly to enter Tyre, and to perform ſacrifice there to Hercules [3].

Deſcription and ſtate of Tyre.

Upon this alarming intelligence, the Tyrians diſcovered equal firmneſs and prudence. A ſecond embaſſy aſſured Alexander of their unalterable reſpect, but at the ſame time communicated to him their determined reſolution, that neither the Perſians nor the Macedonians ſhould ever enter their walls. This boldneſs appears remarkable in a nation of merchants, long unaccuſtomed to war [4]. But the reſources of their wealth and commerce ſeem to have elevated the courage, inſtead of ſoftening the character, of the Tyrians. Their city, which, in the language of the Eaſt, was ſtyled the eldeſt daughter of Sidon [5], had long reigned queen of the ſea. The *ſmall*-

[1] I omit the ſtory of Abdelerminus, whom Alexander raiſed from the humble condition of a gardener to the throne of Sidon. Vid. Curt. l. iv. c. i. Diodorus, l. xvii. relates the ſame ſtory as happening in Tyre. Plutarch, de Fortun. Alexand. tranſlates the ſcene to Paphos. Amidſt ſuch inconſiſtencies, the ſilence of Arrian ſeemed worthy of imitation.

[2] Arrian ſays, that theſe ambaſſadors were απο της κοινης βουλης. It ſhould ſeem that the king of Tyre was a very limited prince, and the government rather republican than monarchical.

[3] The reader may recollect, that Philip ſent a ſimilar meſſage to Atheas, king of the Scythians. Such pious pretences were often employed by antiquity to juſtify very unwarrantable tranſactions.

[4] Old Tyre was built on the continent, by the Sidonians, 1252 B. C. It was beſieged by Salmanaſar, 719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezar, 572 B. C. The latter took the place after a ſiege of thirteen years; but the greater part of the inhabitants had previouſly fled with their effects to a neighbouring iſland, and founded the city deſcribed in the text. Vid. Joſeph. l. viii. cap. ii. l. ix. cap. xiv. & l. x. cap. xi.

[5] Iſaiah, xxiii. 12.

ſhell-fiſh,

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ſhell-fiſh, which is found in great abundance on their coaſt [7], early gave them poſſeſſion of that lucrative trade, and confined chiefly to the Tyrians the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles in moſt countries of antiquity [8]. Tyre was ſeparated from the continent by a frith half a mile broad; its walls exceeded an hundred feet [9] in height, and extended eighteen miles in circumference. The convenience of its ſituation, the capaciouſneſs of its harbours, and the induſtrious ingenuity of its inhabitants, rendered it the commercial capital of the world. Its magazines were plentifully provided with military and naval ſtores, and it was peopled by numerous and ſkilful artificers in ſtone, wood, and iron [10].

Alexander beſieges Tyre. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the city, Alexander determined to form the ſiege of Tyre; and the difficulty of an undertaking, which ſeemed neceſſary in itſelf, and eſſential to the ſucceſs of ſtill more important enterpriſes, only ſtimulated the activity of a prince, who knew that, on many emergencies, boldneſs is the greateſt prudence. The firſt operation which he directed, was to run a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the ſea was about three fathom deep. The neceſſity of this meaſure aroſe from the imperfection of the battering engines of antiquity, which had little power, except at ſmall diſtances. On the ſide of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but when the Macedonians approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by darts and miſſile weapons from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewiſe, having the command of the ſea, annoyed the workmen from their gallies, and retarded the completion of their labours. To reſiſt theſe aſſaults, Alexander erected, on the furtheſt projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed his engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides to reſiſt

Throws a mole acroſs the Frith;

[7] Strabo, l. vi. p. 521.

[8] Homer. Herodot. &c. paſſim. See likewiſe Vol. i. p. 247.

[9] Arrian ſays one hundred and fifty feet. The copies probably are erroneous.

[10] Plutarch. Curtius.

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which is deſtroyed by the Tyrians.

the ignited darts and fire-ſhips of the enemy. This contrivance, however, the ingenuity of his adverſaries ſoon rendered ineffectual. Having procured a huge hulk, they filled it with dry twigs, pitch, ſulphur, and other combuſtibles. Toward the prow, they raiſed two maſts, each of which was armed with a double yard, from whoſe extremities were ſuſpended vaſt caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the conflagration. Having prepared this uncommon inſtrument of deſtruction, they patiently waited a favourable wind. The hulk was then towed into the ſea by two gallies. As ſhe approached the mole, the rowers ſet her on fire, and eſcaped by ſwimming. The works of the Macedonians were ſoon thrown into a blaze. The enemy, ſailing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguiſhing the flames; and the labour of many weeks was thus in one day reduced to ruins [11].

Alexander raiſes a new mole.

The perſeverance of Alexander was proof againſt ſuch accidents. He immediately commanded new engines to be made, and a new mole to be raiſed, ſtronger and broader than the preceding. The orders of a prince, who directed every operation in perſon, and whoſe bodily toils exceeded thoſe of the meaneſt ſoldier, were always obeyed with alacrity. The ruins of old Tyre afforded abundance of ſtone; wood was brought from Anti-Libanus [12]; and it ſhould ſeem that the Arabians having diſturbed the Macedonian workmen, were repelled by Alexander, which gave riſe to the improbable fiction of his having conquered Arabia. By incredible exertions, the mole

[11] Arrian, p. 44, & ſeqq.

[12] Curtius confounds Anti-Libanus with Mount Libanus. It would be endleſs to notice his errors, exaggerations, and fictions in the account of this ſiege, which is one of the moſt romantic paſſages in his hiſtory. Curtius writes to the fancy, not to the judgment; and to readers of a certain taſte the picturеſque beauties of his ſtyle will atone for errors in matter of fact. *He* may be allowed to raiſe an imaginary ſtorm, who can deſcribe it like Curtius. "Tum inhorreſcens mare paullatim levari, deinde acriori vento concitatum, fluctus ciere, & inter ſe navigia colidere. Jamque ſcindi cœperant vincula, quibus connexæ quadriremes erant, turres tabulata, & cum ingenti fragore in profundum ſecum milites trahere." It is Alexander, whoſe actions he diſfigures and renders incredible, not the reader, whoſe fancy he amuſes, that is entitled to condemn Curtius.

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His military and naval reinforcements.

was at length built, and the battering engines were erected. The arrival of four thouſand Peloponneſian forces ſeaſonably reinforced Alexander, and revived the courage of his troops, exhauſted by fatigue, and dejected by defeat. At the ſame time the fleets of the maritime provinces, which he had ſubdued, came to offer their aſſiſtance in an undertaking, which could ſcarcely have proved ſucceſsful, while the Tyrians commanded the ſea. The ſquadrons of Lower Aſia were joined by the naval force of Rhodes and Cyprus. The whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-four veſſels [13], ſo that the Tyrians, who hitherto confided in their fleet, now retired behind the defences of their ports for ſafety.

Singular operations of the ſiege.

But theſe perſevering iſlanders, though they prudently declined an unequal combat, were forſaken neither by their activity nor their courage. The hulk and gallies [14], deſtined to advance the battering engines againſt their walls were aſſailed with continual ſhowers of ignited arrows [15], and other miſſile weapons, which came with peculiar effect from wooden towers newly raiſed on their lofty battlements. This diſtant hoſtility retarded, but could not prevent, the approaches of the enemy. The purpoſe of the Tyrians was better effected by caſting down huge ſtones into the ſea, which hindered acceſs to the walls. To clear theſe incumbrances required the perſeverance of the Macedonians, and the animating preſence of Alexander. Before the work could be accompliſhed, the enemy advanced in covered veſſels, and cut the cables of the hulks employed in that laborious ſervice. Alexander commanded a ſquadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even this did not facilitate the removal of the bar; for the iſlanders, being expert divers, plunged under water,

[13] Curtius, l. iv. c. iii. ſays, that it con- ſiſted of one hundred and eighty ſail. Plutarch. in Alexand. ſays, that the haven of Tyre was blocked up with two hundred triremes. Arrian diſtinctly mentions the number and ſpecies of ſhips ſent by each city or province. From Macedon there came, he ſays, a veſſel of fifty oars, [illegible], a circumſtance which proves that, on this emergency, Alexander had taken pains to collect ſhips from all quarters.

[14] Such veſſels were uſed for this purpoſe, as were the ſtouteſt ſailors. Arrian. p. 46.

[15] Πυρφόρους οιστους.

and

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and again cutting the cables, ſet the Macedonian veſſels adrift. It thus became neceſſary to prepare chains, which were uſed inſtead of ropes; by which contrivance the hulks were ſecured in firm anchorage, the bank of ſtones was removed, and the battering engines advanced to the walls.

The Tyrians defeated at ſea.

In this extremity the Tyrians, ſtill truſting to their courage, determined to attack the Cyprian ſquadron, ſtationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The boldneſs of this deſign could only be ſurpaſſed by the deliberate valour with which it was carried into execution. The mouth of the haven they had previouſly covered with ſpread ſails, to conceal their operations from the enemy. The hour of attack was fixed at mid-day, at which time the Greeks and Macedonians were uſually employed in private affairs, or the care of their bodies, and Alexander commonly retired to his pavilion, erected near the harbour which looked towards Egypt. The beſt ſailing veſſels were carefully ſelected from the whole fleet [16], and manned with the moſt expert rowers, and the moſt reſolute ſoldiers, all enured to the ſea, and well armed for fight. At firſt they came forth in a line, ſlowly and ſilently; but having proceeded within ſight of the Cyprians, they at once claſhed their oars, raiſed a ſhout, and advanced abreaſt of each other to the attack. Several of the enemy's ſhips were ſunk at the firſt ſhock; others were daſhed in pieces againſt the ſhore. Alexander, who had fortunately that day tarried but a ſhort time in his pavilion, was no ſooner informed of this deſperate ſally, than, with admirable preſence of mind, he immediately ordered ſuch veſſels as were ready, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. Meanwhile, with ſeveral quinquereme, and five trireme, gallies, haſtily prepared, he ſailed round to attack the Tyrians. The

[16] They conſiſted, ſays Arrian, in five and ſeven triremes. See note, vol. i. p. 153.

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beſieged obſerving from their walls the approach of Alexander, endeavoured, by ſhouts and ſignals, to recal their ſhips. They had ſcarcely changed their courſe, when the enemy aſſailed, and ſoon rendered them, unſerviceable. The men ſaved themſelves by ſwimming; few veſſels eſcaped; two were taken at the very entrance of the harbour.

Tyre taken by aſſault. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332. July.

The iſſue of theſe naval operations decided the fate of Tyre. Unawed by the hoſtile fleet, the Macedonians now fearleſsly advanced their engines on all ſides. Amidſt repeated aſſaults during two days, the beſiegers diſplayed the [illegible] enthuſiaſm[1], the beſieged the fury of deſpair. From towers [illegible] in height to the walls, the Greeks and Macedonians fought hand to hand with the enemy. By throwing ſpontoons acroſs, the braveſt ſometimes paſſed over, even to the battlements. In other parts, the Tyrians ſucceſsfully employed hooks and grappling irons to remove the aſſailants. On thoſe who attempted ſcaling-ladders, they poured veſſels of burning ſand, which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of the attack was oppoſed by as vigorous a reſiſtance. The ſhock of the battering engines was deadened by green hides and coverlets of wool, and whenever an opening was effected, the braveſt combatants advanced to defend the breach. But time and fatigue, which exhauſted the vigour of the enemy, only confirmed the perſeverance of Alexander. On the third day, the engines aſſailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two ſquadrons, attacked the oppoſite

[1] From the beginning, the difficulties of the ſiege had appeared almoſt unſurmountable to the ſoldiers. "But Alexander," ſays Curtius "haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos, ſpeciem ſibi Herculis in ſomno oblatam eſſe pronunciat, dextram porrigentis." The diviners thence concluded, as Arrian tells us, that Tyre would be taken, but that it would be an Herculean labour. Alexander continued throughout the ſiege to employ the aids of ſuperſtition. At one time it was ſaid, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had fettered him with golden chains to prevent his elopement. At another, Alexander dreamed that a ſatyr playing before him, long eluded his graſp, but finally allowed himſelf to be caught. The augurs divided the word Σατυρος, a Satyr, into two ſyllables, Σα Τυρος, Tyre is thine. By ſuch courſe artifices did Alexander conquer the world.

harbours.

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harbours. A wide breach being effected, Alexander commanded the hulks, which carried the engines, to retire, and others, bearing the ſcaling ladders, to advance, that his ſoldiers might enter the town over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Admetus, firſt mounted the breach. This gallant commander was ſlain by a ſpear; but Alexander, who was preſent wherever danger called, immediately followed with the royal band of *Companions*. At the ſame time the Phenician fleet broke into the harbour of Egypt, and the Cyprians into that of Sidon. After their walls were taken, the townſmen ſtill rallied, and prepared for defence. The length of the ſiege, and ſtill more the cruelty of the Tyrians, who having taken ſome Grecian veſſels from Sidon, butchered their crews on the top of their wall, and threw their bodies into the ſea, in ſight of the whole Macedonian army, provoked the indignation of Alexander, and exaſperated the fury of the victors. Eight thouſand Tyrians were ſlain; thirty thouſand were reduced to ſervitude[18]. The principal magiſtrates, together with ſome Carthaginians who had come to worſhip the Gods of their mother-country, took refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules. They were ſaved by the clemency or piety of Alexander, who had loſt four hundred men, in this obſtinate ſiege of ſeven months[19].

Submiſſion of Judæa.

The conqueſt of Phœnicia was followed by the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring province of Judæa[20]. But in the road leading to Egypt

[18] Curtius, l. iv. c. iv. ſays, that fifteen thouſand Tyrians were ſaved by their Sidonian brethren, who clandeſtinely embarked them in their ſhips, and tranſported them to Sidon. This circumſtance, omitted by Arrian, derives ſome probability from the vigorous reſiſtance which, nineteen years afterwards, Tyre again made to the arms of Antigonus. Vid. Diodor. Sicul. p. 703-704.

[19] Arrian, l. ii. p. 44-[illegible].

[20] All the hiſtorians of Alexander are ſilent concerning his journey to Jeruſalem, and his extraordinary tranſactions there, deſcribed by Joſephus, l. xi. c. viii. This ſtory, invented by the patriotic vanity of the Jews, is totally inconſiſtent with the narrative of Arrian, copied in the text. As all Paleſtine, except Gaza, had ſubmitted to his arms, [illegible] Alexander had no occaſion to march againſt Jeruſalem. The converſation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high prieſt Jaddua, as related by Joſephus, is likewiſe contradictory to the beſt authenticated events

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Desperate resistance of Gaza.

Egypt, the progress of the conqueror was interrupted by the strong city of Gaza, situate on a high hill, near the confines of the Arabian desert [21]. This place, distant about two miles from the sea, and surrounded by marshes or a deep sand, which rendered it extremely difficult of access, was held for Darius by the loyalty of Batis [22], an eunuch, who had prepared to resist Alexander by hiring Arabian troops, and by providing copious magazines. The Macedonian engineers [23] declared their opinion that Gaza was impregnable. But Alexander, unwilling to incur the disgrace and danger of leaving a strong fortress behind him, commanded a rampart to be raised on the south side of the wall, which seemed least secure against an attack. His engines were scarcely erected, when the garrison made a furious sally, and threw them into flames. It required the presence of the king to save the rampart, and to prevent the total defeat of the Macedonians. Warned by a heavenly admonition [24], he had hitherto kept beyond the reach of the enemy's darts; and when the danger of his troops made him forget the divine omen, a weapon, thrown from a catapult, pierced his shield and breast-plate, and wounded him in the shoulder. Soon after-

events in the reign of Alexander. When the high-priest approached to implore the clemency of the conqueror, Alexander, says the Jewish historian, prostrated himself before that venerable old man; an action which so much surprised Parmenio, that he immediately asked his master "Why he, whom all the world adored, should himself adore the high priest of the Jews!" It will appear in the sequel, that Alexander did not require this mark of respect (the προσκυνησις), till long after the period alluded to by Josephus; neither could he be accompanied by the Chaldæans, as that writer alleges, much less could the high-priest, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews, settled in Babylon and Media, the free exercise of their religion, before that prince had conquered those countries, or even passed the Euphrates. See this subject farther examined in Moyle's Letters, vol. ii. p. 415. and in l'Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 65—69.

[21] Εσχατη δε οικειτο ως επ' Αιγυπτου εκ Φοινικης ιοντι, επι τη αρχη της ερημου. "It is the last inhabited place on the road from Phœnicia to Egypt, on the skirts of the desert"

[22] Curtius, l. iv. c. vi. calls him Belis; Josephus, l. xi. c. viii. Bahameses.

[23] Οι μηχανοποιοι, the engine-makers; it should seem that the same persons who made the engines, directed the application of them.

[24] While Alexander was sacrificing, a bird of prey let fall a stone on his head. According to Aristander, the soothsayer, this prodigy portended that the city should be taken, but that Alexander would be exposed to danger in the siege.

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wards the engines, which had been uſed in the ſiege of Tyre, arrived by ſea. A wall of incredible height and breadth [25] was run entirely round the city; the Macedonians raiſed their batteries; the miners [26] were buſy at the foundation; breaches were effected; and, after repeated aſſaults, the city was taken by ſtorm. When their wall was undermined, and their gates in poſſeſſion of the enemy, the inhabitants ſtill fought deſperately, and, without loſing ground [27], periſhed to a man. Their wives and children were enſlaved; and Gaza, being repeopled from the neighbouring territory, ſerved as a place of arms to reſtrain the incurſions of the Arabs.

Eaſy conqueſt of Egypt. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332.

The obſtinate reſiſtance of the obſcure fortreſs of Gaza, was contraſted by the ready ſubmiſſion of the celebrated kingdom of Egypt. In ſeven days march, Alexander reached the maritime city of Peluſium, to which he had previouſly ſent the fleet, with an injunction carefully to examine the neighbouring coaſts, lakes, and rivers. His deciſive victory at Iſſus, the ſhameful flight of Darius, the recent ſubjugation of Syria and Phœnicia, together with the actually defenceleſs ſtate of Egypt (Mazaces the ſatrap of that large province having no Perſian, and ſcarcely any regular troops), opened a ready paſſage to the wealthy capital of Memphis. There, Alexander was received as ſovereign, and immediately afterwards acknowledged by the whole nation; a nation long accuſtomed to fluctuate between one ſervitude and another, always ready to obey the firſt ſummons of an invader, and ever willing to betray him for a new maſter. Grateful for his unexampled ſucceſs, Alexander ſacrificed at Memphis to the Egyptian gods, and celebrated in that city gymnaſtic and muſical games, which were adorned by Grecian artiſts, accompanying

[25] Ευρος μεν ες δυο σαδιας, υψος δε ες ποδας πεντηκοντα και διακοσιας. "Two furlongs in breadth, two hundred and fifty feet in height;" but the text is abſurdly erroneous.

[26] Υποσομων τε αλλη και αλλη ορυσσομενων. Arrian, p. 51. This was an uncommon expedient, and uſed only on great emergencies.

[27] Και απιθανον παντας αυτη μαχομενους, ως εκαστοι ταχθησαν. The higheſt panegyric, being the very words applied by Lyſias Herodotus, &c. to thoſe who fell at Thermopylæ.

him for that purpoſe. Having placed ſufficient garriſons both in Memphis and Peluſium, he embarked with the remainder of his forces, and ſailed down the Nile to Canopus[28].

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At this place, Alexander found abundant occupation for his policy, in a country where there was no opportunity for exerciſing his valour. Continually occupied with the thoughts, not only of extending, but of improving, his conqueſts, the firſt glance of his diſcerning eye perceived, what the boaſted wiſdom of Egypt had never been able to diſcover. The inſpection of the Mediterranean coaſt, of the Red Sea, of the Lake Marœotis, and of the various branches of the Nile, ſuggeſted the deſign of founding a city, which ſhould derive, from nature only, more permanent advantages than the favour of the greateſt princes can beſtow. Fired with this idea, he not only fixed the ſituation[29], but traced the plan of his intended capital, deſcribed the circuit of the walls, and aſſigned the ground for its ſquares, market-places, and temples[30]. Such was the ſagacity of his choice, that within the ſpace of twenty years, Alexandria roſe to diſtinguiſhed eminence among the cities of Egypt and the Eaſt, and continued, through all ſubſequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, the ſeat of coreſpondence and commerce, among the civiliſed nations of the earth.

Foundation of Alexandria.

In Egypt, an inclination ſeized Alexander to traverſe the ſouthern coaſt of the Mediterranean, that he might viſit the revered temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable ſhrine was ſituate in a cultivated ſpot of five miles in diameter, diſtant about fifty leagues from the ſea, and riſing with the moſt attractive beauty amidſt the

Alexander viſits the temple of Ammon. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332.

[28] Arrian, p. 51. & ſeqq.

[29] Egypt, ſays Baron Tott, who lately ſurveyed that country with the eye of an engineer and a ſtateſman, was formed to reunite the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. It ſtood in need of a harbour, vaſt, and of eaſy acceſs. The mouths of the Nile afford neither of theſe advantages; the only proper ſituation was diſtant twelve leagues from the river, and in the heart of a deſert. On this ſpot, which none but a great genius could have diſcovered, Alexander built a city, which being joined to the Nile by a navigable canal, became the capital of nations, the metropolis of commerce. The trading nations of the earth ſtill reſpect its ruins, heaped up by barbariſm, and which require but the operation of a beneficent hand, to reſtore the boldeſt edifice which the human mind ever dared to conceive. Mem. du Baron de Tott, t. ii. p. 179.

[30] Arrian, l. iii. ſub init.

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ſandy deſerts of Lybia. Among the African and Aſiatic nations, the oracle of Ammon enjoyed a ſimilar authority to that which Delphi had long held in Greece; and, perhaps, the conqueſt of the Eaſt could not have been ſo eaſily accompliſhed by Alexander, had he not previouſly obtained the ſanction of this venerated ſhrine. Guided by prudence, or impelled by curioſity, he firſt proceeded two hundred miles weſtward, along the coaſt to Parætonius, through a deſolate country, but not deſtitute of water. He then boldy penetrated towards the ſouth, into the midland territory, deſpiſing the danger of traverſing an ocean of ſand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any other object that might direct his courſe, or vary this gloomy ſcene of uniform ſterility [31]. The ſuperſtition of the ancients believed him to have been conducted by ravens, or ſerpents; which, without ſuppoſing a miracle, may, agreeably to the natural inſtinct of animals, have ſometimes bent their courſe, through the deſert, towards a well-watered and fertile ſpot, covered with palms and olives. The fountain, which was the ſource of this fertility, formed not the leaſt curioſity of the place. It was exceedingly cool at mid-day, and warm at mid-night; and, in the intervening time, regularly, every day, underwent all the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a foſſile ſalt, which was often dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as cryſtal. The prieſts of Ammon incloſed it in boxes of palm-tree, and beſtowed it, in preſents, on kings and other illuſtrious perſonages; ſuch ſalt being regarded as purer than that procured from ſea-water, and therefore preferred for the purpoſe of ſacrifice, by perſons curious in their worſhip [32].

Alexander ſettles the government of Egypt.

Alexander admired the nature of the place, conſulted the oracle concerning the ſucceſs of his expedition, and received, as was univerſally reported, a very favourable anſwer [33]. Having thus effected his

[31] Arrian, p. 53. & ſeqq. & Curtius, l. iv. c. vii.

[32] Arrian, ibid.

[33] Vid. Plut. Alexand. p. 680. The prieſt, or prophet, meant to addreſs Alexander by the affectionate title of παῖ Διὸς, child, ſon;

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his purpoſe at the temple of Ammon, he returned to Memphis, in order finally to ſettle the affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants of that country were re-inſtated in the enjoyment of their ancient religion and laws. Two Egyptians were appointed to adminiſter the civil government; but the principal garriſons, Alexander prudently entruſted to the command of his moſt confidential friends[34]; a policy alike recommended by the ſtrength and importance of the country, and by the reſtleſs temper of its inhabitants.

Darius collects an army from his eaſtern provinces.

The Macedonians had now extended their arms over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria, and Egypt; countries which anciently formed the ſeat of arts and empire, and which actually compoſe the ſtrength and centre of the Turkiſh power. But Darius (after all hopes of accommodation had vaniſhed with a conqueror who demanded unconditional ſubmiſſion to his clemency[35]) ſtill found reſources in his eaſtern provinces, Schirvan, Gilan, Koroſan, and the wide extent of territory between the Caſpian and the Jaxartes. Not only the ſubjects of the empire, but the independent tribes in thoſe remote regions, which in ancient and modern times have ever been the abode of courage and barbarity, rejoiced in an opportunity to ſignaliſe their reſtleſs valour. At the firſt ſummons, they poured down into the fertile plains of Aſſyria, and increaſed the army of Darius far beyond any proportion of force which he had hitherto collected.

Alexander marches into Aſſyria. Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 331.

Meanwhile, Alexander having received conſiderable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, purſued his journey eaſtward

ſon; but not being ſufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he ſaid, ΔΙΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ, ſon of Jupiter. On this wretched blunder were founded Alexander's pretenſions to divinity. Plut. ibid. & Zonar. Annal. i. p. 134. The affections of Curtius are inconſiſtent with Arrian, and with Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1163.

[34] Arrian obſerves, that the Romans ſeem to have imitated the jealouſy of Alexander reſpecting Egypt. Senſible of the temptations of the governor of that province to revolt, they appointed, not ſenators, but men of the equeſtrian order, to be procurators of Egypt. Arrian, p. 55.

[35] In this, Arrian and Curtius agree. The letters between Alexander and Darius are differently expreſſed by theſe writers. In both their accounts, which are totally inconſiſtent with each other, there are internal marks of falſehood.

from

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from Phœnicia, paſſed the Euphrates at Thapſacus[36], boldly ſtemmed the rapid ſtream of the Tigris, and haſtened to meet the enemy in Aſſyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level banks of the Bumadus, near the obſcure village of Gaugamela; but the famous battle, which finally decided the empire of the Eaſt, derived its name from Arbela, a town in the ſame province, ſixty miles diſtant from the former, better known, and of eaſier pronunciation[37].

Approaches the enemy.

The fourth day after paſſing the Tigris, Alexander was informed by his ſcouts, that they had ſeen ſome bodies of the enemy's horſe, but could not diſcover their numbers. Upon this intelligence he marched forward in order of battle; but had not proceeded far, when he was met by other ſcouts, who having penetrated deeper into the country, or examined with greater accuracy, acquainted him that the hoſtile cavalry ſcarcely exceeded a thouſand. This news made him alter his meaſures. The heavy-armed troops were commanded to ſlacken their pace. At the head of the royal cohort, the Pœonians, and auxiliaries, Alexander advanced with ſuch celerity, that ſeveral of the Barbarians fell into his hands. Theſe priſoners gave him very alarming accounts of the ſtrength of Darius, who was encamped within a few hours march. Some made it amount to a million of foot, forty thouſand horſe, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants from the caſtern banks of the Indus[38]. Others exaggerated (if indeed it was an exaggeration) with more method and probability, reducing the infantry to ſix hundred thouſand, and raiſing the cavalry to an hundred and forty-five thouſand[39]. But all agreed that the preſent army was greatly more numerous, and

Their numbers.

[36] Darius had entruſted the defence of the paſs to Mazacus, with a body of cavalry, of which two thouſand were Greeks. But on the firſt intelligence of Alexander's approach, Mazacus abandoned his poſt, and drew off his forces. Arrian, p. 56.

[37] This reaſon, which is given by Arrian, could ſcarcely have appeared valid to any but a Greek. Vid. Arrian, p. 131.

[38] Arrian, p. 57.

[39] Curtius, l. iv. c. xii. xiii. Edit. Genev. The numbers are different in the other editions.

compoſed

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compoſed of more warlike nations, than that which had fought at Iſſus [40].

Examines the field of battle.

Alexander received this information without teſtifying the ſmalleſt ſurpriſe. Having commanded a halt, he encamped four days, to give his men reſt and refreſhment. His camp being fortified by a good intrenchment, he left in it the ſick and infirm, together with all the baggage; and, on the evening of the fourth day, prepared to march againſt the enemy, with the effective part of his army, which was ſaid to conſiſt of forty thouſand infantry, and ſeven thouſand horſe, unincumbered with any thing but their proviſions and armour. The march was undertaken at the ſecond watch of the night, that the Macedonians, by joining battle in the morning, might enjoy the important advantage of having an entire day before them, to reap the fruits of their expected victory. About half way between the hoſtile camps, ſome eminences intercepted the view of either army. Having aſcended the riſing ground, Alexander firſt beheld the Barbarians, drawn up in battle array, and perhaps more ſkilfully marſhalled than he had reaſon to apprehend. Their appearance, at leaſt, immediately determined him to change his firſt reſolution. He again commanded a halt, ſummoned a council of war, and different meaſures being propoſed, acceded to the ſingle opinion of Parmenio, who adviſed that the foot ſhould remain ſtationary, until a detachment of horſe had explored the field of battle [41], and carefully examined the diſpoſition of the enemy. Alexander, whoſe conduct was equalled by his courage, and both ſurpaſſed by his activity, performed thoſe important duties in perſon, at the head of his light horſe, and royal cohort. Having returned with unexampled celerity, he again aſſembled his captains, and encouraged them by a ſhort ſpeech. Their ardour correſponded with his own; and the ſol-

[40] Arrian & Curtius, loc. citat. Juſtin, l. xi. c. xii. Diodorus, l. xvii c. xxxix. & liii. Oraſius, l. iii. c. xvii. Plut. in Alexand.

[41] Την χωρὶν πασαν ἐν ᾗ μελλησειν ἐσεσθαι ἁπαντα. "The whole ſcene of the future action." Arrian, p. 58.

diers,

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diers, confident of victory, were commanded to take reſt and refreſhment [42].

Diſpoſition of the enemy;

Meanwhile, Darius perceiving the enemy's approach, kept his men prepared for action. Notwithſtanding the great length of the plain, he was obliged to contract his front, and form in two lines, each of which was extremely deep. According to the Perſian cuſtom, the king occupied the centre of the firſt line, ſurrounded by the princes of the blood, and the great officers of his court, and defended by his horſe and foot guards, amounting to fifteen thouſand choſen men. Theſe ſplendid troops, who ſeemed fitter for parade than battle, were flanked, on either ſide, by the Greek mercenaries, and other warlike battalions, carefully ſelected from the whole army. The right wing conſiſted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ; the left was chiefly occupied by the Bactrians, Perſians, and Carduſians. The various nations compoſing this immenſe hoſt were differently armed, with ſwords, ſpears, clubs, and hatchets; while the horſe and foot of each diviſion were promiſcuouſly blended, rather from the reſult of accident, than by the direction of deſign. The armed chariots fronted the firſt line, whoſe centre was farther defended by the elephants. Choſen ſquadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced before either wing, prepared to bring on the action, or after it began, to attack the enemy in flank and rear.

who remain all night under arms.

The unexpected approach of Alexander within ſight of his tents, prevented Darius from fortifying the wide extent of his camp; and, as he dreaded a nocturnal aſſault, from enemies who often veiled

[42] Διιπποποιησθαι και αναπαυισθαι εκελευσε τον στρατον. "He commanded his army to ſup and reſt." Arrian, p. 58. This does not well agree with what is ſaid, p. 57. ουδεν αλλο οτι μη οπλα φερουσι, "That the ſoldiers carried nothing but their armour." I have therefore ſupplied the word "proviſions." Both Arrian (loc. citat.), and Curtius, l. iv. c. xiii. ſay, that Parmenio exhorted Alexander to attack the enemy in the night; to which the king anſwered, that he diſdained κλεπτειν την νικην, "to ſteal the victory:" an anſwer worthy of his magnanimity and his prudence; ſince the day and the light were more favourable to the full exertion and diſplay of his ſuperior ſkill and courage.

their

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their deſigns in darkneſs, he commanded his men to remain all night under arms. This unuſual meaſure, the gloomy ſilence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a reſtleſs night, diſcouraged the whole army, but inſpired double terror into thoſe who had witneſſed the miſerable diſaſters on the banks of the Granicus and the Iſſus.

Alexander's order of battle;

At day-break, Alexander diſpoſed his troops in a manner ſuggeſted by the ſuperior numbers and deep order of the enemy. His main body conſiſted in two heavy-armed phalanxes, each amounting to above ſixteen thouſand men. Of theſe, the greater part formed into one line; behind which, he placed the heavy-armed men, reinforced by his targeteers, with orders, that when the out-ſpreading wings of the enemy prepared to attack the flanks and rear of his firſt line, the ſecond ſhould immediately wheel to receive them [43]. The cavalry and light infantry were ſo diſpoſed on the wings, that while one part reſiſted the ſhock of the Perſians in front, another, by only facing to the right or left, might take them in flank. Skilful archers and darters were poſted at proper intervals, as affording the beſt defence againſt the armed chariots, which (as Alexander well knew) muſt immediately become uſeleſs, whenever their conductors or horſes were wounded.

and mode of attack.

Having thus arranged the ſeveral parts, Alexander with equal judgment led the whole in an oblique direction towards the enemy's left; a manœuvre which enabled the Macedonians to avoid contending at once with ſuperior numbers. When his advanced battalions, notwithſtanding their nearneſs to the enemy, ſtill ſtretched towards the right, Darius alſo extended his left, till, fearing that by continuing this movement his men ſhould be drawn gradually off the plain, he commanded the Scythian ſquadrons to advance, and prevent the further extenſion of the hoſtile line. Alexander im-

[43] Επιταξι δι και διττιραν ταξιν ὡς ιναι την φαλαγγα αμφιτομον. Arrian, p. 60. The φαλαγξ αμφιτομος is explained by Ælian, as deſcribed in the text.

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Battle of Gaugamela. Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 331. October.

mediately detached a body of horſe to oppoſe them. An equeſtrian combat enſued, in which both parties were reinforced, and the Barbarians finally repelled. The armed chariots then iſſued forth with impetuous violence; but their appearance only was formidable; for the precautions taken by Alexander, rendered their aſſault harmleſs. Darius next moved his main body, but with ſo little order, that the horſe, mixed with the infantry, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line, which his generals wanted time or vigilance to ſupply. Alexander ſeized the deciſive moment, and penetrated into the void with a wedge of ſquadrons. He was followed by the neareſt ſections of the phalanx, who ruſhed forward with loud ſhouts, as if they had already purſued the enemy. In this part of the field, the victory was not long doubtful; after a feeble reſiſtance, the Barbarians gave way; and the puſillanimous Darius was foremoſt in the flight [44].

The battle, however, was not yet decided. The more remote diviſions of the phalanx, upon receiving intelligence that the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in danger, had not immediately followed Alexander. A vacant ſpace was thus left in the Macedonian line, through which ſome ſquadrons of Perſian and Indian horſe penetrated with celerity, and advanced to the hoſtile camp [45]. It was then

[44] Εφυγε ιν τοις πρωτοις αισχρως. "He fled ſhamefully among the foremoſt." Arrian, p. 69.

[45] The words of Arrian are, Αλλ' επιστρεψαντες τοις την φαλαγγα (viz. the ſections on the left), πρωτοις ξυνεπλεκοντο, ὡς το ξυνωνυμον ποιησθαι πρωτοις. Και ταυτη παραρρηγνυσης αυτοις της ταξεως, κατα τ' διχον, διεκπαιουσι των τε Ινδων τινες, και της Περσικης ἱππου, ὡς επι τα σκευοφορα των Μακεδονων, &c. The learned Guiſchardt's commentary is ingenious, but ſcarcely warranted by the text. "Les ſections de la droite de la phalange ayant donné en même temps que les Peltaſtes, les autres ſections, qui étoient par l'oblique plus ou moins en arrière, tacherent auſſi de marcher en avant, & de charger l'ennemi. Mais les troupes de la droite des Perſes, voyant le fort de combat au centre, ſe preſſerent toutes vers cet endroit de la ligne, en ſe pouſſant mutuellement, & la foule embaraſſa tellement les ſoldats de la phalange, qu'il leur fut alors impoſſible de s'avancer. Sur ces entrefaites, Alexandre, pour ſe faire jour, ſe jetta ſur les derrières de ces ennemis. En même temps la nouvelle de la fuite de Darius, & de la deroute de toute ſa gauche s'etant repandue, la conſternation devint générale. L'effet en fut ſingulier; les Perſes ſe voyant coupés,

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then that Alexander derived ſignal and well-earned advantages from his judicious order of battle. The heavy-armed troops and targeteers, which he had ſkilfully poſted behind the phalanx, ſpeedily faced about, advanced with a rapid ſtep, and attacked the Barbarian cavalry, already entangled among the baggage. The enemy, thus ſurpriſed, were deſtroyed, or put to flight. Meanwhile, the danger of his left wing recalled Alexander from the purſuit of Darius. In advancing againſt the enemy's right, he was met by the Parthian, Indian, and Perſian horſe, who maintained a ſharp conflict. Sixty of the *Companions* fell; Hephæſtion, Cœnus, and Menidas were wounded. Having at length diſſipated this cloud of cavalry, Alexander prepared to attack the foot in that wing. But the buſineſs was already done, chiefly by the Theſſalian horſe; and nothing remained for Alexander, but to purſue the fugitives, and to render the victory as deciſive as poſſible [46].

coupés, dans leur retraite, par les eſcadrons d'Alexandre, qu'ils avoient à dos, chercherent à ſe ſauver, même à travers la phalange. Ils ſe jetterent à corps perdu ſur elle. Quoique de vingt quatre de hauteur, elle ne put reſiſter au poids de cette maſſe. Sa gauche étant alors plus chargée que ſa droite, les ſections, de celle-ci pouſſérent en avant, & n'obſerverent pas que, depuis la troiſième ſection, la gauche reſtoit en arrière. Il en reſulta que la phalange ſe ſepara, que ſa droite s'avança à la pourſuite de l'ennemi, & que des corps nombreux de cavalerie & d'infanterie, qui avoient été au centre Perſan, entrérent tout-à coup par la crevaſſe, & pouſſérent juſques derrière la ligne des Macédoniens." See Mémoires Militaires, c. xv. p. 221.

[46] Soldiers, better acquainted with the practice than with the theory of their art, have often teſtified a juſt ſurpriſe, that the battles of the ancients ſhould be deſcribed with an order, perſpicuity, and circumſtantial minuteneſs, which are not to be found in the military writers of modern times. Scholars have endeavoured to explain this difference, by obſerving the immenſe diſproportion, in point of dignity and abilities, between the military hiſtorians of modern Europe, and thoſe of Greece and Rome. But the difficulty will be better ſolved, by reflecting on the changes introduced into the art of war by the change of arms; which, in military operations, form the pivot on which the whole turns. 1. From the nature of fire-arms, modern battles are involved in ſmoke and confuſion. 2. From the ſame cauſe, modern armies occupy a much greater extent of ground, and begin to act at much greater diſtances; which renders it more difficult to obſerve and aſcertain their manœuvres. 3. The immenſe train of artillery, ammunition, &c. required in the practice of modern war, gives a certain immobility to our armies, which renders it impoſſible to perform, without great danger, thoſe rapid evolutions in ſight of an enemy, which ſo often decided the battles of the ancients. With us, almoſt every thing depends on the judicious choice of ground, a matter requiring great military genius, but not admitting the embelliſhments of hiſtorical deſcription.

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Conſequences of the victory.

According to the leaſt extravagant accounts, with the loſs of five hundred men, he deſtroyed forty thouſand of the Barbarians[47], who never thenceforth aſſembled in ſufficient numbers to diſpute his dominion in the Eaſt. The invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Suſiana, and Perſis, with their reſpective capitals of Babylon, Suſa, and Perſepolis[48], formed the prize of his ſkill and valour. Alexander had not yet attained the ſummit of his fortune, but he had already reached the height of his renown[49]. The burning of the royal palace of Perſepolis[50], to retaliate the ravages of Xerxes in Greece,

[47] In the battles of the Greeks and Romans, the extraordinary diſproportion between the numbers ſlain on the ſide of the victors and of the vanquiſhed, neceſſarily reſulted from the nature of their arms. Their principal weapons being not miſſile, but manual, armies could not begin to act till they had approached ſo nearly to each other, that the conquered found themſelves cut off from all poſſibility of retreat. In modern times, the uſe of fire-arms (which often renders the action itſelf more bloody) furniſhes the defeated party with various means of retreating with conſiderable ſafety. The ſphere of military action is ſo widely extended in modern times, that before the victors can run over the ſpace which ſeparates them from the vanquiſhed, the latter may fall back, and proceed with little loſs beyond their reach; and ſhould any village, hedge, ravine, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardour of the purſuers. Upon theſe conſiderations, the invention of gunpowder may be ſaid to have ſaved the effuſion of human blood. Equeſtrian engagements (ſince the principles on which cavalry act remain nearly the ſame in every age) are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by ſimilar circumſtances to thoſe which appear ſo extraordinary in the battles of antiquity.

[48] The gold and ſilver found in thoſe cities amounted to thirty millions ſterling; the jewels and other precious ſpoil, belonging to Darius, ſufficed, according to Plutarch, to load twenty thouſand mules, and five thouſand camels. Plut. in Alexand.

[49] After the battle of Arbela, many of Alexander's actions, as will appear in the text, deſerve the higheſt praiſe; but, before that period, few of them can be juſtly blamed.

[50] Arrian, l. iii. p. 66. Plut. in Alexand. & Strabo, l. xv. p. 502, agree with Arrian in confining the conflagration to the palace. Plutarch tells us, that only a part of that edifice was conſumed. Diodorus ſays inaccurately, ὁ περι την βασιλικην τοπος, "the place around the palace;" and Curtius, l. v. c. vii. with his uſual extravagance, burns the whole city of Perſepolis ſo completely, that not a veſtige of it remained. The learned author of the Examen Critique des Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre, is at pains to prove that Perſepolis exiſted under the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and continued to exiſt till the firſt ages of Mahometaniſm, when the inhabitants of Perſepolis, having violated their treaty with the Muſſulmen, were butchered without mercy, and their city totally demoliſhed. See Examen Critique, p. 125, & ſeqq. Mr. D'Hankerville, however, alleges reaſons for believing that there were two cities called Perſepolis by the Greeks, ſituate at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, one of which was burnt by Alexander, and the other deſtroyed by the Muſſulmen. See his Supplement to his Recherches ſur les Arts, &c. de la Grèce.

afforded

afforded the firſt indication of his being overcome by too much proſperity. To ſpeak the moſt favourably of this tranſaction, an undiſtinguiſhing reſentment made him forget that he deſtroyed his own palace, not that of his adverſary.

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Meaſures of Darius.

The ſettlement of his important and extenſive conqueſts, and the reduction of the warlike Uxii, thoſe independent mountaineers, who, inhabiting the weſtern frontier of Perſia, had ever defied the Perſian power, reſtrained Alexander from urging the purſuit of Darius. After his defeat, that unfortunate prince eſcaped by a precipitate and obſcure[51] flight acroſs the Armenian mountains into Media. Being gradually joined by the ſcattered remnant of his army, amounting to ſeveral thouſand Barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greek mercenaries, he purpoſed to eſtabliſh his court in Media, ſhould Alexander remain at Suſa or Babylon[52]; but in caſe he were ſtill purſued by the conqueror, his reſolution was to proceed eaſtward, through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria, laying waſte the intermediate country, that he might thus interpoſe a deſert between himſelf and the Macedonians. In this deſign, he diſpatched to the Caſpian Gates the waggons conveying his women, and ſuch inſtruments of convenience or luxury as ſtill ſoftened his misfortunes; and remained in perſon at Ecbatana with his army. Alexander, when appriſed of theſe meaſures, haſtened into Media. In his way he ſubdued the Paritacæ; and having reached within three days march of the Median capital, was met by

[51] Arrian obſerves, that Darius ſhewed great judgment in his flight, having left the populous and well-frequented roads leading to Suſa and Babylon, towards which he juſtly ſuſpected that Alexander would march his army, and directing his courſe over the Armenian mountains into Media. Arrian, p. 63. Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 538, agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, l. v. c. i. are too abſurd to merit refutation.

[52] The foundation of this hope was, that a revolt might break out in the Macedonian army; ſince the more and the richer provinces Alexander acquired, his lieutenants would have the greater temptation to aſpire at independence. Subſequent events will juſtify the reaſonable expectation of Darius, which was on this occaſion diſappointed.

Biſthanes,

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Bifthanes, the ſon of Ochus, Darius's predeceſſor[53]. This prince informed him, that Darius had fled from thence five days before, attended by three thouſand horſemen, and ſix thouſand foot.

Alexander purſues Darius;

Animated by this intelligence, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, in which place he left his treaſures, and poſted a ſtrong garriſon. In this city he likewiſe diſmiſſed the Theſſalian cavalry, and ſeveral auxiliary ſquadrons; paying them, beſides their arrears, a gratuity of two thouſand talents. Such as preferred the glory of accompanying his ſtandard to the joy of reviſiting their reſpective countries, were allowed again to enliſt; a permiſſion which many embraced. A ſtrong detachment under Parmenio was ſent into Hyrcania; Cænus, who had been left ſick at Suſa, was commanded to march with all convenient ſpeed into Parthia; while the king, with a well-appointed army, advanced with incredible expedition[54] in purſuit of Darius. Having paſſed the Caſpian Straits, he was met by Bagiſtanes, a Babylonian of diſtinction, who acquainted him that Beſſus, governor of Bactria, in conjunction with Nabarzanes, an officer in Darius's cavalry, and Barzaentes, ſatrap of the barbarous Drangæ and Arachoti, had thrown aſide all reſpect for a prince who was no longer an object of fear. Upon this intelligence, Alexander declared expedition to be more neceſſary than ever. Having, therefore, left the heavy-armed troops and baggage under the command of Craterus, he haſtened forward with a few ſelect bands, encumbered only with their arms, and two days proviſions. In that ſpace of time, he reached the camp from which Bagiſtanes had deſerted; and finding ſome parties of the enemy there, learned that Darius being ſeized and bound, was actually carried priſoner in his cha-

[53] Arrian, p. 66, ſpeaks as if Ochus had been Darius's immediate predeceſſor, neglecting the ſhort reign of Arſes the ſon of Ochus, who was poiſoned ſoon after his father by the eunuch Bagoas. Diodor. xvii. 5. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. vi. 8.

[54] His marches were thirty-eight and forty miles a day; ſometimes more. Xenophon's expedition of Cyrus, and Arrian's expedition of Alexander, mutually illuſtrate and confirm each other.

riot;

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riot; that Beſſus, in whoſe province this treaſon had been committed, had aſſumed the imperial honours; that all the Barbarians (Artabazus only and his ſons excepted) already acknowledged the uſurper; that the Greek mercenaries preſerved their fidelity inviolate; but finding themſelves unable to prevent the flagitious ſcenes that were tranſacting, had quitted the public road, and retired to the mountains, diſdaining not only to participate in the deſigns, but even to ſhare the ſame camp with the traitors. Alexander farther learned, that ſhould he purſue Beſſus and his aſſociates, it was their intention to make peace with him by delivering up Darius; but ſhould he ceaſe from the purſuit, that they had determined to collect forces, and to divide the eaſtern provinces of the empire.

Having received this information, Alexander marched all night, and next day till noon, with the utmoſt ſpeed, but without overtaking the enemy. He therefore diſmounted five hundred of his cavalry, placed the braveſt of his foot, completely armed, on horſeback; and commanding Attalus and Nicanor to purſue the great road which Beſſus had followed, advanced in perſon with his choſen band by a nearer way, which was almoſt deſert, and entirely deſtitute of water. The natives of the country were his guides. From the cloſe of evening till day-break he had rode near fifty miles, when he firſt diſcovered the enemy flying in diſorder, and unarmed. Probably to facilitate their own eſcape, Satibarzanes and Barzaentes ſtabbed Darius, and then rode away with Beſſus, accompanied by ſix hundred horſe. Notwithſtanding the celerity of Alexander, the unhappy Darius expired before the conqueror beheld him[1]. Darius was the laſt king of the houſe of Hyſtaſpes, and the tenth in ſucceſſion to the monarchy of Cyrus. That he was neither brave nor

who is treacherouſly ſlain. Olymp. cxii. 3. A. C. 330.

[1] "Such is the ſimple narration of Arrian. The fictions related by Plutarch in Alexand. & Curtius, l. v. c. xii. & Juſtin. l. xi. c. xv. are inconſiſtent with each other, and all of them betray the deſire to contraſt the exaltation and depreſſion of the fortune of Darius. "He was chained," ſays Curtius, "with golden fetters; but laid in a dirty cart, covered with raw hides." His harangue in praiſe of Alexander would be moral and affecting, were it not totally improbable.

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prudent, his conduct ſufficiently evinces; but the uninterrupted chain of his calamities would have prevented him (had he been otherwiſe inclined) from imitating the injuſtice and cruelty of too many of his predeceſſors[56].

Alexander purſues the murderers of Darius.

In this important ſtage of his fortune, Alexander diſplayed tender ſympathy with affliction, warm eſteem of fidelity, and juſt hatred of treaſon. He gave orders that the body of Darius ſhould be tranſported to Perſia, and interred in the royal mauſoleum. The children of the deceaſed prince were uniformly treated with thoſe diſtinctions which belonged to their birth; and Barciné[57], his eldeſt daughter, was finally eſpouſed by Alexander. The pardon of the Greek mercenaries, who were admitted into the Macedonian ſervice, and the honourable reception of Artabazus and his ſons, well became the character of a prince, who could diſcern and reward the merit of his enemies. Alexander then purſued the murderers of Darius through the inhoſpitable territories of the Arii and Zarangæi, and in two days accompliſhed a journey of ſix hundred furlongs. Having received the ſubmiſſion of Aornos[58] and Bactra, he paſſed the deep and rapid Oxus, and learned, on the eaſtern banks of this river, that Beſſus, who had betrayed his maſter, had been betrayed in his turn by Spitamenes. The former was ſurpriſed by the Macedonians, and treated with a barbarity[59] better merited by his own crimes, than becoming the character of Alexander.

The Bactrian and Scythian war. Olymp. cxii. 4. cxiii. 1. A. C. 328, 329.

Spitamenes ſucceeded to his ambition and danger. In purſuit of this daring rebel, the reſentment of Alexander hurried him through

[56] Arrian makes this judicious obſervation, which proves the futility of the Oriental traditions repreſenting Darius as a monſter of tyranny and cruelty. See D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orientale, art. Darab. p. 285. Should the faſhionable ſcepticiſm of the times heſitate between theſe authorities, the reader has only to aſk, what Oriental hiſtorian has related the tranſactions of Darius with the fulneſs and accuracy ſo conſpicuous in Arrian?

[57] Called by ſome writers Statira.

[58] We ſhall meet with another place of this name, between the Suaſtus and the Indus.

[59] He was ſtripped naked, whipped, ſhamefully mutilated, &c. Arrian arraigns thoſe cruelties, as unworthy of the Grecian character: but he warmly approves the puniſhing of Beſſus, and the other murderers of Darius.

the

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the vaſt but undeſcribed[60] provinces of Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other leſs conſiderable diviſions of the ſouthern region of Tartary. The more northern and independent tribes of that immenſe country, whoſe paſtoral life formed an admirable preparation for war, ventured to take arms againſt a conqueror who hovered on the frontier of their plains, and whoſe camp tempted them with the proſpect of a rich plunder. The policy of Spitamenes inflamed their courage, and animated their hopes. Theſe rude nations, and this obſcure leader, proved the moſt dangerous enemies with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Sometimes they faced him in the field, and after obſtinately reſiſting, retreated ſkilfully. Though never vanquiſhed, Alexander obtained many dear-bought victories. The Scythians, on ſeveral occaſions, ſurpriſed his advanced parties, and interrupted his convoys. The abruptneſs of their attack was only equalled by the quickneſs of their retreat; their numbers, their courage, and their ſtratagems, all rendered them formidable[61]. But the enlightened intrepidity, and inimitable diſcipline of the Greeks and Macedonians, finally prevailed over Barbarian craft, and deſultory fury. Not contented with repelling his enemies, Alexander croſſed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians[62] on the northern bank of that river. This victory was ſufficient for his renown; and the exigency of his affairs ſoon recalled him from an inhoſpitable deſert.

The

[60] The erroneous geography of the ancients is laboriouſly compared with ſubſequent diſcoveries, in the learned work entitled, Examen des Anciens Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre; and may be ſeen at one glance, by comparing the maps, uſually prefixed to Quintus Curtius, with the admirable maps of Danville.

[61] In one action, Arrian tells us, that only forty Macedonian horſemen, and three hundred foot, eſcaped. Arrian, l. iv. Curtius mentions another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the ſlain. Curtius, l. vii. c. vii. Alexander was not preſent in either of theſe engagements; but in a third battle, related by Arrian, the Macedonians were at firſt repelled, many of them wounded, and the king ſtruck with an arrow, which broke the fibula, or leſſer bone of his leg. The Macedonians, however, rallied, and totally defeated the enemy. Arrian, l. iii. ſub fin.

[62] Before Alexander paſſed the Jaxartes, he received an embaſſy probably from the *Abian* Scythians. Their oration, omitted by all the Greek writers, is preſerved in Curtius, l. vii.

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Alexander finally reduces the provinces between the Caſpian and the Jaxartes. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

The provinces between the Caſpian and the Jaxartes twice rebelled, and twice were reduced to ſubmiſſion. The Barbarians fighting ſingly were ſucceſſively ſubdued; their braveſt troops were gradually intermixed in the Macedonian ranks; and Alexander, thus continually reinforced by new numbers, was enabled to overawe thoſe extenſive countries, by dividing his army into five formidable brigades, commanded by Hephæſtion, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, Cœnus [61], and himſelf. Near Gabæ, a fortreſs of Sogdiana, Cœnus attacked and defeated Spitamenes. The Sogdians and Bactrians deſerted their unfortunate general, and ſurrendered their arms to the conqueror. The Maſſagetæ and other Scythians, having plundered the camp of their allies, fled with Spitamenes to the deſert; but being appriſed, that the Macedonians prepared to purſue them, they ſlew this active and daring chief, whoſe courage deſerved a better fate; and, in hopes of making their own peace, ſent his head to the conqueror.

Siege of the Sogdian fortreſs; Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly reſiſted Alexander in the open country; but in the provinces of Sogdiana and Parætа-

l. vii. c. viii. It is remarkable for the bold elevated ſtyle, in which theſe Barbarians diſplay their own advantages, and deſcribe the deſtructive ambition of the invader. In both reſpects, it agrees with the admirable harangue of the Caledonian chieftain Galgacus, in Tacitus's Life of Agricola. But the glowing ſentiments of thoſe independent and high-minded nations are invigorated by the brevity of Tacitus, and weakened by the diffuſiveneſs of Curtius. Both orations abound in metaphors. "Great trees," ſay the Scythians to Alexander, "require long time to grow: the labour of a few hours levels them with the ground. Take care, leſt, in climbing to the top, you ſhould fall with the branches which you have ſeized. Graſp Fortune with both your hands; ſhe is ſlippery, and cannot be confined. Our countrymen deſcribe her without feet, with hands only, and wings. Thoſe to whom ſhe ſtretches out her hand, ſhe allows not to touch her wings. Rein your proſperity, that you may more eaſily manage it. Our poverty will be ſwifter than your army loaded with ſpoil. We range the plain and the foreſt; we diſdain to ſerve, and deſire not to command." The figurative ſtyle of the Scythians is ſufficiently conſonant to the manners of barbarous nations. See Principii di Scienza nuova, vol. i. p. 156, & ſeqq. See likewiſe Chapters fifth and ſixth of the preſent Hiſtory. Le Clerc, therefore, ſpeaks with equal ignorance and ſeverity, when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he ſays, "Scythæ ipſi, omnium literarum rudes, Rhetorico calamiſtro inuſti, in medium prodeant." Judic. Curt. p. 376.

[61] Artabazus, the faithful attendant of Darius, and afterwards the friend of Alexander, was joined in the command with Cœnus. Arrian.

cœne

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cæne, two important fortreſſes, long deemed impregnable, ſtill bade defiance to the invader. Into the former, Oxyartes, the Bactrian, who headed the *rebellion* (for ſo the Macedonians termed the brave defence of the Bactrians) had placed his wife and children. The rock was ſteep, rugged, almoſt inacceſſible, and provided with corn for a long ſiege. The deep ſnow, by which it was ſurrounded, increaſed the difficulty of aſſaulting it, and ſupplied the garriſon with water. Alexander having ſummoned the Bactrians to ſurrender, was aſked in deriſion, Whether he had furniſhed himſelf with winged ſoldiers? This inſolence piqued his pride; and he determined to make himſelf maſter of the place, with whatever difficulties and dangers his undertaking might be attended. This reſolution was conſonant to his character. His ſucceſs in arms, owing to the reſources of his active and comprehenſive mind, ſometimes encouraged him to enterpriſes, neither juſtified by neceſſity, nor warranted by prudence. Fond of war, not only as an inſtrument of ambition, but as an art in which he gloried to excel, he began to regard the means as more valuable than the end, and ſacrificed the lives of his men to military experiments, alike hazardous and uſeleſs: Yet, on the preſent occaſion, ſound policy ſeems to have directed his meaſures. Having determined ſoon to depart from thoſe provinces, he might judge it imprudent to leave an enemy behind: it might ſeem neceſſary to deſtroy the ſeeds of future rebellion; and, by exploits unexampled and almoſt incredible, to impreſs ſuch terror of his name, as would aſtoniſh and overawe his moſt diſtant and warlike dependencies.

Alexander carefully examined the Sogdian fortreſs, and propoſed a reward of twelve talents[64] to the man who ſhould firſt mount the top of the rock on which it was ſituated. The ſecond and third were to be propotionably rewarded, and even the laſt of ten was to be gratified

which is taken by a contrivance equally ingenious and daring.

[64] Above £. 2000, equal in value to near £. 20,000 in the preſent age.

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fied with the ſum of three hundred darics. The hopes of this recompence, which, in the conception of the Greeks and Macedonians, was equally honourable and lucrative, ſtimulated the love of adventure, ſo conſpicuous in both nations. Three hundred men, carefully ſelected from the whole army, were furniſhed with ropes made of the ſtrongeſt flax, and with iron pins uſed in pitching tents. They were likewiſe provided with ſmall pieces of linen, which being joined together, might ſerve as a ſignal. Thus equipped, they proceeded at the cloſe of evening towards the moſt abrupt ſide of the rock, and therefore the moſt likely to be unguarded. By driving the iron pins into congealed ſnow, and then faſtening to them the ropes, they gradually hoiſted themſelves up the mountain. In this extraordinary enterpriſe, thirty men periſhed, whoſe bodies were ſo profoundly buried in the ſnow, that, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch, they could never afterwards be recovered. By this ſimple contrivance, thoſe daring adventurers gained the ſummit of the rock, which overlooked the fortreſs; and waving their ſignal in the morning, were diſcovered by Alexander. At this joyous ſight, he ſummoned the beſieged to ſurrender to his winged ſoldiers. The Barbarians beheld and trembled; terror multiplied the number of their enemies, and repreſented them as completely armed; Alexander was invited to take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs[65].

Alexander's generous treatment of Roxana.

This obſcure and even nameleſs caſtle contained Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, and deemed, next to the ſpouſe of Darius, the greateſt beauty in the Eaſt. Alexander admired her form and her accompliſhments; but even in the fervour of youth, and the intoxication of proſperity, his generous mind diſdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, as juſtified by the maxims and example of his age and country. With a moderation and ſelf-command, worthy the ſcholar of Ariſtotle, he declined the embraces of his captive, till his condeſcending affection raiſed her to the throne, chooſing rather to offend

[65] Arrian, p. 91. & ſeqq.

the

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the prejudices of the Macedonians, than to tranſgreſs the laws of humanity [66].

The fortreſs of Chorienes ſurrenders. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

In Bactria, Alexander learned that the Parætacæ were in arms, and that many of his moſt dangerous enemies had ſhut themſelves up in the fortreſs or rock of Chorienes. Upon this intelligence, he haſtened to the Parætacæne. The height of the rock, which was everywhere ſteep and craggy, he found to be near three miles, and its circumference above ſeven. It was ſurrounded by a broad and deep ditch, at ſuch diſtance from the baſe as placed the garriſon beyond the reach of miſſile weapons. Alexander gave orders that the fir trees, of extraordinary height, which ſurrounded the mountain, ſhould be cut down, and formed into ladders, by means of which, his men deſcending the ditch, drove huge piles into the bottom. Theſe, being placed at proper diſtances, were covered with hurdles of ozier conſolidated with earth. In this occupation his whole army were employed by turns, night and day. The Barbarians at firſt derided this ſeemingly uſeleſs labour. But their inſults were ſoon anſwered by Macedonian arrows. By theſe, and other miſſile weapons, the Macedonians, who were carefully protected by their coverings, ſo much annoyed the beſieged, that the latter became deſirous to capitulate. For this purpoſe, Chorienes, from whom the place derived its name, deſired to converſe with Oxyartes, the Bactrian, who, ſince the taking of his wife and children, had ſubmitted to Alexander. His requeſt being granted, Oxyartes ſtrongly exhorted him to ſurrender his fortreſs and himſelf, aſſuring him of Alexander's goodneſs, of which his own treatment furniſhed an eminent example, and declaring that no place was impregnable to ſuch troops and ſuch a general. Chorienes prudently followed this advice; and, by his ſpeedy ſubmiſſion, not only obtained pardon,

[66] Arrian, p. 91. & ſeqq.

but

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but gained the friendſhip of Alexander, who again entruſted him with the command of his fortreſs, and the government of his province. The vaſt magazines of corn, meat, and wine, collected by the Parætacæ for a long ſiege, afforded a ſeaſonable ſupply to the Macedonian army, eſpecially during the ſeverity of winter, in a country covered with ſnow many feet deep[67].

The virtues diſplayed by Alexander in making and regulating his conqueſts.

By ſuch memorable atchievements, Alexander ſubdued the nations between the Caſpian ſea, the river Jaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains, which ſupply the ſources of the Indus and the Ganges. In the conduct of this remote and dangerous war, the great abilities of the general were conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed. His example taught the troops to deſpiſe hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger; neither rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor ſickneſs, could interrupt his progreſs, or abate his activity: his courage expoſed him to difficulties, from which he was extricated by new efforts of courage, which, in any other commander, would have paſſed for temerity. Amidſt the hardſhips of a military life, obſtinate ſieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he ſtill reſpected the rights of mankind, and practiſed the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; the rigours of deſpotiſm were ſoftened; arts and induſtry encouraged; and the proudeſt Macedonian governors compelled by the authority and example of Alexander, to obſerve the rules of juſtice towards their meaneſt ſubjects[68]. To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian plains, he founded cities, and eſtabliſhed colonies on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus; and thoſe deſtructive campaigns, uſually aſcribed to his reſtleſs activity and blind ambition, appeared to the diſcernment of this extraordinary man, not only eſſential to the ſecurity of the conqueſts which he had already

[67] Arrian, p. 92.

[68] Plutarch. Arrian, & Curtius, paſſim.

ready made, but neceſſary preparations for more remote and ſplendid expeditions which he ſtill purpoſed to undertake; and which, as will appear in the ſucceeding chapter, he performed with ſingular boldneſs and unexampled ſucceſs.

Commotions in Greece checked by Antipater. Olymp. cxii. 3. A. C. 330.

During the three firſt years that the invincible heroiſm of Alexander triumphed in the Eaſt, the firm vigilance of Antipater repreſſed rebellion in Greece. But the attention of that general being diverted, by a revolt in Thrace, from the affairs of the ſouthern provinces, the Lacedæmonians, inſtigated by the warlike ambition of their king Agis, ventured to exert that hoſtility againſt Macedon, which they had long felt and expreſſed. Reinforced by ſome communities of the Peloponneſus, which imprudently liſtened to their counſels, the allied army amounted to twenty-two thouſand men. Antipater having checked the inſurrection in Thrace, haſtened into the Grecian peninſula with a ſuperior force, and defeated the confederates in a battle, which proved fatal to king Agis, and three thouſand Peloponneſian troops. The vanquiſhed were allowed to ſend ambaſſadors to implore the clemency of Alexander. From that generous prince, the rebellious republics received promiſe of pardon, on condition that they puniſhed with due ſeverity the authors of an unprovoked and ill-judged revolt [9].

Tranquillity of that country during the ſubſequent years of Alexander's reign.

From this period, till the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed, above eight years, an unuſual degree of tranquillity and happineſs. The ſuſpicious and ſevere temper of Antipater was reſtrained by the commands of his maſter, who, provided the ſeveral republics ſent him their appointed contingents of men to reinforce his armies, was unwilling to exact from them any farther mark of ſubmiſſion. Under the protection of this indulgent ſovereign, to the glory of whoſe conqueſts they were aſſociated, the Greeks ſtill preſerved the forms, and diſplayed the image of that free

[9] Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 537. Curtius, l. vi. c. i.

conſtitution

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constitution of government, whose spirit had animated their ancestors.

Ctesiphon accused by Æschines, and defended by Demosthenes. Olymp. cxii. 3. A. C. 330.

While Alexander pursued the murderers of Darius, Athens was crowded with spectators from the neighbouring republics, to behold that intellectual conflict between Æschines and Demosthenes, whose rivalship in power and fame had long divided the affections of their countrymen. In consequence of a decree proposed by Ctesiphon, Demosthenes, as above-mentioned, had been honoured with a golden crown, as the reward of his political merit. His adversary had, even before the death of Philip, denounced the author of this decree as a violator of the laws of his country. 1. Because he had decreed public honours to a man actually entrusted with the public money, and who had not yet passed his accounts. 2. Because he had advised, that the crown conferred on Demosthenes, should be proclaimed in the theatre. 3. Because the boasted services of Demosthenes had ended in public disgrace and ruin; and that, instead of being rewarded with a crown, he ought to be punished as a traitor. Various circumstances, which it is now impossible to explain, prevented this important cause from being heard by the Athenians, till the sixth year of the reign of Alexander. The triumph of the Macedonians seemed to promise every advantage to Æschines, who had long been the partisan of Philip, and of his magnanimous son; and who, by a stroke aimed at Ctesiphon, meant chiefly to wound Demosthenes, the avowed enemy of both.

Æschines banished for calumny.

In the oration of Æschines, we find the united powers of reason and argument, combined with the most splendid eloquence. Yet the persuasive vehemence of Demosthenes prevailed in the contest. The unexampled exertions [70], by which he obtained this victory, will be admired to the latest ages of the world. To what an exalted pitch of enthusiasm must the orator have raised himself and his au-

[70] See the Orat. de Coron. throughout.

dience, when, to juſtify his adviſing the fatal battle of Chæronæa, he exclaimed, "No, my fellow-citizens, you have not erred; No! I ſwear it by the manes of thoſe heroes who fought in the ſame cauſe at Marathon and Platæa." What ſublime art was required to arrive, by juſt degrees, at this extraordinary ſentiment, which in any other light than the inimitable blaze of eloquence with which it was ſurrounded, would appear altogether exceſſive and gigantic.

Generoſity of Demoſthenes.

The orator not only juſtified Cteſiphon and himſelf, but procured the baniſhment of his adverſary, as the author of a malignant and calumnious accuſation. Honourable as this triumph was, Demoſthenes derived more ſolid glory from the generous treatment of his vanquiſhed rival. Before Æſchines ſet ſail, he carried to him a purſe of money, which he kindly compelled him to accept; a generoſity which made the baniſhed man feel ſeverely the weight of his puniſhment, and affectingly obſerve, "How deeply muſt I regret the loſs of a country, in which enemies are more generous than friends elſewhere!" Æſchines retired to the iſle of Rhodes, and inſtituted a ſchool of eloquence, which flouriſhed ſeveral centuries. It is recorded, that having read to his ſcholars the oration which occaſioned his baniſhment, it was received with extraordinary applauſe. But when this applauſe was redoubled on his reading the anſwer of Demoſthenes, he was ſo far from teſtifying envy, that he exclaimed to his audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard the orator himſelf!"

His death. Olymp. cxiv. 3. A. C. 322.

Demoſthenes ſurvived Alexander, whoſe magnanimity diſdained to puniſh an enemy whom he ſcarcely regarded as dangerous. But this illuſtrious Athenian patriot fell a prey to the more ſuſpicious policy of Antipater. At the deſire of that prince, he was baniſhed Athens, and being purſued by Macedonian aſſaſſins to the little iſland Calauria, he ended his life by poiſon [71].

[71] Plut. in Demoſthen. & Lucian. Demoſthen. Encom.

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The ſentence of the Athenians in favour of Demoſthenes, honourable to the moderation of Alexander.

It may be thought, that the conqueror of the Perſian empire would have little leiſure, or inclination, to attend to a perſonal diſpute between two Athenian orators; and that neither the impeachment nor the defence of Demoſthenes could affect his pride or his intereſt. It deſerves to be conſidered, however, that this orator was the inveterate, and long the ſucceſsful, opponent of the greatneſs of his family; and in the beginning of his own reign, had attempted, with more courage, indeed, than prudence, to overturn the yet unconſolidated pillar of his fortune. But whatever indifference Alexander, who was carefully informed of the tranſactions of Greece, might teſtify amidſt the honours of Demoſthenes, it cannot be believed that he heard with total unconcern the ſentence of the Athenian people; a ſentence which reverſed the deciſion of fortune, and arraigned the cruel and melancholy triumph of Philip over the liberties of Greece. That he never reſented the indignity, is a proof of his moderation; and that the Athenians could venture on a meaſure ſo offenſive, is a proof of the freedom and ſecurity which they enjoyed under the Macedonian government.

State of Greece during the latter years of the reign of Alexander.

Deprived indeed of the honour, but alſo delivered from the cares, of independent ſovereignty, and undiſturbed by thoſe continual and often bloody diſſentions, which deform the annals of their tumultuous liberty, the Greeks indulged their natural propenſity to the ſocial embelliſhments of life; a propenſity by which they were honourably diſtinguiſhed above all other nations of antiquity. Their innumerable ſhows, feſtivals, and dramatic entertainments, were exhibited with more pomp than at any former period. The ſchools of philoſophers and rhetoricians were frequented by all deſcriptions of men. Painting and ſtatuary were cultivated with equal ardour and ſucceſs. Many improvements were made in the ſciences; and, as will appear more fully hereafter, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, ſtill rivalled the taſte and genius, though not the ſpirit and virtue, of their anceſtors.

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ceſtors. Yet even in this degenerate ſtate, when patriotiſm and true valour were extinct, and thoſe vanquiſhed republicans had neither liberties to love, nor country to defend, their martial honours were revived and brightened by an aſſociation with the renown of their conqueror. Under Alexander, their exploits, though directed to very different purpoſes, equalled, perhaps excelled, the boaſted trophies of Marathon and Platæa. By a ſingularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political diſgrace, coincides with the moſt ſplendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himſelf a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and, to revenge the wrongs of his nation, he undertook and accompliſhed the moſt extraordinary enterpriſes recorded in the hiſtory of the world.

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Alexander's Indian Expedition.—Route purſued by the Army.—Aornos taken.—Nyſa and Mount Meros.—Alexander paſſes the Indus and Hydaſpes.—Defeats Porus.—Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia.—Paſſes the Aceſines and Hydraotes.—Sangala taken.—Eaſtern Boundary of Alexander's Conqueſts.—He ſails down the Hydaſpes.—Takes the Mallian Fortreſs.—His March through the Gedrosian Deſert.—Voyage of Nearchus.—Alexander improves the internal State of his Conqueſts.—Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.—Intermarriages of the Europeans and Aſiatics.—Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon.—His Death, and Character.—Diviſion of his Conqueſts.—Subſequent Hiſtory of Egypt and Syria.—The Weſtern Diviſion of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans.—State of Greece after the Age of Alexander.

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Alexander undertakes his Indian expedition. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

BY juſt views of policy, rather than the madneſs of ambition, Alexander was carried to the rugged banks of the Oxus and the Iaxartes. The fierce nations of thoſe inhoſpitable regions had, in ancient times, repeatedly over-run the more wealthy and more civiliſed provinces of Aſia. Without diffuſing through the Scythian

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Scythian plains the terror of his name, the conqueror would not have ſecurely enjoyed the ſplendor of Suſa and Babylon; nor without the aſſiſtance of numerous and warlike levies, raiſed in thoſe barbarous countries, could he have prudently undertaken his Indian expedition. For this remote and dangerous enterpriſe, he prepared early in the ſpring; Amyntas being appointed governor of Bactria, and entruſted with a ſufficient ſtrength to overawe the ſurrounding provinces.

Traverſes the Paropamiſus.

With all the remainder of his forces, Alexander haſtened ſouthwards, and in ten days march traverſed the Paropamiſus, a link of that immenſe chain of mountains, reaching from the coaſt of Cilicia to the ſea of China. This ſouthern belt, diſtinguiſhed in different portions of its length by the various names of Taurus, Paropamiſus, Imaus, and Edmodus, the Greeks confounded[1] with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucaſus is a part, and whoſe remote branches extend from the ſhores of the Euxine to the eaſtern extremity of Tartary. Such is the ſtrong frame which ſupports the ponderous maſs of Aſia. The intermediate ſpace, eſpecially towards the central country of Bukaria, is far more elevated than any other portion of the Eaſtern continent; and the towering heights of Paropamiſus had hitherto defended (if we except the obſcure expedition of Darius) the feeble majeſty of India againſt the ravagers of the earth. The difficulties of this celebrated journey have, perhaps, been rather exaggerated than deſcribed, by the hiſtorians of Alexander. Yet our indulgence may pardon the fanciful[2] expreſſions of antiquity, when we read in the work of a modern writer of acknowledged veracity, "Thoſe mountains are covered with ice; the cold which I ſuffered was extreme; the country preſents a melancholy image of death and horror[3]."

[1] The errors of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 553. and of Curtius, l. vii. c. iii. are avoided by Arrian, l. v. p. 103. and by Strabo, l. xv. p. 724.

[2] Curtius, l. vii. c. iii.

[3] See "le Voyage du Pere Defideri." It was performed in the year 1715. Lettres Edifiantes, xv. 185.

But

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Difficulty of penetrating into India by land.

But the rugged nature of the country was not the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had to ſtruggle. The northern regions of India were inhabited in ancient, as they are ſtill in modern times, by men of ſuperior ſtrength and courage[*]; and the vigorous reſiſtance made by the natives of thoſe parts, rendered it as difficult for Alexander to penetrate into the Indian peninſula by land, as it has always been found eaſy by the maritime powers of Europe, to invade and ſubdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coaſts.

Route purſued by Alexander.

The experienced leader ſeems to have conducted his army by the route of Candahar, well known to the caravans of Agra and Iſpahan. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; the greater part he retained under his immediate command; the remainder were detached, under Hephæſtion and Perdiccas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all neceſſary preparations for croſſing that river. After many ſevere conflicts, he ſubdued the Aſpij, Thryræi, Araſaci, and Aſſaceni; ſcoured the banks of the Choas and Cophenes; expelled the Barbarians from their faſtneſſes; and drove them towards the northern mountains, which ſupply the ſources of the Oxus and the Indus.

Aornos taken.

Near the weſtern margin of the latter, one place, defended by the Baziri, ſtill defied his aſſaults. This place, called by the Greeks Aornos, afforded refuge not only to the Baziri, but to the moſt warlike of their neighbours, after their other ſtrongholds had ſurrendered. From its deſcription, it appears to have been admirably adapted to the purpoſe of a long and vigorous defence. Mount Aornos was two hundred furlongs in circuit; eleven in height, where loweſt; acceſſible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock by art; containing, near the top, a plentiful ſpring of water, a thick and lofty wood, together with a ſufficient quantity of arable land to employ the labour of a thouſand men. An emulation of glory prompted Alexander to make himſelf maſter of a place, which fable deſcribed

[*] Arrian, p. 97. & ſeqq.

as impregnable to the greateſt heroes of antiquity [5]. By the voluntary aſſiſtance and direction of ſome neighbouring tribes, hoſtile to the Baziri, Ptolemy aſcended part of the rock unperceived; Alexander with his uſual diligence raiſed a mount, erected his engines, and prepared to annoy the enemy. But, before he had an opportunity to employ the reſources of his genius, by which he had taken places ſtill ſtronger than Aornos, the garriſon ſent a herald, under pretence of ſurrendering on terms, but in reality with a view to ſpin out the negociation during the whole day, and in the night to effect their eſcape. Alexander, who ſuſpected this intention, met their art with ſimilar addreſs. Patiently waiting till the Indians deſcended the mountain, he took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong-hold which they had abandoned, having previouſly poſted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, and puniſh their perfidy.

Alexander marches to Nyſa and mount Meros.

The Macedonians proceeded ſouthward from Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. In this fertile diſtrict, the army, as it advanced towards Mount Meros and the celebrated Nyſa, was met by a deputation from the citizens of that place, which (could we believe hiſtoric flattery) had been founded in the heroic, or rather in the fabulous ages, by a Grecian colony eſtabliſhed by Bacchus at the eaſtern extremity of his conqueſts. Theſe wandering *Greeks*, might we indulge for a moment the ſuppoſition that the inhabitants of Nyſa were really entitled to that name, appear in this Indian ſoil to have degenerated from the courage, while they preſerved the policy, the eloquence, and the artifices of their European brethren. Being immediately conducted to Alexander, who had juſt ſat down in his tent, covered with ſweat and duſt, and ſtill armed with his caſque and lance, they teſtified great horror at

[5] Arrian, p. 98, who ſupplies the particulars in the text, ſays, that he knows not whether it was the Grecian, Tyrian, or Egyptian Hercules, who laid ſiege unſucceſsfully to Aornos. He doubts whether any of them ever penetrated to India; adding, that the name of Hercules appears to him to have been employed, on this occaſion, as on many others, "[illegible] τερατος χαριν," "as an oſtentatious fiction."

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his aſpect, and threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground. The king having raiſed them from this humiliating poſture, and addreſſed them with his uſual condeſcenſion, they recovered ſufficient boldneſs to entreat him to ſpare their country and their liberties for the ſake of Bacchus their founder. In proof of this allegation, they inſiſted on the name Nyſa, derived from the nurſe[6] of Bacchus, and on the abundance not only of vines and laurel, but of ivy, which grew in their territory, and in no other part of India. Alexander willing to admit a pretenſion, which might atteſt to ſucceeding ages that he had carried his conqueſts ſtill farther than Bacchus[7], readily granted their requeſt. Having underſtood that Nyſa was governed by an ariſtocracy, he demanded, as hoſtages, an hundred of their principal ci-

[6] The reſpect ſhewn by the Greeks to their nurſes is well known, and is atteſted by the tragedians. In this reſpect, the modern Greeks ſtill imitate their anceſtors. The word employed to ſignify a nurſe, properly denotes "a ſecond mother." See Mr. Guy's Voyage Litteraire de la Grèce.

[7] Eratoſthenes the Cyrenean, and many other ancient writers, aſſerted, that the fictions concerning Bacchus's expedition to the Eaſt, were invented by the flatterers of Alexander. But Strabo juſtly obſerves, that the belief of that expedition long preceded the age of the ſon of Philip. To juſtify this obſervation, he cites the verſes of Sophocles and Euripides. The latter of theſe poets, in the prologue to his *Bacchæ*, introduces Bacchus, ſaying, that he had come to Thebes, and adorned with vines the temple of Semele.

Λιπων δι Λυδων τας πολυχρυσους γυας,
Φρυγων τε Περσων θ' ηλιοβλητους πλακας,
Βακτρια τε τειχη, την τε δυσχειμερον χθονα
Μηδων, επελθων Αραβιαν τ' ευδαιμονα
Ασιαν τε πασαν, ἡ παρ' αλμυραν αλα,
Κειται, μιγασιν Ελλησι βαρβαροις θ' ομου
Πληρεις εχουσα καλλιπυργωτους πολεις.

"Leaving the golden fields of the Lydians, the ſun-beat plains of Phrygia and Perſia, the Bactrian fortreſſes, and the wintery ſtorms of the Medes—having over-run happy Arabia, and the maritime provinces of Aſia crowned with fair-turreted cities, inhabited by mingled Greeks and Barbarians." Sophocles mentions Nyſſa in particular. Βρομιος τοισι κλειτοις Νυσσαις. Vide Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Notwithſtanding ſuch reſpectable authorities for the vulgar tradition, both Strabo and Arrian treat the expedition of Bacchus to India as a fable; the geographer on the following grounds, 1. Becauſe the relations of authors on this ſubject are totally inconſiſtent. 2. Becauſe many of the writers who accompanied Alexander are altogether ſilent concerning this matter. 3. Becauſe the intermediate countries, between Greece and India, poſſeſs no monaments of this pretended expedition. Strabo, p. 688. The philoſopher and hiſtorian diſcovers his ſentiments to be the ſame with Strabo's, but expreſſes himſelf with more tenderneſs for the popular ſuperſtition, concluding, "ουκ ακριβως ἑξεταστεον, χρη μαλλον τα παραδεδομενα τοις θεοις, ως παλαια, μεμυθευμενα;" "that the *traditions* of the ancients concerning the Gods ought not to be too carefully ſifted." Arrian, p. 101. An obſervation which might have merited the attention of thoſe who, in later times, have ventured to explain hiſtorically, or to analiſe, the Grecian mythology.

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tizens, and three hundred of their cavalry. This demand excited the ſmile of Acuphis, who headed the embaſſy. Alexander aſked him, "At what he ſmiled?" He replied, "O king! you are welcome to three hundred of our horſemen, and more, ſhould you think proper. But can you believe it poſſible that any city ſhould long continue ſafe, after loſing an hundred of its moſt virtuous citizens? Inſtead of one hundred of the beſt, ſhould you be contented with two hundred of the worſt, men in Nyſa, be aſſured that, at your return, you will find this country in as flouriſhing a condition as when you left it." Pleaſed with his addreſs, Alexander remitted his demand of the magiſtrates; he was accompanied by the cavalry, and by the ſon and nephew of Acuphis, who were ambitious to learn the art of war under ſuch an accompliſhed general.

The tranſactions which we have deſcribed, and a march of ſixteen days from the Oxus to the Indus, allowed time for Hephæſtion and Perdiccas to make the preparations neceſſary for paſſing the latter river, moſt probably by a bridge of boats[8]. On the caſtern bank, Alexander received the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring princes. Of theſe Taxiles, who was the moſt conſiderable, brought, beſides other valuable preſents, the aſſiſtance of ſeven thouſand Indian horſe, and ſurrendered his capital, Taxila, the moſt wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hydaſpes. But the king, who never al-

Alexander paſſes the Indus, receives the ſubmiſſion of Taxiles.

[8] Arrian, p. 100 & 103, leaves it uncertain in what manner the bridge was conſtructed. Neither that accurate writer, nor the other careleſs deſcribers of the exploits of Alexander, aſcertain the paſs of the Indus, at which the Macedonians croſſed that river. Major Rennel, late ſurveyor-general of Bengal, has the following obſervations in his excellent memoir on the map of Hindoſtan: "I take it for granted, that Alexander croſſed the Indus at the place where the city of Attock now ſtands; as it appears to have been in all ages the paſs on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India ... Attock muſt then ſtand on the ſite of the Taxila of Alexander. From thence, as his intention ſeems to have been to penetrate by the ſhorteſt way to the Ganges, he would proceed by the ordinary road to that part of the bank of the Hydaſpes (or Behat) where the fortreſs of Rotas now ſtands; and here he put in execution his ſtratagem for croſſing the river, whilſt the oppoſite ſhore was poſſeſſed by Porus." Of which more in the text.

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lowed himſelf to be outdone in generoſity, reſtored and augmented the dominions of Taxiles.

Prepares to paſs the Hydaſpes, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Porus.

The army croſſed the Indus about the time of the ſummer ſolſtice, at which ſeaſon the Indian rivers are ſwelled by heavy rains, as well as by the melted ſnow, which deſcends in torrents from Paropamiſus. Truſting to this circumſtance, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the Shantrou, or Hydaſpes, with thirty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. At an inconſiderable diſtance from the main body, his ſon commanded a detachment, conſiſting of the ſame kind of forces, which were all well accoutred, and excellently diſciplined. Alexander perceived the difficulty of paſſing the Hydaſpes in the face of this formidable hoſt; a difficulty which muſt be greatly increaſed by the elephants, whoſe noiſe, and ſmell, and aſpect, were alike terrible to cavalry. He therefore collected proviſions on the oppoſite bank, and induſtriouſly gave out that he purpoſed to delay paſſing the river till a more favourable ſeaſon. This artifice deluded not the Indians; and Porus kept his poſt. The king next had recourſe to a different ſtratagem. Having poſted his cavalry in ſeparate detachments along the river, he commanded them to raiſe in the night loud ſhouts of war, and to fill the bank with agitation and tumult, as if they had determined at all hazards to effect their paſſage. The noiſe rouſed the enemy, and Porus conducted his elephants wherever the danger threatened. This ſcene was repeated ſeveral ſucceſſive nights; during which the Barbarians were fatigued and haraſſed by perpetual alarms. Porus diſcovering, as he fondly believed, that nothing was intended by this vain noiſe, but merely to diſturb his repoſe, at length deſiſted from following the motions of the Macedonian cavalry, and remained quiet in his encampment, having ſtationed proper guards on the bank [a].

[a] Arrian, l. v. p. 107, & ſeqq.

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Diſpoſitions for that purpoſe.

The falſe ſecurity of Porus enabled Alexander to effect his long-meditated purpoſe. At the diſtance of about eighteen miles from his camp, and at the principal winding of the Hydaſpes, there ſtood a lofty rock, thickly covered with trees; and near to this rock, an iſland, likewiſe over-run with wood, and uninhabited. Such objects were favourable for concealment: they immediately ſuggeſted to Alexander the deſign of paſſing the river with a ſtrong detachment, which he reſolved to command in perſon, as he ſeldom did by others what he could himſelf perform; and, amidſt the variety of operations, always claimed for his own, the taſk of importance or danger. The Macedonian phalanx, the new levies from Paropamiſus, together with the Indian auxiliaries, and one diviſion of the cavalry, remained under the command of Craterus. They had orders to amuſe the enemy by making fires in the night, and by preparing openly during day-time to croſs the Hydaſpes. While theſe operations were carrying on by Craterus, Alexander, having collected hides and boats, marched up the country with a choice body of light infantry, the archers and Agrians, the Bactrian, Scythian, and Parthian [10] cavalry, together with a due proportion of heavy-armed troops; the whole a well-aſſorted brigade, adapted to every mode of war required by the nature of the ground, the arms or diſpoſition of the enemy. Having receded from the bank to a diſtance ſufficiently remote for eluding the obſervation of Porus, he advanced towards the rock and iſland; and in this ſecure poſt, prepared to embark, after taking ſuch precautions againſt the viciſſitudes of war and fortune, as could be ſuggeſted only by the moſt profound military genius. The orders given to Craterus were preciſe: ſhould the Indians perceive, and endeavour to interrupt the paſſage to the rock and iſland, he was in that caſe to haſten over with his cavalry; otherwiſe not to ſtir from his poſt, until he obſerved Porus advancing againſt Alexander, or flying from the

[10] Arrian calls them the Dahæ; they were ἱπποτοξόται, "archers on horſeback." Arrian, l. v. p. 109.

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field. At an equal distance between the bank, where Alexander meant to pass, and the camp where Craterus lay, Attalus and Meleager were posted with a powerful body of mercenaries, chiefly consisting of Indian mountaineers, who had been defeated by the Macedonians, and taken into the pay of the conqueror. To provide for any unforeseen accident, sentinels were placed along the bank, at convenient distances, to observe and repeat signals.

The passage effected.

Fortune favoured these judicious dispositions. A violent tempest concealed from the enemy's out-guards the tumult of preparation; the clash of armour and the voice of command being overpowered by the complicated crash of rain and thunder. When the storm somewhat abated, the horse and infantry in such proportions as both the boats and hides could convey, passed over, unperceived, into the island. Alexander led the line, accompanied in his vessel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Lysimachus; names destined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repressed by the irresistible diffusion of their master's glory.

The king first reached the oppofite bank, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, who hastened, in trepidation, to convey the unwelcome intelligence to Porus. The Macedonians meanwhile formed in order of battle; but before meeting their enemies, they had to struggle with an unforeseen difficulty. The coast on which they landed was the shore of another island, disjoined from the continent by a river commonly fordable, but actually so much swelled by the rains of the preceding night, that the water reached the breasts of the men, and the necks of the horses. Having passed this dangerous stream with his cavalry and targeteers, Alexander advanced with all possible expedition, considering, that should Porus offer battle, these forces would resist till joined by the heavy infantry; but should the Indians be struck with panic at his unexpected passage of the Hydaspes, the light-armed troops would thus arrive in time to attack and purfue them with advantage.

Upon

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Porus's ſon defeated and ſlain.

Upon the firſt alarm given by his out-guards, Porus detached his ſon to oppoſe the landing of the enemy with two thouſand horſe, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. Theſe forces, arriving too late to defend the bank, were ſpeedily broken and put to flight by the equeſtrian archers; their leader and four hundred horſemen were ſlain; moſt of the chariots were taken; the ſlime of the river, which rendered them unſerviceable in the action, likewiſe interrupting their flight.

Diſpoſitions made by Porus for reſiſting the enemy.

The ſad news of this diſcomfiture deeply afflicted Porus; but his immediate danger allowed not time for reflection. Craterus viſibly prepared to paſs the river, and attack him in front; his flanks were threatened with the ſhock of the Macedonian horſe, elated by recent victory. In this emergency the Indian appears to have acted with equal prudence and firmneſs. Unable to oppoſe this complicated aſſault, he left part of the elephants under a ſmall guard, to frighten rather than reſiſt, Craterus's cavalry; while, at the head of his whole army, he marched in perſon to meet the more formidable diviſion of the enemy, commanded by their king. His horſe amounted to four, and his foot to thirty thouſand; but the part of his ſtrength in which he ſeemed moſt to confide, conſiſted of three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. With theſe forces, Porus advanced, until he found a plain ſufficiently dry and firm for his chariots to wheel. He then arranged his elephants at intervals of an hundred feet; in theſe intervals he placed his infantry, a little behind the line. By this order of battle, he expected to intimidate the enemy, ſince their horſe, he thought, would be deterred from advancing at ſight of the elephants; and their infantry, he imagined, would not venture to attack the Indians in front, while they muſt be themſelves expoſed to be attacked in flank, and trampled under foot by thoſe terrible animals. At either extremity of the line, the elephants bore huge wooden towers, filled with armed men. The cavalry formed the wings, covered in front with the armed chariots.

Alexander

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Skilful manœuvres of the Macedonian army.

Alexander by this time appeared at the head of the royal cohort and equeſtrian archers. Perceiving that the enemy had already prepared for battle, he commanded a halt, until the heavy-armed troops ſhould join. This being effected, he allowed them time to reſt and recover ſtrength, carefully encircling them with the cavalry; and meanwhile examined, with his uſual diligence, the diſpoſition of the Indians. Upon obſerving their order of battle, he immediately determined, not to attack them in front, in order to avoid encountering the difficulties which Porus had artfully thrown in his way; and at once reſolved on an operation, which, with ſuch troops as thoſe whom he commanded, could ſcarcely fail to prove deciſive. By intricate and ſkilful manœuvres, altogether unintelligible to the Indians, he moved imperceptibly towards their left wing with the flower of his cavalry. The remainder, conducted by Cœnus, ſtretched towards the right, having orders to wheel at a given diſtance, that they might attack the Indians in rear, ſhould they wait to receive the ſhock of Alexander's ſquadrons. A thouſand equeſtrian archers directed their rapid courſe towards the ſame wing; while the Macedonian foot remained firm in their poſts, waiting the event of this complicated aſſault, which appears to have been conducted with the moſt preciſe obſervance of time and diſtance.

The battle of the Hydaſpes.

The Indian horſe, haraſſed by the Equeſtrian archers, and expoſed to the danger of being ſurrounded, were obliged to form into two diviſions, of which one prepared to reſiſt Alexander, and the other faced about to meet Cœnus. But this evolution ſo much diſordered their ranks, and dejected their courage, that they were totally unable to ſtand the ſhock of the Macedonian cavalry, which ſurpaſſed them as much in ſtrength, as it excelled them in diſcipline. The fugitives took refuge, as behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. Theſe fierce animals were then conducted againſt the enemy's horſe; which movement was no ſooner obſerved by the infantry, than they ſeaſonably advanced,

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and galled the aſſailants with darts and arrows. Wherever the elephants turned, the Macedonians opened their ranks, finding it dangerous to reſiſt them with a cloſe and deep phalanx. Meanwhile, the Indian cavalry rallied, and were repelled with greater loſs than before. They again ſought the ſame friendly retreat; but their flight was now intercepted, and themſelves almoſt intirely ſurrounded, by the Macedonian horſe; at the ſame time that the elephants, having loſt their riders, enraged at being pent up within a narrow ſpace, and furious, through their wounds, proved more formidable to friends than foes, becauſe the Macedonians, having the advantage of an open ground, could every where give vent to their fury".

The Indians defeated.

The battle was decided before the diviſion, under Craterus, paſſed the river. But the arrival of theſe freſh troops rendered the purſuit peculiarly deſtructive. The unfortunate Porus loſt both his ſons, all his captains, twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. The elephants, ſpent with fatigue, were ſlain or taken; even the armed chariots were hacked in pieces, having proved leſs formidable in reality than appearance, could we believe that little more than three hundred men periſhed on the ſide of Alexander. An obvious inconſiſtency too often appears in the hiſtorians of that conqueror[12]. With a view to enhance his merit, they deſcribe and exaggerate the valour and reſiſtance of his enemies; but, in computing the numbers of the ſlain, they become averſe to allow this valour and reſiſtance to have produced any adequate effects.

Courage and ingeniuity of Porus.

The Indian king having behaved with great gallantry in the engagement, was the laſt to leave the field. His flight being retarded by his wounds, he was overtaken by Taxiles, whom Alexander entruſted with the care of ſeizing him alive. But Porus, perceiving the approach of a man, who was his ancient and inveterate enemy,

[11] Arrian, p. 112.

[12] See Arrian, p. 113. The obſervation applies not, however, to that hiſtorian, but rather to Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus, from whom he derived his materials; nor could it be expected that thoſe generals ſhould preſerve perfect impartiality in relating the exploits of a maſter whom they admired.

turned

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turned his elephant, and prepared to renew the combat. Alexander then diſpatched to him Meroe, an Indian of diſtinction, who, he underſtood, had formerly lived with Porus in habits of friendſhip. By the entreaties of Meroe, the high-minded prince, ſpent with thirſt and fatigue, was finally perſuaded to ſurrender; and being refreſhed with drink and repoſe, was conducted to the preſence of the conqueror. Alexander admired his ſtature (for he was above ſeven feet high) and the majeſty of his perſon; but he admired ſtill more his courage and magnanimity. Having aſked in what he could oblige him? Porus anſwered, By acting like a king. "That," ſaid Alexander with a ſmile, "I ſhould do for my own ſake, but what can I do for your's? Porus replied, "All my wiſhes are contained in that one requeſt [13]." None ever admired virtue more than Alexander. Struck with the firmneſs of Porus, he declared him reinſtated on his throne; acknowledged him for his ally and his friend; and having ſoon afterwards received the ſubmiſſion of the Glauſæ, who poſſeſſed thirty-ſeven cities on his eaſtern frontier, the leaſt of which contained five thouſand, and many of the greateſt above ten thouſand inhabitants, he added this populous province to the dominions of his new confederate. Immediately after the battle, he interred the ſlain, performed the accuſtomed ſacrifices, and exhibited gymnaſtic and equeſtrian games on the banks of the Hydaſpes. Before leaving that river, he founded two cities, Nicæa and Bucephalia; the former was ſo called, to commemorate the victory gained near the place where it ſtood; the latter, ſituate on the oppoſite bank, was named in honour of his horſe Bucephalus [14], who died there,

Rewarded by Alexander.

Foundation of Nicæa and Bucephalia.

[13] The modern hiſtories of Alexander univerſally miſrepreſent this conference. All of them, as far as I know, make Porus ſay, "that he deſires to be treated like a king." an explanation which cannot be reconciled with Alexander's reply, Ταυτα μεν ουν σοι Πωρε ουτω γενησεται· τι δε σαυτω θελεις; τι σοι φιλον αξιον; "I will act towards you, O Porus! as becomes a king, on my own account: but what do you deſire that I ſhould do on your's?"

[14] This generous animal, who had ſo long ſhared the toils and dangers of his maſter, had formerly received ſignal marks of royal regard. Having diſappeared in the country of the Uxii, Alexander iſſued a proclamation, commanding his horſe to be reſtored, otherwiſe

there, worn out by age and fatigue. A large diviſion of the army remained under the command of Craterus, to build and fortify theſe new cities. CHAP. XXXIX.

In promoting the ſucceſs of Alexander, the fame of his generoſity conſpired with the power of his arms. Without encountering any memorable reſiſtance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Aceſines and the Hydraotes. In effecting this conqueſt, the obſtacles of nature were the principal, or rather the only, enemies, with whom he had to contend. The river Aceſines, fifteen furlongs broad, is deep and rapid; many parts of its channel are filled with large and ſharp rocks, which, oppoſing the rapidity of the ſtream, occaſion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally formidable, and ſtill more dangerous. Of the Macedonians, who attempted to paſs in boats, many drove againſt the rocks, and periſhed; but ſuch as employed hides, reached the oppoſite ſhore in ſafety. The Hydraotes is of the ſame breadth with the Aceſines, but flows with a gentle current. On its eaſtern bank, Alexander learned that the Cathaei, Malli, and other independent Indian tribes, prepared to reſiſt his progreſs. They had encamped on the ſide of the hill, near the city Sangala, two days march from the Hydraotes; and, inſtead of a breaſt-work, had fortified themſelves with a triple row of carriages. Alexander advanced with his cavalry; the Indians ſtirred not from their poſt, but, mounting their carriages, poured forth a ſhower of miſſile weapons. Alexander perceiving the cavalry unfit for ſuch an attack, immediately diſmounted, and conducted a battalion of foot againſt the enemy. The lines were attacked, where weakeſt; ſome paſſages were opened; the Macedonians ruſhed in; and the Indians, being ſucceſſively driven from their triple barrier, fled in precipitation to Sangala.

Alexander paſſes the Aceſines and Hydraotes.

otherwiſe he would ravage the whole country with fire and ſword. This command was immediately obeyed. "So dear," ſays Arrian, "was Bucephalas to Alexander, and ſo terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians." Arrian, p. 114.

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Sangala beſieged and taken.

The walls of that place were too extenſive to be completely inveſted. On one ſide, the town was ſkirted by a lake, long and broad, but not deep. Alexander ſuſpecting that the Indians, intimidated by their former defeat, would attempt to eſcape in the night, cauſed the lake to be ſurrounded with his cavalry. This precaution was attended with ſucceſs. The foremoſt of the Indians were cut to pieces by the advanced guards of the Macedonian horſe; the reſt eſcaped with difficulty to Sangala. Alexander then inveſted the greateſt part of the town with a rampart and a ditch, and prepared to advance his engines to batter the walls, when he was informed by ſome deſerters, that the enemy ſtill reſolved, that very night, to ſteal, if poſſible, through the lake; if not, to force their way with their whole ſtrength. Upon this intelligence Alexander poſted Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, with three thouſand targeteers, one troop of archers, and all the Agrians, upon the ſpot where he ſagaciouſly conjectured that the beſieged would attempt to force their paſſage. At the firſt ſound of the trumpet, the other commanders were to advance to the aſſiſtance of Ptolemy. Alexander declared his intention to ſhare the common danger. By this judicious diſpoſition, the enemy were ſucceſsfully repelled, after leaving five hundred men on the place. Meanwhile Porus, Alexander's principal ally in thoſe parts, arrived in the camp with five thouſand Indians, and a conſiderable number of elephants. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the ſiege. The engines were got ready; the wall, built of brick, was undermined; the ſcaling ladders were fixed; ſeveral breaches were made; and the town was taken by aſſault. Seventeen thouſand Indians are ſaid to have periſhed in the ſack of Sangala; above ſeventy thouſand were taken priſoners; Sangala was razed; its confederates ſubmitted or fled. Above an hundred Macedonians fell in the ſiege or aſſault; twelve hundred were wounded.

The

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Eaſtern boundary of Alexander's conqueſts.

The perſevering intrepidity of Alexander thus rendered him maſter of the valuable country, now called the Punjab, watered by the five great ſtreams whoſe confluence forms the Indus [15]. The banks of the Hyphaſis, the moſt eaſtern of theſe rivers, which he actually intended to croſs, allured by the flattering deſcription of the adjoining territory, were adorned by twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greateſt towers in that country. Theſe monuments, erected midway between Delhi and Lahor [16], marked the extremity

[15] The annals of the Gentoos diſtinguiſh Alexander by the epithets of Mhaahah, Dukkoyt, and Kooneah, "the great robber and aſſaſſin;" but moſt of the Oriental traditions are highly honourable to that prince, and extol his humanity not leſs than his proweſs. The high idea entertained of him by the Indians, appears from their aſcribing to his taſte and magnificence, the moſt remarkable monuments ſcattered over their immenſe country. See l'Examen Critique, p. 143, & ſeqq. M. Anquetil Zend-Aveſta, t. i. p. 392. and Mr. Howell's Religion of the Gentoos, P. ii. p. 5.

[16] Probably near the place where the great weſtern road paſſes between thoſe cities. See D'Anville Geogr. Ancienne, and Gibbon's Hiſt. vol. i. c. ii. Major Rennel, however, in his excellent Memoir on the new Map of Hindoſtan, aſſigns reaſons for believing that Alexander was not ſo high up the river. "After croſſing," ſays he, "the Aceſines, or Jenaub, and the Hydraotes or Ravee, which latter he may be ſuppoſed to croſs at the place where Lahor now ſtands, he appears to be drawn out of the direct route towards the Ganges, to attack the city of Sangala, moſt probably lying between Lahor and Moultan. From Sangala he proceeded to the Hyphaſis, or Setlege, moſt probably between Adjodin and Debalpour, by the circumſtance of the deſerts lying between him and the Ganges; for the country between the Beath and the Ganges is fertile and well inhabited, but that between the lower parts of the Setlege and the Ganges, has really a deſert in it, as Timur experienced in his march from Adjodin to Balnir. The diſtance between Alexander's poſition on the Hyphaſis and the Jumma, as given by Pliny, accords with this opinion. He gives it as three hundred and thirty-ſix Roman miles, which, by a proper proportional ſcale, formed from his diſtances in known places, reaches from the banks of the Jumma to a point a little below the conflux of the Beath and Setlege. But had Alexander been as high up the river as the place where the great weſtern road croſſes from Lahor to Delhi, he would have been only two hundred and fifty ſuch miles from the Jumma. This opinion is ſtrengthened by the account of what happened immediately after; I mean his recroſſing the Hydraotes, and then encamping on the bank of the Aceſines, in a low ſituation, and where the whole country was flooded on the coming on of the periodical rains; which circumſtance obliged him to move his camp higher up the river, into a more elevated country. This agrees perfectly with the deſcription of the country. The lower parts of the courſes of the Jenaub and Rauvee are really through a low country; and theſe are alſo the parts neareſt to Adjodin and Debalpour, between which places, I ſuppoſe, Alexander's altars were erected." It is rather unfortunate for this ingenious conjecture, that the deſert on the eaſtern bank of the Hyphaſis, between Alexander and the Ganges, is to be found only in

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extremity of Alexander's empire; an empire thus limited, not by the difficulties of the country, or the oppoſition of enemies, but by the immoveable and unanimous reſolution of his European troops.

Alexander ſails down the Hydaſpes, accompanied by his army. Olymp. cxiii. 3. A. C. 326.

Invincible by his enemies, Alexander ſubmitted to his friends, at whoſe deſire he ſet bounds to his trophies in the Eaſt. But his reſtleſs curioſity prepared new toils and dangers for the army and himſelf. Having returned to the cities Nicæa and Bucephalia, he divided his forces, for the ſake of exploring more carefully the unknown regions of India. Two diviſions, reſpectively commanded by Craterus and Hephæſtion (for Cænus was now dead), had orders to march ſouthward along the oppoſite banks of the Hydaſpes. Philip, to whom he had committed the government of the provinces adjacent to Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole Macedonian conqueſts in India, including ſeven nations and above two thouſand cities, were ſubjected to the dominion of Porus. Meanwhile the Ionians, Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other maritime nations, who followed the ſtandard of Alexander, induſtriouſly built, or collected, above two thouſand veſſels [77], for

in the inaccurate compilation of Diodorus, l. xvii p. 612. (whoſe narrative of Alexander's expedition is as much inferior to Arrian's, as his imperfect and inconſiſtent account of the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thouſand, is inferior to the admired Anabaſis of Xenophon), and in the romantic deſcription of Curtius, l. ix. c. ii. The exiſtence of ſuch a deſert, at the extremity of Alexander's conqueſts, is contradicted by the circumſtantial and ſatisfactory narrative of Arrian, l. v. p. 119. who ſays, "that the country beyond the Hyphaſis was rich and fertile, the inhabitants induſtrious and brave; governed by a moderate ariſtocracy; flouriſhing in peace and plenty; poſſeſſing a great number of elephants, and thoſe of ſuperior ſtrength and ſtature."

[77] "It may appear extraordinary," ſays Mr. Rennel, "that Alexander ſhould, in the courſe of a few months, prepare ſo vaſt a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; eſpecially as it is ſaid to be the work of his army. But the Punjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers, which communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Cathmere to Tatta, and no doubt abounded with boats and veſſels ready conſtructed to the conqueror's hands. I think it probable too, that the veſſels in which Nearchus performed his coaſting voyage to the Gulph of Perſia, were found in the Indus. Veſſels of one hundred and eighty tons burden are ſometimes uſed in the Ganges; and thoſe of one hundred not unfrequently." It is worthy of obſervation, that this judicious conjecture of Mr. Rennel is juſtified by the words of Arrian. In ſpeaking of the number of veſſels,

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for ſailing down the Hydaſpes till its junction with the Indus, and thence along that majeſtic ſtream to the Indian ocean. On board this fleet, the king embarked in perſon with the third diviſion of his forces. His navigation employed ſeveral months, being frequently retarded by hoſtilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the Malli. Theſe Barbarians were driven from the open country; their cities were ſucceſſively beſieged and taken; but, at the ſtorm of their capital, a ſcene was tranſacted, which would have indicated madneſs in any other general, and which betrayed temerity even in Alexander.

Extraordinary adventure in beſieging the Mallian fortreſs.

When their ſtreets were filled with the enemy, the Malli took refuge in their citadel. This fortreſs was defended by a thick wall, which being thrown around the declivity of a mountain, was extremely lofty without, but towards the inner circumference of an inconſiderable height. Alexander, provoked by the obſtinacy of the Indians, commanded the ſcaling-ladders to be applied with all poſſible expedition. But this ſervice being performed more tardily than uſual, the king, in his anger, ſnatched a ladder from one who carried it, and having faſtened it to the wall, mounted with rapidity in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their general, followed in ſuch numbers, that the ladder broke as Alexander reached the ſummit; the ſame accident happened to other ladders which were haſtily applied,

veſſels, he ſays, και ἐκ ἄλλα πεντήκοντα, ἃ τὰν παλαι ἁλιεῖα κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἢ ἐς τὸ τοῦ ποιήσονται, p. 121. The veſſels employed by Alexander appear, therefore, to have been partly collected on the Indian rivers, and partly conſtructed for the occaſion. They were, 1. Long ſhips, for the purpoſe of war; 2. Round ſhips, for carrying proviſions, bagage, &c.; and, 3. ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα, veſſels for tranſporting horſes. Mr. Rennel's conjecture can only relate to the ſhips of burden. That the two other kinds were built by the Ionians and iſlanders, appears from Arrian, p. 124 & 181. The account of Alexander's embarkation, given in Arrian's expedition of Alexander, as well as in his Indian hiſtory, is inconſiſtent with the relation of Curtius, l. ix. c. iii. with that of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 563. and that of Juſtin. l. xii. c. ix. The narrative of Arrian is, however, confirmed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 1023. That accurate geographer informs us, that the fleet was conſtructed near the cities which Alexander had built on each ſide the Hydaſpes; and that the timber, chiefly pine, fir, and cedar, was brought from a wood near to Mount Emodus.

and

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and injudiciouſly crowded. For ſome moments, the king thus remained alone on the wall, conſpicuous by the brightneſs of his arms and the extravagance[18] of his valour, expoſed to thick vollies of hoſtile darts from the adjacent towers. His reſolution was more than daring. At one bound, he ſprang into the place, and poſting himſelf at the wall, ſlew the chief of the Malli and three others who ventured to aſſault him. Meanwhile Abreas, Leonnatus, and Peuceſtas, the only Macedonians who had got ſafe to the top of the wall, imitated the example of Alexander. Abreas was wounded and fell; his companions regardleſs of their own ſafety, defended the king, whoſe breaſt had been pierced with an arrow. They were ſoon covered with wounds, and Alexander ſeemed ready to expire. By this time, the Macedonians had burſt through the gates of the place. Their firſt concern was to carry off the king; the ſecond to revenge his death, for they believed the wound to be mortal, as breath iſſued forth with his blood. Some report that the weapon was extracted by Critodemus of Cos, others, that no ſurgeon being near, Perdiccas, of the life-guards, opened the wound with his ſword, by his maſter's command. The great effuſion of blood threatened his immediate diſſolution; but a ſeaſonable ſwooning retarded the circulation of the fluids, ſtopped the diſcharge of blood, and ſaved the life of Alexander. The affectionate admiration in which he was held by his troops, appeared in their gloomy ſadneſs during his danger, and their immoderate joy at his recovery[19].

Marches through the Gedroſian deſert. Olymp. cxiii. 4. A. C. 325.

Having performed his intended voyage to the ocean, and provided neceſſaries for a long march, Alexander determined to proceed towards Perſepolis, through the barren ſolitudes of Gedroſia. This

[18] Γω ατοπω τυ τολμυ; literally, "the abſurdity of his valour," could our idiom admit ſuch an expreſſion; ατοπος properly ſignifies "what has no place in nature." It is commonly tranſlated *abſurd*, but may here mean *ſupernatural*.

[19] The extraordinary adventure related in the text, is ſaid by Curtius, l. ix. c. iv. to have happened in ſtorming a city of the Oxydracæ. Lucian. (Dial. mort.) & Pauſan. (Attic.) agree with Curtius. But theſe are feeble authorities, compared with Arrian, l. vi. p. 127, & ſeqq. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1026.

arduous

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arduous design was not inspired by an idle ambition to surpass the exploits of Cyrus and Semiramis, whose armies were said to have perished in those deserts, but prompted by the necessity of supplying with water the first European fleet which navigated the Indian sea, explored the Persian gulph, and examined the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This important voyage was performed, and afterwards related, by Nearchus [20], whose enterprising genius was worthy of the master whom he served. In discovering the sea and the land, the fleet and army of Alexander mutually assisted each other. By the example of the king, both were taught to despise toil and danger. On foot, and encumbered with his armour, he traversed the tempestuous sands of the Persian coast, sharing the hunger, thirst, and fatigue of the meanest soldier [21]; nor was it till after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army emerged into the cultivated province of Carmania.

Voyage of Nearchus.

In this country Alexander was met by a division of his forces, which he had sent under the command of Craterus through the territories of the Arij and Drangæ. Stasanor and Phrataphernes, governors of those warlike nations, and of the more northern provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, brought a seasonable supply of camels and

Alexander is joined in Carmania by various detachments of his army.

[20] Nearchus was a native of Crete, but had long resided in Macedonia. The journal of his celebrated voyage, from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, is preserved in Arrian's Indica, from c. xv. to c. xli. inclusively. Seven months were employed in the voyage, during three of which the fleet kept the sea. Nearchus sailed in the month of September, and arrived in April in the Euphrates. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. xxiii. The relation of this illustrious admiral has been called in question by Dodwell, Harduin, and others; but its authenticity is confirmed by the inseparable D'Anville. See Recherches Géog. sur le Golfe Persique, Acad. des Inscrip. t. xxx. p. 133.

[21] The Persians were continually employed, on the march, in searching for water. Once they were more unfortunate than usual; the sun was excessive and reflected by the scorching sand; Alexander marched on foot, parched with thirst, exhausted by fatigue, and oppressed by care. Amidst these distressful circumstances, some soldiers, discovering a small quantity of turbid water, brought it in great haste to the king. He received the present with thanks, then poured it on the ground, and the water, thus spilt, refreshed not only Alexander, but the whole army. Arrian, p. 191.

other

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other beaſts of burthen, to relieve the exigencies of an army enfeebled by diſeaſe, and exhauſted by fatigue. The waſte of men, occaſioned by this deſtructive expedition [22], was repaired by the arrival of numerous battalions from Media, which rendered the ſtandard of Alexander ſufficiently reſpectable. Cleander and Sitalus, the commanders of thoſe forces, were accuſed by the Medes of deſpoiling their temples, ranſacking their tombs, and committing other deteſtable deeds of avarice and cruelty. Their own ſoldiers confirmed the accuſation; and their crimes were puniſhed with death. This prompt juſtice gave immediate ſatisfaction, and ſerved as a ſalutary example in future; for, of all the rules of government, practiſed by this illuſtrious conqueror, none had a ſtronger tendency to confirm his authority, and conſolidate his empire, than his vigilance to reſtrain the rapacity of his lieutenants, and to defend his ſubjects from oppreſſion [23].

He puniſhes the miſconduct of his generals.

Among the fables which give the air of romance to the memorable exploits of Alexander, we may reckon the triumphant proceſſion through Carmania. In imitation of Bacchus, Alexander is ſaid to have traverſed this province, amidſt dancing and muſic, crowned with flowers, intoxicated with wine, and allowing the utmoſt extravagance of diſorder and folly to himſelf and his followers [24]. The revel continued ſeven days, during which a ſmall body of ſober men might have overwhelmed this army of bacchanals, and avenged the

Improbable account of the march through Carmania.

[22] Plutarch ſays, that the march through Gedroſia coſt Alexander near one hundred thouſand men; a palpable exaggeration, ſince he ſuppoſes the whole army, at their departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe; of which one diviſion embarked with Nearchus, and another marched, under the command of Craterus, through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ; little more than a third part of the whole number entered the Gedroſian deſerts.

[23] Και τουτο, ωσπερ τι αλλο, κατισχυε τα κατα την Ασιαν τα ιδια τα εξ Αλεξανδρου δεδουλωτα, η εκουσια προσχωρησαντα, τοσαυτα μεν πληθει οντα, τοσα δε αλληλων αφεστηκοτα· οτι ουκ εξην υπο τω Αλεξανδρω Βασιλεια αδικεισθαι τω; αρχομενους υπο των αρχοντων. Arrian, l. vi. p. 143. "This, eſpecially, kept in awe the nations that were either ſubdued by Alexander, or that voluntarily ſubmitted to him (numerous and remote as they were); that, under the reign of this prince, the governors durſt not injure the governed."

[24] Plut in Alexand. Diodor. p. 573.

cauſe

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cauſe of Darius and of Aſia [25]. Were not this improbable fiction diſcountenanced by the ſilence of contemporary writers [26], it would be refuted by its own abſurdity. Inſtead of yielding to the tranſports of mad joy, Alexander, whoſe heart was extremely ſuſceptible of compaſſion, muſt have been deeply afflicted by the recent loſs ſo many brave men; nor did the neceſſity of his affairs, to which he was ever duly attentive, admit of unſeaſonable delay.

Encouraged by the long abſence of their maſter, and the perils to which his too adventurous character continually expoſed his life, Harpalus Orſines and Abulites, who were reſpectively governors of Babylon, Perſepolis, and Suſa, began to deſpiſe his orders, and to act as independent princes, rather than accountable miniſters. In ſuch emergencies, Alexander knew by experience the advantage of celerity. He therefore divided his army. The greater part of the heavy-armed troops were entruſted to Hephæſtion, with orders to proceed along the ſea-coaſt, and to attend the motions of the fleet commanded by Nearchus. With the remainder, the king haſtened to Paſargadæ. Orſines was convicted of many enormous crimes, which were puniſhed with as enormous ſeverity [27]. Baryaxes, a Mede, who had aſſumed the royal tiara, ſuffered death; his numerous adherents ſhared the ſame fate. The return of Alexander from the Eaſt proved fatal to Abulites, and his ſon Oxathres, who, during the abſence of their maſter, had cruelly oppreſſed the wealthy province of Suſiana, and particularly the inhabitants of the capital. Harpalus, whoſe conduct at Babylon had been no leſs flagitious, eſcaped with his treaſures to Athens: the avarice of the Athenians engaged them to receive this wealthy fugitive; but their fears forbade them to harbour the enemy of Alexander. By a decree of the

Puniſhment of the governors of Babylon, Perſepolis, and Suſa.

[25] Curtius, l. ix. c. v.

[26] Arrian informs us, that neither Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus make the leaſt mention of this extraordinary tranſaction, which he treats with proper contempt. Vid. Arrian, p. 143.

[27] Arrian, who excuſes Alexander's adopting the Perſian manners, repeatedly blames him for imitating the Barbarian puniſhments.

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Peuceſtas rewarded.

people, he was expelled from Attica, and this traitor to the moſt generous of princes ſeems himſelf to have been ſoon afterwards treacherouſly ſlain [28]. The brave Peuceſtas, who had ſaved Alexander's life at the aſſault of the Mallian fortreſs, was promoted to the government of Perſia. In this important command, he proved his wiſdom to be equal to his valour. By conforming to the cuſtoms, adopting the manners, and uſing the language of the vanquiſhed, he acquired the affectionate reſpect of the people committed to his care. His pliant condeſcenſion, directed by ſound policy, was highly approved by the diſcernment of Alexander; but his affectation of foreign manners greatly offended the pride of his Macedonian countrymen.

Alexander improves the internal ſtate of his conquests. Olymp. cxii. 4. A. C. 325.

In the central provinces of his empire, which from time immemorial had been the ſeat of Aſiatic pomp and luxury, Alexander ſpent the laſt, and not the leaſt glorious, year of his reign. In the nervous language of antiquity, the world was ſilent in his preſence; and his only remaining care was to improve and conſolidate his conquests. For theſe important purpoſes, he carefully examined the courſe of the Eulæus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the indefatigable induſtry of his troops was judiciouſly employed in removing the weirs, or dams, by which the timid ignorance of the Aſſyrian and Perſian kings had obſtructed the navigation of thoſe great rivers. But Alexander, having no reaſon to dread fleets of war, wiſhed to invite thoſe of commerce. The harbours were repaired; arſenals were conſtructed:

[28] Comp. Curtius, l. x. c. ii. Plut. in Demoſthen. Diodor. l. xviii. p. 19. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 570. But all theſe writers omit the firſt crime of Harpalus, mentioned by Arrian, the pardon of which does great honour to the clemency of Alexander. Harpalus, even in the life-time of Philip, had gained the friendſhip of his illuſtrious ſon, who, ſoon after mounting the throne, employed him as his treaſurer. But, before the battle of Iſſus, this unworthy miniſter betrayed his truſt, and fled to Megara. Alexander, unwilling raſhly to condemn an old friend, who had for his ſake incurred the reſentment of Philip, aſcribed the miſconduct of Harpalus to the bad counſels of Tauriſcus, a daring villain, who had accompanied his flight. After the death of Tauriſcus, he prevailed on Harpalus again to return to his ſervice, and again entruſted him with the cuſtody of his treaſures. Arrian, l. iii. c. vi.

a baſon

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a baſon was formed at Babylon ſufficient to contain a thouſand gallies. By theſe and ſimilar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal intercourſe among his central provinces, while, by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the Eaſt, with the moſt remote regions of the earth. His ſhips were ſent to explore the Perſian and Arabian gulphs. Archias brought him ſuch accounts of the former, that he determined to plant its ſhores with Grecian colonies. Hieron of Soli proceeded fartheſt in examining the Arabian coaſt; but he found it impoſſible to double the ſouthern extremity of that immenſe peninſula, and ſtill more to remount (as he had been commanded by Alexander) to the city Hieropolis, in Egypt. This daring enterpriſe ſeemed to be reſerved for the king in perſon. It is certain, that, ſhortly before his death, he took meaſures for examining this great ſouthern gulph, as well as for diſcovering the ſhores of the Caſpian Sea, which was then believed to communicate with the Northern Ocean [29].

Sends veſſels to explore the Perſian and Arabian gulphs.

But objects, leſs remote, demanded his more immediate attention. In the winter ſeaſon, the waters of the Euphrates, which produce the extraordinary fertility of Aſſyria [30], are confined within their lofty channel. But in ſpring and ſummer, and eſpecially towards the ſummer ſolſtice, they overflow their banks, and, inſtead of watering, would totally deluge the adjacent territory, unleſs the ſuperfluous fluid were diſcharged into the great canal of Pallacopas. This artificial river, formed, it is ſaid, by Nebuchadnezzar, commences an hundred miles below Babylon. It is not fed by ſprings, nor replenifhed from mountain ſnows, but branching from the great trunk of the Euphrates, moderates its too impetuous ſtream, by diverting it into the ſea, through lakes and marſhes, by various, and, for the moſt

Reſtrains the inundations of the Euphrates.

[29] Arrian, l. vii. p. 158.

[30] "This country," according to Strabo, "is more fertile than any other; producing, it is ſaid, three hundred fold." Strabo, p. 1077.

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part, inviſible outlets. But this uſeful contrivance finally defeated its own purpoſe. The Pallacopas gradually ſunk into its ſoft and oozy bed, and the Euphrates, which even originally was much higher than this canal, continued to flow into the new channel, even after the ſeaſon when its waters ceaſe to riſe by the melting of the Armenian ſnows. This diminution of the river rendered it inſufficient to water the fields of Aſſyria; an inconvenience ſeverely felt in a country almoſt unacquainted with rain. The governors of Babylon attempted unſucceſsfully to remedy the evil, whoſe magnitude juſtly excited the attention of Alexander. From war, the mother of arts, he had learned to improve the benefits of peace. While preparations were making for more diſtant expeditions, he ſailed down the Euphrates; carefully examined the nature of the ſoil; and having diſcovered, at the diſtance of about four miles from the inoſculation of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which ſerved to moderate the inundations at one ſeaſon, without too much draining the waters at another. Having performed this eſſential ſervice to Aſſyria, he followed the courſe of the Pallacopas, and ſurveyed the lakes and marſhes, which guard the Arabian frontiers. In the neighbourhood of his new canal, he obſerved a convenient ſituation for a city, which, being built and fortified, was peopled with thoſe ſuperannuated Greeks, who ſeemed no longer capable of military ſervice, and with ſuch others of their countrymen as thought proper to ſettle in this fertile, though remote country [10].

Builds a city near the canal of Pallacopas.

Animated by a zeal for public happineſs, Alexander thus traverſed the populous provinces of the Eaſt, and ſucceſſively viſited the imperial cities of Perſepolis, Suſa, Ecbatana, and Babylon. Theſe places, and others of inferior note, were adorned with ſignal marks of his taſte, and reſpectively diſtinguiſhed by tranſactions which diſcover the boldeſt, yet moſt enlightened views of policy. The important deſign of uniting, by laws and manners, the ſubjects of his

Incorporates the Barbarian levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.

[10] Arrian, ubi ſupra.

extenſive

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extenſive monarchy, was ever preſent to his mind. For this purpoſe, he took care to incorporate in his Barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each diviſion of ſixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Aſiatics. In the Macedonian ſquadrons and battalions, he intermixed, on the other hand, ſuch of the Barbarians as were moſt diſtinguiſhed by their ſtrength, their activity, and their merit. Soon after the battle of Arbela, he had given orders to raiſe new levies in the conquered provinces. The Barbarian youth delighted in the Grecian exerciſe and diſcipline, and rejoiced at being aſſociated to the glory of their victors. On the banks of the Tigris, Alexander was joined by a powerful body of thoſe recruits, whoſe improvements in arts and arms fully anſwered his expectations, and juſtly rewarded his foreſight. The arrival of ſuch numerous auxiliaries enabled him to diſcharge at Opis, a city on the Tigris, ſuch Greeks and Macedonians as were tired of the ſervice, worn out with age, or enfeebled by ſickneſs. After an intereſting ſcene, which we ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe, he diſmiſſed thoſe reſpectable veterans, loaded with wealth and honours. They were conducted by Craterus, whom he appointed to ſucceed Antipater in the adminiſtration of his European dominions; and Antipater, who had long executed that important truſt, with equal prudence and fidelity, was commanded to join his maſter with new levies from Greece, Thrace, and Macedon[11].

Pays the debts of his ſoldiers.

At Suſa, Alexander learned that his ſoldiers, indulging the extravagance too natural to their profeſſion, had contracted immenſe debts, which they had neither ability nor inclination to pay. Upon this intelligence, he iſſued orders that each man ſhould give an exact account of what he owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring, that he was determined to ſatisfy them at his own expence. The troops ſuſpected an intention, merely to diſcover their characters, and to learn their œconomy or profuſion. At firſt, therefore, many denied, and all diminiſhed, their debts. But Alexander iſſued a ſecond

[11] Arrian, ubi ſupra.

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cond declaration, "That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to ſuppoſe their prince capable of deceit." Faithful liſts were immediately preſented, and the whole debts diſcharged, to the amount, it is ſaid, of four millions ſterling.

Intermarriages of the Europeans and Aſiatics.

This event was accompanied by a tranſaction of a different kind, which diſcovers, however, the ſame ſpirit, and which equally endeared Alexander to his Aſiatic ſubjects. In the royal palace of Suſa, he publicly eſpouſed Barciné [31], the daughter of Darius; and beſtowed her ſiſter Drypetis on his friend Hephæſtion, ſaying, that he wiſhed their children to be kinſmen. By the advice of their maſter, Perdiccas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with the moſt illuſtrious of the vanquiſhed Barbarians. The ſoldiers were encouraged by preſents, and by the hope of royal favour, to follow the example of their leaders; and it appeared from the catalogue of their names, preſented to the king, that above ten thouſand Greeks and Macedonians married Aſiatic women [32].

Alexander prepares to exhibit dramatic entertainments at Ecbatana. Olymp. cxiv. 1. A. C. 324.

In all the cities, which he viſited, he was careful to celebrate the muſical and gymnaſtic games; thoſe diſtinguiſhing fruits of Grecian culture, which being adapted to gratify the ſenſes, as well as to pleaſe the fancy, were beheld with delight even by the moſt ignorant Barbarians. Convinced that nothing has a more direct tendency, to unite and harmoniſe the minds and manners of men, than public entertainments and common pleaſures, Alexander determined to introduce and diffuſe the amuſements of the theatre. For this purpoſe above three thouſand players and muſicians, collected from

[31] Called Statira by Curtius, Juſtin, and Plutarch.

[32] Plutarch, ſeizing the true ſpirit of theſe regulations, exclaims, Ω βαρβαρε Ξερξη, και ανοητε, και ματην πολλα περι την Ἑλλησποντιαν πονηθεις γεφυραν, ουτως εμφρονεις βασιλευς Ασιαν Ευρωπη συναπτουσι, ου ξυλοις, ουδε σχοινιαις, ουδε αψυχοις και ασυμπαθεσι δεσμοις, αλλ' ερωτι νομιμω, και γαμοις σωφρουσι, και κοινωνιαις παιδων τα γενη συναπτοντες. "O! barbarous and fooliſh Xerxes, thou who labouredſt in vain to throw a bridge over the Helleſpont, it is thus that wiſe kings join Aſia to Europe, not by boards, ſhips, lifeleſs and inſenſible bonds, but by lawful love, chaſte nuptials, and the indiſſoluble tie of common progeny." Plut. Orat. i. de Fortun. Alexand. See likewiſe above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 308.

all

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Death of Hephæſtion.

all parts of Greece, aſſembled in Ecbatana, the capital of Media, which was choſen for the ſcene of thoſe theatrical exhibitions[33]. But the ſickneſs, and death of Hephæſtion, changed this magnificent ſpectacle, into melancholy obſequies. In the moment of his triumph, the king was deprived of his deareſt friend[34]. This irreparable loſs, he felt and expreſſed with an affectionate ardour congenial to his character, and juſtified his immediate ſorrow by the inconſolable[35] grief of Achilles for the fate of his beloved Patroclus. During three days and nights after the death of Hephæſtion, Alexander neither changed his apparel, nor taſted food. A public mourning was obſerved throughout the empire. Funeral games were celebrated in the great cities; the royal cohort was commanded thenceforward to retain the name and banner of Hephæſtion[36]; and the lofty genius of Staſicrates erected at Ecbatana a monument worthy *of him*, whom the obſequious oracle of Ammon declared deſerving of *heroic* worſhip. To appeaſe the grief of Alexander, his lieutenants dedicated their armour at the tomb of his friend. The example was given by Eumenes, the king's ſecretary, who, ſhortly before Hephæſtion's

His obſequies and honours.

[33] It ſhould ſeem from Plutarch, that the entertainments of the theatre were ſoon diffuſed through other parts of Aſia. Αλιξανδρῳ την Ασιαν ἐξημερωτος, Ὁμηρος ην αναγνωσμα, και Περσων και Σουσιανων και Γεδρωσιων παιδες τας Ευριπιδου και Σοφοκλεους τραγωδιας ηδον. "Alexander, having tamed Aſia, Homer was read in the Eaſt; the children of the Perſians, Suſians, and Gedroſi, recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides." Plut. ibid.

[34] Next to Hephæſtion, Craterus ſeems to have enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of Alexander's confidence; yet he often ſaid, "Craterus loves the king, Hephæſtion loves Alexander." Plutarch. in Alexand. In paſſing through the Troade, Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, and Hephæſtion that of Patroclus. Ælian, Var. Hiſt. xii. 7.

[35] If, in the melancholy ſhades below,
The flames of friends and lovers ceaſe to glow,
Yet mine ſhall ſacred laſt; and, undecay'd,
Burn on through death, and animate my ſhade.
Pope's Iliad.

[36] According to Plutarch, Staſicrates propoſed to form Mount Athos into a ſtatue of Alexander, graſping a city with one hand, and with the other diſcharging a river into the ſea. Plut. in Alexand. Vitruvius, l. ii. in Proem. & Lucian, t. ii. p. 489, aſcribe this deſign to Dinocrates. Alexander extolled the boldneſs of the artiſt, but added, Εα δι μειον τον Αθω κατα χαριν· αρκει γας ἡ Ἑκατιλως ἑνος βασιλεως ηδη μνημειον. "Let alone Mount Athos; it is enough that it is the monument of one king's folly already;" alluding to the event related above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 309.

death,

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death, had offended this illuſtrious favourite; a man who long and uninterruptedly enjoyed, without abuſing in any one inſtance, the confidence of his maſter; who exerciſed power without pride, and enforced diſcipline without ſeverity; whoſe conduct merited at once public reſpect and royal favour, and whoſe virtues diſarmed envy [37].

Alexander reduces and chaſtiſes the Coſſæans.

To moderate and divert his ſorrow, Alexander, who in the practice of war found at once buſineſs and amuſement, undertook an expedition in perſon, which perhaps would otherwiſe have been committed to the valour of his lieutenants. The Coſſæans, a fierce and untractable nation, inhabited the ſouthern frontier of Media. Secure amidſt their rocks and faſtneſſes, they had ever defied the arms of the Perſians; and the degenerate ſucceſſors of Cyrus had judged it more prudent to purchaſe their friendſhip than to repel their hoſtility. In their annual journey from Babylon to Ecbatana, the pride of theſe magnificent but puſillanimous princes condeſcended to beſtow preſents on the Coſſæans, that they might procure an undiſturbed paſſage for themſelves and their train; and this impolitic meanneſs only encreaſed the audacity of the mountaineers, who often ravaged the Suſian plains, and often retired to their faſtneſſes, loaded with the richeſt ſpoils of Media. Alexander was not of a temper patiently to endure the repetition of ſuch indignities. In forty days, he attacked, defeated, and totally ſubdued this rapacious and warlike tribe. The Coſſæans were driven from their laſt retreats, and compelled to ſurrender their territory. After obtaining ſufficient pledges of their fidelity, the conqueror allowed them to ranſom their priſoners, and at his departure from their country, took

Glory of Alexander.

[37] Arrian, p. 156, tells us, that concerning the funeral honours of Hephæſtion, innumerable and abſurd fictions were invented by the friends and by the enemies of Alexander; nay, what is extraordinary, the ſame falſehoods were ſometimes authoriſed by both; the former intending thereby to extol the warmth of his friendſhip, the latter to expoſe his extravagance and folly.

care

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care to erect ſuch fortreſſes as ſeemed neceſſary for bridling, in future, the dangerous fury of this headſtrong people[38].

In returning from this ſucceſsful expedition towards the banks of the Euphrates, Alexander was met by ambaſſadors from Carthage, Spain, and Italy, as well as from many inland countries of Aſia and Africa, extending from Mount Imaus to the ſouthern extremity of Æthiopia. It was then, ſays his hiſtorian, that he appeared maſter of the world, both to his followers, and to himſelf; and, as if the known parts of it had been inſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition, he gave orders to cut timber in the Hyrcanian foreſt, with a deſign to build ſhips, and explore the undiſcovered ſhores of the Caſpian and Arabian ſeas. But neither theſe lofty deſigns, nor the glory of war, nor the pomp of royalty, which, of all princes, Alexander enjoyed in the greateſt ſplendour[39], could appeaſe his grief for the loſs of Hephæſtion. The death of his beloved friend is ſaid, by Arrian, to have haſtened his own. It certainly tinged his character with a deep melancholy, which rendered him ſuſceptible of ſuch impreſſions as the firmneſs of his manly ſoul would otherwiſe have reſiſted and repelled.

His melancholy.

[38] Such is the account of this expedition given by Arrian, l. vii. p. 1,7.; and confirmed by Strabo, l. xi. p. 795. and by Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 577. Plutarch, on the other hand, moſt unwarrantably and abſurdly tells us, that Alexander, to divert his grief, took the amuſement of *man-hunting*, and maſſacred the whole Coſſean nation, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Plut. p. 94.

[39] Vid. Athen. l. x. p. 436. & l. xii. p. 537—541. We may believe that Alexander's tent contained an hundred couches; that the pillars which ſupported it were incruſted with gold; that he gave audience, ſurrounded with guards, and ſeated on a golden throne. In the language of antiquity, "the maſter of both continents" found it neceſſary to unite the pomp of the Eaſt with the arts of Greece. But when Athenæus tells us of the precious eſſences, the fragrant wines, the effeminacy, and vices, of Alexander, we diſcover the credulous, or rather criminal ſophiſt, who has collected into one work all the vices and impurities which diſgraced his country and human nature. To the unwarranted aſſertions of the obſcure writers cited by an Ælian (l. ix. c. iii.), and an Athenæus, we can oppoſe the authority of an Arrian and a Plutarch.—Could he who ſo ſeverely cenſured the effeminate and luxurious life of Agnon and Philotas, be himſelf effeminate and luxurious? "Of all men," ſays Arrian, "Alexander was the moſt œconomical in what regarded his private pleaſures." Arrian, l. vii. p. 167.

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Artifices to prevent his return to Babylon.

He, who had ſo often employed ſuperſtition as an inſtrument of policy, began himſelf to fall a prey to that miſerable paſſion. The ſervants of princes, ever quick in diſcerning, and dexterous in turning to their own profit the foibles of their maſters, ſoon diſcovered and abuſed the weakneſs of Alexander. Alarmed at the ſevere treatment of ſeveral of his colleagues, Apollodorus, a citizen of Amphipolis, who had been entruſted with the government of Babylon, practiſed with his brother Pythagoras, a diviner; and the latter, ambitious to promote the greatneſs of his family, pretended to perceive in the victims evident marks of divine diſpleaſure againſt the king, ſhould he enter the gates of Babylon. Notwithſtanding this menace, Alexander, after reducing the Coſſæans, approached towards that city with his army. He was met by a long train of Chaldæan prieſts, who conjured him to change his reſolution, becauſe they had received an oracle from Belus, declaring that his journey thither would prove fatal. The intereſt of the Chaldæans conſpired with the views of Apollodorus. The temple of Belus, a ſtupendous edifice, ſituate in the heart of Babylon, had been very richly endowed by the Aſſyrian kings. But the produce of the conſecrated ground, inſtead of being applied to its original deſtination of repairing the temple, and offering ſacrifices to the Gods, had, ever ſince the impious reign of Xerxes, been appropriated by the Chaldæan prieſts. Alexander, it was well known, intended to reform this abuſe; and, although his mind was not altogether unmoved by the admonition of the prieſts, he diſcerned their intereſted motives, and anſwered them by a verſe of Euripides, "He's the beſt prophet that conjectures beſt." Foiled in their firſt attempt, the Chaldæans had recourſe to another artifice. Since the king had determined at every hazard to viſit Babylon, they entreated him at leaſt not to enter it on the eaſtern ſide, but to fetch a compaſs round, and to march with his face towards the riſing ſun. He prepared to comply with this advice; but the marſhineſs of

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of the ſoil rendered his deſign impracticable; and he was thus reluctantly compelled to enter the city by the forbidden road.

His ſhort ſtay in that city diſturbed by ſuperſtitious fears.

During his ſhort ſtay at Babylon, his mind was diſturbed by ſuperſtitious fears[40], awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the Chaldæans, and confirmed by a circumſtance well fitted to operate on a diſordered fancy. In his Indian expedition, he had converſed with the Gymnoſophiſts, or Brachmans, men who *practiſed* the philoſophy which Plato *taught*, and whoſe contempt for the pomp, and pleaſures, of the preſent life, was founded on the firm belief of a better, and more permanent ſtate of exiſtence. To thoſe ſages, the fortunate ambition of Alexander appeared an object of deriſion or pity. At ſight of the conqueror, they ſtamped their feet with vehemence on the ground; indicating, by an expreſſive action, more eloquent than words, that he, whoſe name now filled the world, muſt ſoon be confined within the narrow grave. The flatterers of the king rebuked them for inſulting the ſon of Jupiter, who had the power to reward or puniſh them. They replied, by ſaying, "that all were the ſons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they diſdained, and ſet at defiance his puniſhments, which at laſt could only relieve them from the load of frail mortality." Yet Calanus, one of their number, allured by curioſity, or irreſiſtibly captivated by the ſoothing condeſcenſion of the king, agreed to accompany him; for which inconſtancy he was much blamed by his companions. Alexander treated this eaſtern ſage with great reſpect, and when Calanus, who had paſſed his ſeventy-ſecond year without experiencing any bodily infirmity, fell ſick in Perſia, the affectionate prince earneſtly entreated him not to anticipate fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on this purpoſe, he allowed a pyre to be conſtructed, to which the Indian (being too feeble to walk or ride on

Tenets of the Indian Brachmans.

Prophecy and death of Calanus.

[40] He became, ſays Plutarch, δυσελπις προς το ζην.

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horſeback) was conveyed in a litter. In ſight of the Macedonian army, who had been ordered to aſſiſt at this uncommon ſolemnity, Calanus compoſed himſelf decently on the pyre; the muſic ſtruck up; the ſoldiers raiſed a ſhout of war; and the Indian, with a ſerene countenance, expired amidſt the flames, ſinging a hymn to the Gods of his country.

The curioſity of Alexander was unbounded; but his humanity likewiſe was great. This principle, which is too often a ſtranger to the breaſt of conquerors, made him decline witneſſing the extraordinary death of a friend, who, for his ſake, had abandoned his native land. But before Calanus was carried to the funeral pile, the king affectionately paid him the laſt viſit. Calanus having embraced all preſent, refuſed to take leave of Alexander, ſaying, that "he ſhould again ſee him in Babylon." The words of a dying man were conſidered by the Greeks as prophetical. Thoſe of Calanus ſunk deep into the mind of Alexander; and the painful impreſſion which they made, haſtened his departure from a city, in which ſo many concurring circumſtances forbade him to reſide.

Death of Alexander at Babylon. Olymp. cxiv. 1. A. C. 324. May 28th.

His ſuperſtitious terrors, however, ſeem to have been diverted by the voyage down the Euphrates, and by directing the improvements in the canal of Pallacopas. Having reſumed his courage, he ventured to return to Babylon, gave audience to ſome Grecian ambaſſadors, who preſented him with golden crowns from the ſubmiſſive flattery of their ſeveral republics; and having reviewed his troops and gallies, prepared to execute the enterpriſes which he had ſo long meditated. But his deſigns and his life were now drawing to a cloſe. Whether to conquer his melancholy, or to triumph in the victory which he had already gained over it, he indulged, without moderation, in that banqueting and feſtivity to which, after the fatigues of war, he had often ſhewn himſelf too much addicted; and a fever, occaſioned, or at leaſt increaſed, by an exceſſive abuſe of wine, the vice of his nation and of his family, put

a period

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a period to his life in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. After the firſt days of the diſorder, he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a beautiful garden; but the malady increaſing, he was ſoon brought back to the palace. The laſt remains of ſtrength, he ſpent in aſſiſting at daily ſacrifices to the Gods. During his illneſs he ſpoke but little, and that only concerning his intended expeditions. The temples were crowded by his friends; the generals waited in the hall, the ſoldiers ſurrounded the gates. Such was the grief of many, and the reſpectful admiration of all, that none ventured to announce to him his approaching diſſolution, none ventured to demand his laſt orders. When all hopes of recovery had vaniſhed, his favourite troops were admitted to behold him. He was ſpeechleſs, but had ſtill ſtrength to ſtretch forth his hand[41].

His character.

Such was the reign of Alexander, whoſe character, being unexampled and inimitable, can only be explained by relating his actions. He was of a low ſtature, and ſomewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnaſtic exerciſes, he had hardened his body againſt the impreſſions of cold and heat, hunger and thirſt[42], and prepared his robuſt conſtitution for bearing ſuch exertions of ſtrength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undiſciplined ſoftneſs of modern times. In generoſity and in proweſs, he rivalled the greateſt heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outſtripped all competitors, became ambitious to ſurpaſs himſelf. His ſuperior ſkill in war gave uninterrupted ſucceſs to his arms;

[41] Arrian ſays, that many reports were ſpread concerning the death of Alexander, ſuch as, that he had been poiſoned by the emiſſaries of Antipater, whom, as mentioned above in the text, he had recently deprived of the government of Greece and Macedon; that when aſked to whom he bequeathed the empire, he had anſwered, to the "ſtrongeſt;" and that he had foretold his obſequies would be celebrated by bloody wars among his lieutenants. But theſe rumours receive not the leaſt countenance from the royal diary, which ſeems to have been carefully copied by Arrian, nor from the hiſtories of Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus.

[42] Plut. Orat. i. & ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

and

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and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philoſophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conqueſts to the beſt intereſts of mankind[43]. In his extenſive dominions, he built, or founded, not leſs than ſeventy cities[44], the ſituation of which being choſen with conſummate wiſdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuſe civility through the greateſt nations of the earth[45]. It may be ſuſpected, indeed, that he miſtook the extent of human power, when, in the courſe of one reign, he undertook to change the face of the world; and that he miſcalculated the ſtubbornneſs of ignorance, and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbariſm, to ſoften ſervitude, and to tranſplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Aſiatic ſoil, where they have never been ſeen to flouriſh. Yet let not the deſigns of Alexander be too haſtily accuſed of extravagance. Whoever ſeriouſly conſiders, what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accompliſhed, had he reached the ordinary term of human life. His reſources were peculiar to himſelf; and ſuch views, as well as actions, became him, as would have become none beſides. In the language of a philoſophical hiſtorian, "he ſeems to have been given to the world by a peculiar diſpenſation of Providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind[46]."

[43] Plutarch ſays, the nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themiſtocles, when, in conſequence of his baniſhment from Greece, he was raiſed to great wealth and honour in Aſia. "Ω παιδες απωλομεθα, ει μη απωλομεθα." "O my children! we ſhould have been undone, had we not been undone." In the ſame manner, thoſe nations, had they not been vanquiſhed by Alexander, had not been civiliſed, Egypt would not boaſt her Alexandria, Meſopotamia her Seleucia, &c. And again, "Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachoſii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill their parents; the Perſians to reſpect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead." Plut. ibid.

[44] Vid. Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. tit. ii. p. 327. In the language of Plutarch, he *ſowed* Aſia with Greek cities.

[45] Plut. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. xvii. 83. Stephan. Byzant. in voc. Αλιξανδρια.

[46] Ουδε εμοι εξω του δοκειν φυναι αν δοκει ανηρ θειος αλλω ανθρωπων ομοιως. Arrian, p. 168. How far he was an inſtrument in the hands of Divine Providence, belongs not to the ſubject of prophane hiſtory to enquire. On this ſubject, the reader may ſee Biſhop Lowth on Iſaiah, xix. 18. and xxiv. 14.

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The faults or crimes of which he is accuſed,

From the part which his father Philip and himſelf acted in the affairs of Greece, his hiſtory has been tranſmitted through the impure channels of exaggerated flattery, or malignant envy. The innumerable fictions, which diſgrace the works of his biographers, are contradicted by the moſt authentic accounts of his reign, and inconſiſtent with thoſe public tranſactions, which concurring authorities confirm. In the preſent work, it ſeemed unneceſſary to expatiate on ſuch topics, ſince it is leſs the buſineſs of hiſtory to repeat, or even to expoſe errors, than to ſelect and impreſs uſeful truths. An author, ambitious of attaining that purpoſe, can ſeldom indulge the language of general panegyric. He will acknowledge, that Alexander's actions were not always blameleſs; but, after the moſt careful examination, he will affirm, that his faults were few in number, and reſulted from his ſituation rather than from his character.

reſulted from his ſituation rather than from his character.

From the firſt years of his reign, he experienced the crimes of diſaffection and treachery, which multiplied, and became more dangerous, with the extent of his dominions, and the difficulty to govern them. Several of his lieutenants early aſpired at independence; others formed conſpiracies againſt the life of their maſter. The firſt criminals were treated, as we have already ſeen, with a lenity becoming the generous ſpirit of Alexander. But when Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, and even Parmenio [47] himſelf, afforded reaſon to ſuſpect their fidelity; when the Macedonian youths, who, according to the inſtitution of Philip, guarded the royal pavilion, prepared to

Olymp. cxii. 4. A. C. 329.

[47] Philotas was puniſhed in the country of the Arii; Permenio was put to death in Media. Curtius (l. vi. c. vii. & ſeqq.), who has given the fulleſt account of theſe executions, ſays, that Philotas deſerved not the compaſſion of his friends: "Amicorum miſericordiam non meruit." He leaves it uncertain whether Parmenio fell a ſacrifice to his own treaſon, or to the policy of Alexander. Arrian thinks, that the death of Parmenio was neceſſary to his maſter's ſafety.—Although the evidence of this general's guilt has not been handed down to poſterity, Alexander, it is certain, believed him guilty. He who diſdained to conquer his enemies by deceit, cannot, without proof, be ſuppoſed capable of treacherouſly aſſaſſinating his friends.

murder

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murder their ſovereign [48], he found it neceſſary to depart from his lenient ſyſtem, and to hold with a firmer hand the reins of government. Elated by unexampled proſperity, and the ſubmiſſive reverence of vanquiſhed nations, his loftineſs diſguſted the pride of his European troops, particularly the Macedonian nobles, who had been accuſtomed to regard themſelves rather as his companions, than ſubjects. The pretenſions which found policy taught him to form and to maintain, of being treated with thoſe external honours ever claimed by the monarchs of the Eaſt, highly offended the religious prejudices of the Greeks, who deemed it impious to proſtrate the body, or bend the knee, to any mortal ſovereign. Yet

[48] This conſpiracy is related by Arrian, l. iv. c. xiii. and xiv. The ſcene was Bactra, or Zariaſpa, the capital of Bactria. At a hunting-match, the king, being ready to kill a boar, was anticipated by Hermolaus. To puniſh the inſolence of the youth, Alexander ordered him to be whipped. The diſgrace ſeemed intolerable to Hermolaus and his companions; a conſpiracy was formed to deſtroy Alexander in his ſleep. It was diſcovered by Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus. The youths confeſſed their guilt, and declared that they had been confirmed in their purpoſe by Calliſthenes, the ſcholar of Ariſtotle, an arrogant and moroſe man, who, ſheltered by the cloak of philoſophy, inſolently brow-beat the prince, whom he was bound to reſpect (Arrian, p. 871.) The conſpirators were ſtoned to death; a puniſhment common in that age, when perſons accuſed were tried before numerous aſſemblies, whoſe indignation frequently burſt forth, and deſtroyed atrocious offenders on the ſpot, with the firſt inſtruments of death that chance offered to their hands. Calliſthenes was dragged round the army in chains. Such is the beſt authenticated account of this affair, concerning which the variations of ancient writers are innumerable. Vid. Arrian, l. iv. c. xiv. Curtius, l. viii. c. viii. Seneca Suaſor. i. Juſtin, l. xv. c. iii. Philoſtratus, l. viii. c. i. Diodor. Sicul. pp. 356, & 358. Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtot. Suidas, ad voc. As an example of the injuſtice done the character of Alexander, I ſhall inſert the paſſage of Seneca. "Hoc eſt Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Perſarum multa millia; opponitur, et Calliſthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipſam quoque tentavit novis claſſibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ uſque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, ſed Calliſthenem occidit." Yet this Calliſthenes was a traitor, whoſe writings are mentioned with contempt by Arrian, loc. citat. Polybius, t. ii. pp. 64, 335. & t. iii. p. 45. Cicero ad Quint. Frat. l. ii. epiſt. xiii. & Longinus, c. iii. p. 14. The patriotiſm of the Greeks, and the envy of the Romans, could never forgive the tranſcendant glory of Alexander, which eclipſed their own. In ſpeaking of Philip and his ſon, even Cicero (de Offic.) ſays, "Alter ſemper magnus, alter ſæpe turpiſſimus." See likewiſe Livy, l. ix. c. xviii. The laſt mentioned writer (l. ix. c. xvii.) goes out of his way to allege very inconcluſive arguments for believing, that had Alexander turned his arms againſt Italy, he would have certainly been conquered by the Romans.

had

had he remitted formalities conſecrated by the practice of ages, he muſt inſenſibly have loſt the reſpect of his Aſiatic ſubjects. With a view to reconcile the diſcordant principles of the victors and vanquiſhed, he affected an immediate deſcent from Jupiter Ammon, a claim liberally admitted by the avarice or fears of the Libyan prieſts, and which, he had reaſon to expect, could not be very obſtinately denied by the credulity of the Greeks and Macedonians, who univerſally acknowledged that Philip, his reputed father, was remotely deſcended from the Grecian Jupiter. But the ſucceſs of this deſign, which might have entitled him, as ſon of Jupiter, to the ſame obeiſance from the Greeks, which the Barbarians readily paid him as monarch of the Eaſt, was counteracted, at firſt by the ſecret diſpleaſure, and afterwards by the open indignation, of ſeveral of his generals and courtiers. Nor did the conduct of Alexander tend to extricate him from this difficulty. With his friends, he maintained that equal intercourſe of viſits and entertainments, which characteriſed the Macedonian manners; indulged the liberal flow of unguarded converſation; and often exceeded that intemperance in wine, which diſgraced his age and country.

Murder of Clitus. Olymp. cxiii. 1. A. C. 328.

On ſuch occaſions his gueſts, or entertainers, enjoyed and abuſed the indecent familiarity to which they had been accuſtomed with their kings; but which the temper of Alexander, corrupted by proſperity and flattery, was no longer able to endure. A ſcene of drunken debauchery, which muſt appear highly diſguſting to the propriety of modern manners, proved fatal to Clitus, who, emboldened by wine, daringly inſulted his prince, vilified his nobleſt actions, and derided his pretenſions to divinity. The king, being likewiſe intoxicated, was no longer maſter of himſelf, when Clitus, who had been once carried from his preſence, returned a ſecond time to the charge, and behaved more inſolently than before. In an unhappy moment, Alexander thruſt a ſpear into the breaſt of his

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friend [49]; but inſtantly repenting his fury, would have deſtroyed himſelf by the ſame weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants. The bitterneſs of his repentance, and the pungency of his remorſe, which neither flattery could ſoften, nor ſophiſtry appeaſe [50], rendered his life burdenſome, and his actions inconſiſtent. At times, he aſſumed the Perſian dreſs and ornaments; diſplayed the pomp of oriental deſpotiſm; employed, and often preferred the Barbarians; and, in ſeveral paſſages of his reign, this ſucceſsful, but unhappy, conqueror appears to have been beſet with flatterers, ſurrounded by conſpirators, adored by the paſſive ſubmiſſion of his eaſtern ſubjects, and inſulted by the licentious petulance of the Greeks and Macedonians.

Difficulties of Alexander's ſituation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them.

The indignation or jealouſy of the latter, tinged the faireſt of his actions with dark and odious colours. About a year before his death, a ſcene was tranſacted at Opis on the Tigris, which ſhews the difficulties of his ſituation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them. Having aſſembled the Macedonian troops, he declared to them his pleaſure, that ſuch as felt themſelves unable, through age or infirmities, to undergo the fatigues of war, ſhould be honourably diſcharged from the ſervice, and ſafely conducted to their reſpective provinces. This propoſal, which ought to have been accepted with gratitude, was heard with diſguſt. The ſoldiers reflected, that the army had recently increaſed by an acceſſion of thirty

[49] Monteſquieu, who (Voltaire only excepted) is the moſt diſtinguiſhed modern apologiſt of Alexander, ſays, "Il fit deux mauvaiſes actions; il brula Perſepolis & tua Clitus. (Eſprit des Loix, l. x. c. xiv.) The ſtory of the burning of Perſepolis we have already refuted. The death of Clitus, Ariſtobulus, cited by Arrian, aſcribes entirely to the inſolence and folly of Clitus himſelf, and totally exculpates Alexander. But Arrian obſerves, like a philoſopher, that Alexander was juſtly blameable in allowing himſelf to be overcome by drunkenneſs and anger. Arrian, p. 84.

[50] Agis, an Argive poet, and Anaxarchus the Sophiſt, endeavoured to cure his melancholy. The latter told him, that Juſtice was deſcribed by the ancients as ſeated near the throne of Jupiter, to indicate that right and wrong depended on the will of kings, all whoſe actions ought to be held juſt by themſelves and others. This flagitious ſervility Arrian ſpurns with indignation, and brands with infamy. Arrian, p. 84.

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thouſand Barbarians, armed and accoutred after the European faſhion, trained to the Grecian diſcipline and exerciſes, and inſtructed in the arts and language of the victors. The king, they thought, no longer cared for the ſervice of his veterans, and therefore diſmiſſed them with contempt. The ſpirit of ſedition ſeized the camp; the Macedonians unanimouſly demanded their diſcharge; ſome adding with ſcoffs, "That he had no farther uſe for *them*; his father Ammon could fight his battles." At theſe words, the king ſprung from the roſtrum on which he ſtood, and commanded the moſt audacious to be ſeized by his Targeteers, and conducted to immediate execution. This prompt ſeverity appeaſed the riſing tumult. The ſoldiers remained motionleſs and ſilent, doubtful or terrified. Alexander again mounted the roſtrum, and ſpoke as follows: "It is not my deſign, Macedonians, to change your reſolution. Return home, without hindrance from me. But, before leaving the camp, firſt learn to know your king and yourſelves. My father Philip (for with him it is ever fit to begin), found you, at his arrival in Macedon, miſerable and hopeleſs fugitives; covered with ſkins of ſheep; feeding among the mountains ſome wretched herds, which you had neither ſtrength nor courage to defend againſt the Thracians, Illyrians, and Treballi. Having repelled the ravagers of your country, he brought you from the mountains to the plain, and taught you to confide, not in your faſtneſſes, but in your valour. By his wiſdom and diſcipline, he trained you to arts and civility, enriched you with mines of gold, inſtructed you in navigation and commerce, and rendered you a terror to thoſe nations, at whoſe names you uſed to tremble. Need I mention his conqueſts in Upper Thrace, or thoſe ſtill more valuable in the maritime provinces of that country? Having opened the gates of Greece, he chaſtiſed the Phocians, reduced the Theſſalians, and, while I ſhared the command, defeated and humbled the Athenians and Thebans, eternal foes to Macedon, to whom you had been ſucceſſively tributaries, ſubjects, and ſlaves. But my

His own account of the reign of Philip and himſelf.

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father rendered you their maſters; and having entered the Peloponneſus, and regulated at diſcretion the affairs of that peninſula, he was appointed, by univerſal conſent, general of combined Greece; an appointment not more honourable to himſelf, than glorious for his country. At my acceſſion to the throne, I found a debt of five hundred talents, and ſcarce ſixty in the treaſury. I contracted a freſh debt of eight hundred; and conducting you from Macedon, whoſe boundaries ſeemed unworthy to confine you, ſafely croſſed the Helleſpont, though the Perſians ſtill commanded the ſea. By one victory we gained Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. By our courage and activity, the provinces of Cilicia and Syria, the ſtrength of Paleſtine, the antiquity of Egypt, and the renown of Perſia, were added to your empire. Your's now are Bactria and Aria, the productions of India, the fertility of Aſſyria, the wealth of Suſa, and the wonders of Babylon. You are generals, princes, ſatraps. What have I reſerved for myſelf, but this purple and diadem, which mark my pre-eminence in toil and danger! Where are my private treaſures[51]? Or why ſhould I collect them? Are *my* pleaſures expenſive? You know that I fare worſe than many of yourſelves; and have in nothing ſpared my perſon. Let him, who dares, compare with me. Let him bare his breaſt, and I will bare mine. My body, the fore part of my body, is covered with honourable wounds from every ſort of weapon. I often watch, that you may enjoy repoſe; and to teſtify my unremitting attention to your happineſs, had determined to ſend home the aged and infirm among you, loaded with wealth and honour. But ſince you are all deſirous to leave me, Go! Report to your countrymen, that, unmindful of the ſignal bounty of your king, you entruſted him to the vanquiſhed Barbarians. The report, doubtleſs, will beſpeak your gratitude and piety[52]."

[51] It appears from Arrian, that Alexander ſpeaks of theſe, as diſtinct from the military fund, and other revenues, employed in paying and rewarding his troops, and in executing ſuch public deſigns as ſeemed conducive to the proſperity of the empire.

[52] Arrian, p. 152, & ſeqq.

Having

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Affecting ſcene at Opis on the Tigris. Olymp. cxiii. 4. A. C. 325.

Having thus ſpoken, he ſprang from the roſtrum, and haſtened to the palace, accompanied only by his guards. During two days, none were admitted to his preſence. On the third, he called the Perſian nobles of diſtinction, and diſtributed among them the principal departments of military command. He then iſſued orders, that certain bodies of the Barbarian infantry and cavalry ſhould be called the royal battalion, and royal cohort, and by ſuch other names as commanded greateſt reſpect. Apprized of theſe innovations, the Macedonians who had long remained in confuſion before the tribunal, afraid to follow Alexander, and afraid to allow his retiring unattended, flocked around the palace, and depoſited their arms at the gate, humbly requeſting to ſee their king, and declaring that they would never ſtir from the place, till their tears had moved his compaſſion. Alexander came forth, beheld their abaſement, and wept. The affecting ſilence, marked by alternate emotions of repentance and reconciliation, was at length broke by Callines, a man highly eſteemed in the cavalry: "Thy Macedonians, O king! are grieved that the Perſians alone ſhould be called thy kindred, and entitled as ſuch to embrace thee, while none of themſelves are allowed to taſte that honour[53]." Alexander replied, "From this moment you are all my kindred." Callines then ſtepped forward and embraced him; and ſeveral others having followed the example, they all took up their arms, and returned to the camp with ſhouts of joy, and ſongs.

A feſtival celebrated in common by the Macedonians and Perſians.

Of all men (if we believe the concurring teſtimony of his hiſtorians) Alexander was the moſt mindful of his duty to the gods. To thank heaven for the happy iſſue of this tranſaction, he celebrated a ſolemn ſacrifice, and, after the ſacrifice, an entertainment for the principal of his European and Aſiatic ſubjects. The Macedonians were next to his perſon; the Perſians next the Macedonians; the

[53] Arrian ſays, "While none of themſelves ever talled that honour." Μακεδονων δε ουδενα ουπω τις γεγονται ταυτης της τιμης. Arrian, p. 154.

Grecian

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Grecian prieſts and Perſian magi joined in common libations, invoking perpetual concord, and eternal union of empire, to the Macedonians and Perſians. Soon afterwards, the invalids, whoſe diſmiſſion had produced the mutiny, gladly returned home. Alexander diſcharged their arrears, allowed them full pay until their arrival in Macedon, and granted each ſoldier a gratuity of two hundred pounds ſterling. He again ſhed tears at parting with upwards of ten thouſand men, who had ſerved him in ſo many glorious campaigns; and, as a teſtimony of his affectionate concern for their ſafety, appointed Craterus, whom he loved as his own life[54], to be their conductor.

Diviſion of Alexander's conqueſts.

Such was the life of this extraordinary man, whoſe genius might have changed and improved the ſtate of the ancient world. But the ſpirit of improvement is tranſient, and demands perpetual efforts: the ſources of degeneracy are permanent and innumerable. It ſeems at firſt ſight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the ſucceſſion to his throne, he left the field open for thoſe bloody wars among his captains, which long deſolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himſelf obliged to ſtruggle, might teach him the impoſſibility of ſecuring the empire for the infancy of his ſon Hercules, or the weakneſs of his brother Aridæus. The principles of royal ſucceſſion were never accurately aſcertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good ſchool of moderation or juſtice. The firſt meaſure adopted by his generals was, to ſet aſide the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Aridæus, together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if ſhe brought forth a ſon, to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimſical deſtination announced little union or ſtability. Perdiccas, in virtue of poſſeſſing the ring or ſeal of his deceaſed maſter, aſſumed the regency: the troops and provinces were divided among Antigonus,

[54] Arrian, p. 155.

Ptolemy,

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Ptolemy, Craterus, and other chiefs, who, having been formerly the equals, diſdained to remain the inferiors, of Perdiccas. Each general truſted in his ſword for an independent eſtabliſhment; new troops were raiſed and diſciplined; leagues formed and broken; the children and relations of Alexander, who became ſucceſſively priſoners in different hands, all periſhed miſerably; nor was there any ceſſation of crimes and calamities[55], or any permanent ſettlement of the provinces, until the battle of Iſſus in Phrygia confirmed Ptolemy in the poſſeſſion of Egypt, and Seleucus in that of Upper Aſia[56]. The iſſue of the ſame battle gave Macedon and Greece to Caſſander, and Thrace, with ſeveral provinces of Lower Aſia, to Lyſimachus. A. C. 301.

Subſequent hiſtory of Egypt and Syria.

The great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which continued thenceforward, till ſubdued by the Romans, to be governed by the reſpective families of Seleucus and Ptolemy, never generally[57] adopted the language or manners of their Grecian ſovereigns. In Egypt, the firſt ſucceſſors of Alexander accompliſhed the commercial improvements planned by that prince; and the kings both of Egypt and of Syria affected, in their magnificent courts, to join the arts and elegance of Greece to the pomp and luxury of the Eaſt. But their oſtentation was greater than their taſte; their liberal characters were effaced by the continual contact of ſervitude; they ſunk

[55] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix, & xx. paſſim.

[56] Arrian, pp. 160 & 164.

[57] Yet among the higher ranks of men, the Greek language continually gained ground. Before the Chriſtian æra, it was ſpoken by Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was the language of the learned and polite in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Italy and Carthage. It muſt have been underſtood by all ranks of men in Judæa, ſince the inſpired writers employed it in propagating the goſpel, which was to be firſt preached to the Jews. For this univerſality, the Greek ſeems to have been indebted, 1. To the innumerable Greek colonies in Europe, Aſia, and Africa. 2. To the conqueſts of Alexander, whoſe armies and garriſons were continually reinforced from Greece. 3. To the ſociable and agreeable character of the Greeks. 4. To the excellence of the language itſelf (ſee above, chapters v. and vi.), whoſe duration is as wonderful as its extent. The Greek was ſpoken in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks; ſo that, from the time of Homer, it ſubſiſted with little variation, as a living tongue, for two thouſand and four hundred years.

into

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into the ſoftneſs and inſignificance of hereditary deſpots, whoſe reigns are neither buſy nor inſtructive; nor could the intrigues of women and eunuchs, or miniſters equally effeminate, form a ſubject ſufficiently intereſting to ſucceed the memorable tranſactions of the Grecian republics.

The weſtern diviſion of Alexander's empire conquered by the Romans.

In the hiſtory of thoſe kingdoms, the moſt important event is their conqueſt by the Romans, who gradually ſeized all the weſtern ſpoils of the empire of Alexander, comprehended between the Euphrates and the Hadriatic ſea, and ſucceſſively reduced them into the form of provinces. Greece, which came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Achaia, imparted its literature, its arts[58], and its vices, to Italy. The conqueſt of Macedon freed Rome from the weight of taxes. The acquiſition of Syria doubled the revenues of that republic. The ſubjugation of Egypt doubled the price of commodities in Italy. Yet whatever might be the wealth[59] of thoſe nations, they are entitled to little regard from poſterity, ſince, from the death of Alexander, they were not diſtinguiſhed by any invention that either improved the practice of war, or increaſed the enjoyments of peace.

State of Greece after the age of Alexander.

The feeble mixture of Grecian colonization diffuſed through the Eaſt, was ſufficient, indeed, to tinge, but too inconſiderable to alter and aſſimilate, the vaſt maſs of barbariſm. But as the principle of degeneracy is often ſtronger than that of improvement, the ſloth and ſervility of Aſia gradually crept into Greece. That unfortunate country, drained of its moſt enterpriſing inhabitants, who either

[58] Notwithſtanding the degeneracy of the Greeks under the Macedonian and Roman governments, their country, and particularly Athens, was long regarded as the principal ſeat of arts and philoſophy. But the Greek artiſts, as well as poets, orators, hiſtorians, and philoſophers, of later times, were mere imitators, who fell infinitely ſhort of the merit and fame of the great originals. The works of Phidias and Apelles, of Sophocles, Demoſthenes, Plato, &c. not thoſe of the Greeks their own contemporaries, were the objects of admiration to Cicero and Seneca, to the writers of the Auguſtan age, to Pliny, Tacitus, &c. But of this more in the next chapter.

[59] Of which ſee an account extracted from the public regiſters, in Appian. Alexand. in Procm.

followed

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followed the ſtandard, or oppoſed the arms, of Alexander, was equally inſulted by the ſeverity and the indulgence of his ſucceſſors, ſince, in either caſe, the Greeks felt and acknowledged their dependence. Reluctantly compelled to ſubmit to a maſter, they loſt that elevation of character, and that enthuſiaſm of valour, which had been produced by freedom, nouriſhed by victory, and confirmed by the juſt ſenſe of national pre-eminence. Their domeſtic diſſentions, by carrying them in great numbers into the ſervice of foreign princes, thereby diffuſed the knowledge of their tactics and diſcipline through countries far more extenſive and populous than their own; and amidſt all their perſonal animoſities, the captains of Alexander uniformly embracing the maxims of deſpotiſm, which their maſter magnanimouſly diſdained, firmly and unitedly reſiſted and cruſhed the riſing rebellions of the Greeks, whoſe feeble and ill-conducted efforts for regaining their liberty, only plunged them deeper into ſervitude. Deſtitute of immediate and important objects to rouſe their activity, the example of their anceſtors at length ceaſed to animate and inſpire them. The rewards of merit being withdrawn, men no longer aſpired at excellence. The ſpirit of patriotiſm evaporated; the fire of genius was extinguiſhed; exertion periſhed with hope; and, excluſively of the Achæan League[60], the unfortunate iſſue of which has been already explained in this work[61], Greece, from the age of Alexander, offers not any ſeries of tranſactions highly memorable in the hiſtory of arts or arms.

[60] The judicious Polybius treats the Achæan league, and other collateral tranſactions of the Greeks and Macedonians, as epiſodes in his invaluable hiſtory of the progreſs and aggrandiſement of the Roman republic.

[61] See vol. i. p. 388.

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State of Literature in the Age of Alexander—Poetry—Muſic—Arts of Deſign—Geography—Aſtronomy—Natural Hiſtory—Works of Ariſtotle—Philoſophical Sects eſtabliſhed at Athens—Decline of Genius—Tenets of the different Sects—Peripatetic Philoſophy—Eſtimate of that Philoſophy—Its Fate in the World—Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Epicurus—The Stoic Philoſophy—Eſtimate of that Philoſophy—The Epicurean Philoſophy—Character of Epicurus—Philoſophy of Pyrrho—Concluſion.

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State of literature in the age of Alexander.

IN the latter years of Alexander, literature, philoſophy, and the fine arts, diſplayed their brighteſt charms; yet the ſource of that health and vigour, from which their beauty flowed, had already begun to fail. The military expeditions of that illuſtrious conqueror were deſcribed, and publiſhed after his death, in the authentic and intereſting narratives of Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus[1], who had been the witneſſes and companions of his victories. But his extraordinary exploits, and unexampled ſucceſs, which far eclipſed the imaginary renown of the fabled heroes of antiquity, produced, even in his life-time, a crowd of writers, whoſe credulity, and love of the marvellous, could only be exceeded by their mean adulation, and ſervile ſuperſtition[2]. Exaggeration in matters of fact produced that ſwelling amplification of ſtyle, thoſe meretricious ornaments, and af-

[1] Arrian, in Proœm.

[2] Lucian de Scribend. Hiſtor.

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fected graces, which characterised the puerile and frigid compositions of Callisthenes, Onesicritus, and Hegesias [3]. The false taste of these pretended historians, to whose perverse industry must be ascribed the ridiculous trappings which have too long disfigured the august form of Alexander, was admired and imitated by many of their contemporaries. The contagion infected even the orators; and it is worthy of observation, that the verbose emptiness and bombast of the Asiatic eloquence, was first introduced into Greece, in the age which had applauded the chaste and nervous compositions of Lycurgus, Hyperides, Æschines, and Demosthenes [4]. So true it is, that in every country where the human genius has attained its highest point of perfection, a principle of degeneracy naturally carries things in a contrary direction; because those who are incapable of excellence, still covet distinction, and despairing to equal their predecessors in the beauties of truth and nature, have recourse to false conceits and artificial refinements.

Poetry.

Under the Macedonian government, Greece produced not any original genius in the serious kinds of poetry. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides still kept possession of the theatre. But no lyric, no epic poet appeared, capable to adorn the exploits of Alexander, though that prince, intoxicated with the love of fame, munificently rewarded the ignoble flattery of Agis, Cleon, Chærilus, and other contemptible encomiasts; who corrupted his heart, without vitiating his judgment, since he declared, that he would rather be the Therstites of Homer, than the Achilles of Chærilus [5]. Yet in the same age Philemon, Antiphanes [6], Lycon [7], above all, the Athenian Menander, carried comedy to the highest perfection which it ever attained in any nation of antiquity. During the republican form of government, the institutions and character of the Greeks

Improvement of comedy.

[3] Strabo, l. xix. p. 446.

[4] Dionys. Halicarn. de Structura Oration. Longinus de Sublim. Cicero de Orator. & de Clar. Orator. passim.

[5] Acro. ad Horat. Art. Poet. v. 357. Curtius, l. viii c. v.

[6] Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 555.

[7] Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

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were extremely unfavourable to this ſpecies of writing. The licentious turbulence of democracy generally converted their attempts at wit and humour into petulance and buffoonery. The change of government and manners, requiring due reſpect to the rules of propriety and the dictates of caution, improved their diſcernment, and gradually made them ſenſible to that refined ridicule, where more is meant than ſaid, and to thoſe more intereſting, becauſe juſter, delineations of character, which diſtinguiſhed the comic ſtrains of Philemon and Menander [8].

Muſic.

Alexander, during his early youth, took delight in dramatic entertainments. Theſſalus was his favourite actor, but Athenadorus was more approved by the public. To Athenadorus, the magiſtrates who, according to the Grecian cuſtom, were appointed to decide the pretenſions of rival candidates for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize of merit. The young hero declared, that this deciſion gave him more pain than he would have felt at the loſs of his inheritance [9]. The muſicians Timotheus [10] and Antigenides [11] ſtill diſplayed the wonderful effects of their art; but as the ſeverity of education and manners continually relaxed in all parts of Greece, we find that muſic, originally deſtined to purify and exalt the mind, was in later times univerſally employed to ſeduce and inflame the paſſions [12].

Arts of deſign.

The arts of deſign, painting, ſculpture, and architecture, appeared in their higheſt luſtre in the age of Philip and Alexander, both which princes had no leſs taſte to judge [13], than munificence to reward them. The eaſtern expedition of the latter introduced, or at leaſt greatly multiplied, in Greece, thoſe precious and durable gems, which thenceforth exhibited ſome of the fineſt ſpecimens of Grecian ingenuity. The ſkill and taſte of Pyrgoteles were diſtinguiſhed in this valuable, though minute art [14]. He enjoyed the excluſive ho-

[8] Vid. Plut. Comp. Ariſtoph. & Menand.
[9] Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.
[10] Hephæſt. de Metr.
[11] Plut Orat. de Fortun. Alexand.
[12] Ariſtot. Politic. l. viii. c. vi.
[13] Judicium ſubtile videndis artibus.
Horat. Epiſt. l. ii. Epiſt i. v. 242.
[14] Plin. l. vii. c. xxxvii. & Plutarch. in Alexand.

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nour of repreſenting the figure of Alexander on gems, as did Lyſippus of caſting it in bronze, and Apelles of painting it in colours [15]. Lyſippus was juſtly admired for bringing back the art to a cloſer ſtudy, and nearer imitation, of nature, without yielding to his predeceſſors in ideal beauty [16]. We have already mentioned his twenty-one equeſtrian ſtatues of the Macedonian guards, ſlain in the battle of the Granicus. He is ſaid to have made ſix hundred and ten figures in bronze [17]; a number which, if not greatly exaggerated, would prove his facility of working to have far ſurpaſſed that of all ſtatuaries, ancient or modern. The numerous liſt of painters, contemporary with Apelles, indicates an extraordinary demand for their art; ſince no profeſſion, that is not gainful, will ever be very generally followed [18]. The moſt celebrated of theſe artiſts were Amphion and Aſclepiodorus [19], whom Apelles acknowledged as his ſuperiors in ſome parts of compoſition; Ariſtides, the Theban, who was inimitable in expreſſion [20]; and Protogenes, of Rhodes, whom Ariſtotle exhorted to paint the immortal exploits of Alexander [21]. The inferior branches of the art, if not firſt cultivated in that age, were then carried to perfection. Pyreicus [22] confined himſelf to ſubjects of low life, and Antiphilus [23] to caricatures, which the Greeks called Grylli. The theory and practice of painting was explained in many works, the loſs of which is much to be regretted [24].

Lyſippus.

Apelles and other contemporary artiſts.

Amidſt the great multitude of artiſts, and writers on art, all acknowledged the pre-eminence of Apelles, whoſe works were innumerable, and each ſufficient to eſtabliſh his fame [25]. His pic-

Works of Apelles.

[15] Vid. Plin. Edit. Berolin. i. 221. iii. 217—218.

[16] Plin. iii. 194, & ſeqq.

[17] The Sieur Falconet, who made the famous ſtatue of Peter the Great, thinks the thing impoſſible, and gives a different meaning to the words of Pliny, See his obſervations on the paſſage, in his tranſlation of the books of Pliny relative to the arts. Vol. ii. Lauſanne.

[18] Plin. iii. 222.

[19] Idem, iii. 226.

[20] Idem, iii. 215—225.

[21] He exherted him to paint them "propter eternitatem rerum" Plin. ibid.

[22] Plin. iii. 226.

[23] Idem, iii. 229.

[24] Idem, ibid.

[25] Plin. iii. 222, & ſeqq.

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ture of Alexander, graſping a thunderbolt, was ſold to the temple of Epheſian Diana for four thouſand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident; none would venture to reſtore the parts that had been effaced: ſo that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artiſt. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaſpé, the favourite miſtreſs of Alexander. The ſenſibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms which he ſo ſucceſsfully expreſſed. Alexander was no ſooner acquainted with his paſſion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a preſent, not only of Campaſpé, but of his own affection, too little reſpecting the feelings of the beloved object, at her degradation from being the miſtreſs of a king, to become the poſſeſſion of a painter. Yet this celebrated artiſt, who enjoyed other ſtriking proofs of his maſter's partiality and friendſhip, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankneſs of his age and nation, he aſſumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely aſſerted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulneſs [26] of his attitudes and figures. But in ſome other branches of the art, he acknowledged himſelf inferior to ſeveral of his contemporaries. The deſire of ſeeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealouſy. But inſtead of yielding to the dictates of this unworthy paſſion, he drew Protogenes from obſcurity; raiſed the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the ſame talents in their fellow-citizen, which they admired in a ſtranger, to acknowledge and reſpect his merit [27].

Decline of the arts after the death of Alexander.

Soon after the death of Alexander, painting and the kindred arts ceaſed [28]. By this expreſſion, Pliny means not, that they ceaſed to be cultivated, but to make farther progreſs; ſince neither the ſcholars of Apelles and Lyſippus, nor thoſe who came after them, were

[26] "Deeſſe iis unam venerem dicebat quam Græci charita vocant; cetera omnia contigiſſe; ſed hâc ſolâ ſibi neminem parem." Plin. iii. 222, & ſeqq.

[27] Plin. ibid.

[28] "Ceſſavit deinde ars." Plin. ibid.

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capable to reach the glory of their predeceſſors. The Greek kings of Egypt and Syria ſeem to have bent their attention rather to literature, than to the arts. But, in both, the ſchools of Alexandria and Seleucia never aſpired beyond the humble merit of imperfectly imitating thoſe of Greece. In proportion to its neighbourhood to that country, the arts took firmer root in Alexandria than in Seleucia; and, from the ſame circumſtance, they ſeem to have flouriſhed longer and more abundantly in the little principalities of Pergamus and Bithynia, than in the wealthy kingdoms of Syria and Egypt[29].

Geography.

The expedition of Alexander contributed to the improvement of the ſciences, both natural and moral. His marches were carefully meaſured by Diognetes and Beton. Other geometers[30] were employed to ſurvey the more remote parts of the countries which he traverſed; and the exact deſcription of his conqueſts, which, from theſe and other materials, he took care to have compiled by men of approved integrity and abilities, gave a new form to the ſcience of geography[31].

Aſtronomy.

After the conqueſt of Babylon, Alexander eagerly demanded the aſtronomical obſervations, which had been carefully preſerved in that ancient capital above nineteen centuries. They remounted twenty-two hundred and thirty-four years beyond the Chriſtian æra. By order of Alexander, they were faithfully tranſcribed, and tranſmitted to Ariſtotle[32], who was probably prevented by his infirm ſtate of health from accompanying his pupil to the Eaſt; or who, perhaps, voluntarily preferred a philoſophical retirement in Athens, to the glory of attending the conqueror of the world.

Nor was this the only preſent to his preceptor, by which Alexander [illegible] displayed at once his gratitude and love of ſcience. Natural hiſtory [illegible]

[29] Winkelmann, Geſchichte der Kunſt des Alterthums, p. 711, & ſeqq.

[30] Strabo, l. ii. p. 47.

[31] Caſſini ſur l'Origine de l'Aſtronomie. [illegible] Acad. des Sciences, [illegible] p. 13.

[32] Porphyr. apud Simplic. [illegible] de Cœlo, l. ii.

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was peculiarly indebted to his curiosity and munificence. At the expence of near two hundred thousand pounds, a sum equivalent to two millions in the present age, he collected many rare productions of nature in different countries of Asia, and particularly that amazing variety of animals[33], which Aristotle has described with such inimitable precision[34] in his work on that subject.

Moral knowledge.

But whatever obligations natural knowledge owed to Alexander, it would seem that the moral sciences were not less benefited by his discoveries and conquests[35]. The study of human nature must have been greatly enlarged by such a wide survey of manners, institutions, and usages; nor was this advantage, perhaps, confined to those who performed the expedition, whose works have unfortunately perished; since the moral and political treatises of Aristotle discover not only more method in his reasonings, but a more copious fund of facts on which to reason, than the writings of all his predecessors together, not excepting those of the travellers Xenophon and Plato.

The greatest part of the works of Aristotle were doubtless composed before the Macedonian conquest; yet it is not improbable that this extraordinary man, whose industry was equal to his genius, continually retouched and improved them; and it cannot be imagined that the rich harvest of facts and observations collected by his learned friends who accompanied Alexander, would be overlooked by a philosopher, who seems not only ambitious to eclipse his predecessors and contemporaries, but solicitous to leave no gleanings of fame to be acquired by his scholars and successors.

Works of Aristotle.

"Aristotle," says Lord Bacon[36], "thought, like the Ottoman princes, that he could not reign secure, unless he destroyed all his

[33] Plin. l. viii. c. xvi.

[34] See the admirable criticism on Aristotle's History of Animals, by Buffon, vol. i.

[35] The arts and sciences not only flourished in Alexander's time; they flourished, says Plutarch, δι' Αλεξανδρον. "He was the efficient cause of this effect." The passage which follows, Καρπων μεν γαρ τυφομαι, &c. should be studied by all princes who aspire to glory; a glory greater than power can give; more extensive and more permanent than conquest can confer.

[36] De Augm. Scientiarum, l. iii. c. iv.

brethren;

brethren;" nor was his literary ambition more exclusive than exorbitant. He aspired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and professed to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral, as well as the material, world. Not satisfied with extending his empire to the utmost verge of intellect, he boldly attempts questions beyond all human knowledge, with the same confidence that his pupil entered on a battle. But having to contend with enemies more stubborn than the Persians, his rashness was less successful than that of Alexander.

His philosophy.

He divided philosophy into contemplative and practical. The contemplative or abstract philosophy, to which he first gave the name of metaphysics[37], is obscure throughout, often unintelligible, still more chimerical, but far less agreeable than that of his master Plato. It comprehended not only the examination of those abstract ideas, *existence*, *substance*, *quality*, *genus*, *species*, &c. which were so long and so uselessly tortured by the perverse industry of the schoolmen, but the general doctrines concerning mind or spirit, particularly the mind of the Deity. The human soul is treated in a separate work; in which it must be acknowledged, that Aristotle has made new names, rather than new discoveries; and the doctrine of the immortality is no where so fully elucidated by this philosopher, as it had been by Plato.

[37] By some writers it is supposed, that this title was bestowed on the fourteen books of Aristotle, immediately following his Physics, by Andronicus of Rhodes, a Peripatetic philosopher in the age of Augustus, who published the first complete edition of Aristotle's works. From that time, the various subjects treated in these fourteen books were conceived as constituting one branch of science. Aristotle had divided philosophy into speculative and practical. The first comprehended metaphysics, which examined the general properties of being, and the essence of things separate from matter; physics, which examined the nature of material substances, and the human soul; and mathematics, which examined certain properties of body, abstracted from body. The practical philosophy of Aristotle, which was intended to regulate the intellectual and moral operations of men, comprehended logic, under which he seems to have included rhetoric and criticism; and morals, including œconomics and politics. See Strabo, p. 610; and Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion.

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Phyſics.

The natural philoſophy of Ariſtotle deſerves the name of metaphyſic, in the modern ſenſe of that word, ſince he explained the laws of the univerſe, by comparing abſtract ideas, not by obſervation and experience. When he deſcends to particulars, he betrays more ignorance concerning the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, than many of his predeceſſors. With the anatomy of man and other animals, he was well acquainted, conſidering the groſs errors which generally prevailed in the age in which he lived. Chemiſtry was not yet invented. Since the introduction of the ideal philoſophy, men had ceaſed to *obſerve* nature; it could not therefore be expected that they ſhould imitate her operations, and examine her by the teſt of experiment. In mathematics, Ariſtotle appears to have been leſs verſed than his predeceſſors, Pythagoras and Plato; although, in the invention of the art of ſyllogiſm, he diſplays a perſeverance of mental energy, which, had it been directed to the mathematical ſciences, might have produced the greateſt diſcoveries.

Logic.

The ſcepticiſm of his contemporary Pyrrho, and ſtill more the captious ſophiſtry of the Eriſtics, might naturally engage Ariſtotle to examine with more attention than his predeceſſors, the nature of truth, and the means of defending it againſt the attacks of declamation, and the ſnares of ſubtlety. He undertook, therefore, the arduous taſk, of reſolving all reaſoning into its primary elements, and of deducing from thence the rules by which every concluſion muſt be connected with its premiſes, in order to render it legitimate. This bold deſign he accompliſhed; having erected on a ſingle axiom, a larger ſyſtem of abſtract truths, all fortified by demonſtration, than were ever invented and perfected by any other man. The axiom from which he ſets out, and in which the whole terminates, is, that whatever is predicated of a genus, may be predicated of every ſpecies and individual contained under it. But the application of this axiom is for the moſt part ſufficiently obvious, without the rules of Ariſtotle; whoſe logic, how ſucceſsful ſoever it might prove againſt the ſubtle-

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ties of the Sophiſts and *Eriſtics*, contributes little to the formation of the underſtanding, and nothing to the judicious obſervation of man or nature, on which all uſeful diſcoveries muſt be founded.

His critical and moral writings.

From the general wreck of literature, in which many of Ariſtotle's writings periſhed[38], had nothing been ſaved but the works above-mentioned, it muſt be confeſſed that the preceptor of Alexander would not greatly merit the attention of poſterity. In his abſtract or metaphyſical philoſophy, we can only lament vaſt efforts miſpent, and great genius miſapplied. But, in his critical and moral, and above all, in his political works, we find the ſame penetrating and comprehenſive mind, the ſame ſubtlety of reaſoning, and vigour of intellect, directed to objects of great importance and extenſive utility. The condition of the times in which he lived, and the opportunities peculiar to himſelf, conſpired with the gifts of nature, and the habits of induſtry, to raiſe him to that eminence, which was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and admired by poſterity.

His great opportunities of improvement. A. C. 368.

He was born in the firſt year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, at Stagira, a provincial city of Macedon, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's phyſician. In his early youth, he was ſent to Athens, and remained there twenty years an aſſiduous ſcholar of Plato, in a city where literature and the fine arts were cultivated with unexampled ſucceſs, and where the philoſophic ſpirit, though often improperly directed, flouriſhed in the utmoſt vigour. Selected by the diſcernment of Philip, to guide and confirm the promiſing diſpoſitions of his admired ſon, he returned to his native country, and continued eight years at the Macedonian court. Whatever benefit accrued to Alexander from the inſtructions of Ariſtotle, it is certain that the latter derived great advantages from the gratitude of his royal pupil. Of this, ſeveral proofs have already occurred; and perhaps it may be aſcribed to the munificence of Alexander,

[38] See the fate of his works carefully related in Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion.

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that his preceptor was enabled to form a library [39], a work of prodigious expence in that age, and in which he could only be rivalled by the Egyptian and Pergamenian kings. But the library of Ariſtotle was collected for uſe, not merely for oſtentation [40].

His long reſidence at Athens;

The laſt fourteen years of his life he ſpent moſtly at Athens, ſurrounded with every aſſiſtance which men [41] and books could afford him, for proſecuting his philoſophical inquiries. The glory of Alexander's name, which then filled the world, enſured tranquillity and reſpect to the man, whom he diſtinguiſhed as his friend; but after the premature death of that illuſtrious protector, the invidious jealouſy of prieſts and ſophiſts inflamed the malignant and ſuperſtitious fury of the Athenian populace; and the ſame odious paſſions which proved fatal to the offenſive [42] virtue of Socrates, fiercely aſſailed the fame and merit of Ariſtotle. To avoid the cruelty of perſecution, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf to Chalcis, in Eubœa. This meaſure was ſufficiently juſtified by a prudent regard to his perſonal ſafety; but leſt his conduct ſhould appear unmanly, when contraſted with the firmneſs of Socrates in a ſimilar ſituation, he condeſcended to apologiſe for his flight, by ſaying, that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a ſecond opportunity "to ſin againſt philoſophy [43]." He ſeems to have ſurvived his retreat from Athens only a few months; vexation and regret probably ſhortened his days [44].

and death. Olymp. cxiv. 3. A. C. 322. Ætat. 63.

Philoſophical ſects eſtabliſhed at Athens.

Notwithſtanding the occaſional perſecutions of ſpeculative men, philoſophy had fixed its roots too deeply in Athens, to be extirpated by the temporary phrenzy of a capricious populace. Theophraſtus

[39] Strabo.

[40] The Egyptian and Pergamenian kings were lovers rather of books than of learning. They conſidered a great library as contributing to the ſuperfluous magnificence of royalty. Vid. Galen. Comment. 2. in Hippocrat. de Natur. Hom.

[41] Ariſtotle probably had many aſſiſtants in his philoſophical enquiries and compoſitions. Ὁ δὲ σοφὸς, καὶ καθ' αὑτὸν ὢν, δοκεῖ μοι δεῖσθαι φίλων· ἢ γὰρ θεωρητικὸς ἔσται μᾶλλον· ἢ πρακτικὸς, συνεργοὺς ἔχων. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

[42] Virtutem incolumem odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.
HORACE.

[43] Ἁμαρτάνειν περὶ τὴν Φιλοσοφίαν. Ælian, l. iii. c. vi.

[44] Laert. l. v. in Ariſtot. & Auctor. citat. apud Brucker. Hiſtor. Philoſoph. vol i. p. 787, & ſeqq.

calmly

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calmly ſucceeded Ariſtotle in the Peripaton, or walk of the Lyceum, from which place their followers retained the name of Peripatetics [45]. At the ſame time, Zeno taught *virtue* in the Stoa, or Portico, from which his diſciples derived the appellation of Stoics [46]. Epicurus explained *pleaſure* in thoſe well-known gardens, which were diſtinguiſhed by his name [47]. The followers of Diogenes, the Cynic, ſtill aſſembled in the Cynoſarges [48]; Speuſippus and Xenocrates ſucceeded Plato in the academy [49]; and even Pyrrho, the Elian, the founder of the ſceptical ſect, who had accompanied Alexander in his eaſtern expedition, and ſhared the munificence of that prince [50], became, after the death of his benefactor, a citizen of Athens [51]. Thus did that illuſtrious city, after the extinction of its freedom, and of its military glory, ſtill maintain its pre-eminence in literature, philoſophy, and the fine arts. In the age of Alexander, Athens, as the ſeat of learning, aſſumed that preciſe form, which it exactly preſerved ſeven centuries, till the deſtructive invaſion of Greece by Alaric, and the Goths [52]. For it is worthy of obſervation, that the philoſophers, who, during this long interval, perpetuated the ſeveral ſects, ſubmiſſively followed the opinions of their reſpective maſters. Soon after the age of Alexander, genius diſappeared; literature and the arts alike degenerated; no new ſect aroſe; few innovations, and thoſe unſucceſsful, were attempted; and thus the period, which has been aſſigned for the termination of the preſent work, ſeems to have bounded the progreſs of the human mind; whether, according to the obſervation of Longinus, becauſe liberty is the beſt nurſe of genius, and ſingularly adapted, by cheriſhing the emulation and the hopes,

Olymp. cxx.

A. D. 396. Decline of genius.

[45] The common opinion, that the followers of Ariſtotle were called Peripatetics, ἐκ τῶν Περιπάτων. "Ex deambulatione;" adopted by Cicero and others, is refuted by the authors cited by Brucker, v. i. p. 787.

[46] Laert. vii. 5.

[47] Cicero ad Attic. l. ii. epiſt. 24.

[48] Idem. ibid.

[49] Suidas in Speuſipp. Laert. l. iv. c. 1, & ſeqq.

[50] Sextus Empiric. Pyrrhon Hypotyp. l. i. c. iii.

[51] Laert. in Pyrrhon.

[52] See Gibbon's Hiſtory of the Roman Empire, v. iii. c. xxx.

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to excite the energies, of thoſe born to true excellence[53]; or becauſe, in the words of a great philoſopher, "there is a pitch of exaltation, as well as of depreſſion, to which, when any nation has attained, its affairs neceſſarily return in an oppoſite direction."

Tenets of the different ſects.

Inſtead of examining this ſpeculative queſtion, which the world is perhaps ſtill too young to enable us with accuracy to determine, it will better ſuit the deſign of an hiſtorical work, to explain the tenets of the different ſchools of philoſophy, then firſt eſtabliſhed in Athens; briefly to relate their various ſucceſs in the world; and to inquire, with becoming modeſty, how far thoſe artificial ſyſtems of happineſs correſpond with the natural dictates of unperverted ſentiment, and impartial reaſon.

Tenets of the Peripatetic ſect.

Ariſtotle, the founder of the Peripatetic ſchool, recogniſed, like Socrates and Plato, the dignity of human nature, and placed the chief happineſs of man, not in the agreeableneſs of his paſſive ſenſations, but in the proper exerciſe[54] of his intellectual and moral powers. According to Ariſtotle, the habit of this exerciſe, directed by right reaſon, conſtituted the higheſt excellence of man, in the ſame manner as the excellence of other animals, and even of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, reſulted from the perfection of thoſe qualities, by which they are reſpectively diſtinguiſhed. Yet, as man is a compound being, conſiſting of mind and matter, it ſeemed evident that his well-being muſt in ſome meaſure depend on the condition of his body, and on the means neceſſary to maintain this inferior part of his nature in its moſt perfect ſtate. The abſence of diſeaſe and infirmity, and the proper conſtitution of all our bodily organs, are things deſirable not only on their own account, but as furniſhing us with the opportunity and the means to exert thoſe

[53] Long. de Sublim. ſect. 44.

[54] The Stoics adopted, on this occaſion, both the ſentiments and the language of Ariſtotle. Ὁ μὲν Φιλόδοξος ἀλλοτρίαν τιθῆται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνει. ὁ δὲ Φιλήδονος ἰδίαν πάσχειν· ὁ δὲ συνετὸς, ἰδίαν πρᾶξιν. M. Anton. vi. 51. "The vain-glorious man places his own happineſs in the action of others; the voluptuous man, in his paſſive ſenſations; the wiſe man, in his own active exertions."

mental

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mental energies, from which our principal felicity reſults. In the ſame manner, the goods of fortune, wealth, friends, and other external advantages, are deſirable not only as contributing to the ſupply of our bodily wants, but as the inſtruments through which a wiſe man is enabled to exerciſe his virtues, and accompliſh his purpoſes. Amidſt great calamities[55], Ariſtotle required not that perfect ſelf-command to which ſome philoſophers pretended. He allowed a moderate degree of perturbation, as ſuitable to the weakneſs of human nature. In the preſent conſtitution of things, he thought a certain ſenſibility of paſſion not only excuſable, but neceſſary; ſince reſentment enabled us to repel injuries[56], and grief for paſt misfortunes made us vigilant to prevent the evils that might otherwiſe overtake us. But although this great philoſopher acknowledged the influence of fortune in human affairs, and thought it impoſſible for the firmeſt of men to remain unmoved amidſt the miſeries of Priam[57]; he maintained, however, that we ourſelves were the principal architects of our own happineſs. The attainment of this great object depended far more on our own thoughts and reflections, which were ever and intimately preſent with us, and on the conſtitution of our own minds, which were in ſome meaſure ſubject to our own direction and controul, than on our external ſituation and circumſtances, which only affected us by accident, and over which we commonly enjoyed but little power, and ſometimes none. The perfection of our virtue, which was entirely our own work, ſhone forth with peculiar luſtre amidſt the gloom of unmerited calamity. When we bore it with becoming patience, we rejoiced in our own fortitude; and this inward pleaſure always alleviated the ſmart of external wounds. Aſſaulted by the moſt terrible afflictions, a wiſe

[55] Ὅτι γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τύχης περιλειπόμενά τι δεῖ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τυχόντων [illegible] ἀλλὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων. Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. x.

[56] To bear inſults tamely, was regarded as highly ungraceful, and becoming only the character of a ſlave. Τὸ δὲ [illegible] ἀνελεύθερος καταφαίνεται. Ethic. Nicom. iv. 2.

[57] Ἐν τύχαις Πριαμείαις. Ariſtot. Ethic. Nicom. p. 40.

man

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man would not deſerve indeed the epithet of *happy*; yet neither could he be called *miſerable*, ſince he would ſtill diſdain to commit any thing odious or baſe. Philoſophy, which profeſſes to teach us the art of enjoying life, muſt therefore diſregard ſuch circumſtances as we can neither govern nor change, and confine itſelf to that part which we can regulate and controul. It muſt withdraw our attention from external objects, and fix it on ourſelves[58].

Diviſion of the mental powers.

To know himſelf, man muſt know the powers with which he is endowed. Of thoſe, we poſſeſs ſome in common with other animals[59], and others in common even with the inanimate parts of nature[60]. In none of theſe, it is evident, can the proper employment of man conſiſt, but rather in ſuch faculties as being peculiar to himſelf, diſtinguiſh and ennoble humanity. Theſe characteriſtic excellencies of our ſpecies all refer, either to the underſtanding, or to the will[61]; the firſt poſſeſſes reaſon eſſentially in itſelf, the ſecond is capable of being combined and aſſimilated with this divine principle.

Intellectual and moral virtues.

From the two powers of the underſtanding and the will, are reſpectively derived two claſſes of virtues, the intellectual and the moral. Sagacity, penetration, intelligence, wiſdom, are virtues of the underſtanding; gentleneſs, temperance, fortitude, juſtice, are virtues of the heart. The former claſs conſiſts in the proper diſpoſition and habit[62] of the intellectual part of the ſoul; the latter, in the proper diſpoſition and habit of the deſires and affections, which being formed ſubordinate to reaſon, and capable of liſtening to its dictates, then only

[58] In explaining the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, the learned reader will perceive that I have endeavoured to tranſlate, as literally as poſſible, the energetic expreſſions of its author. The outline has been traced with equal perſpicuity and elegance by Dr. Adam Smith, in his Account of the Syſtems of ancient Philoſophy, annexed to his admired Theory of Moral Sentiments. The deſign of my work obliges me to treat the ſubject more particularly.

[59] The το αισθητικον, the powers of ſenſation, &c.

[60] The το θρεπτικον, &c. the powers of nutrition, &c.

[61] I have ventured to uſe this word to expreſs the το ορεκτικον of Ariſtotle, the ſeat of the appetites, affections, and paſſions.

[62] Επαινουμεν δε και τον σοφον κατα την εξιν· των εξιων δε, τας επαινετας, αρετας λεγομεν. Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. ult.

perform

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perform their duty, when, like obedient ſubjects, they cheerfully obſerve the commands of their ſovereign. The intellectual virtues depend chiefly on education and exerciſe; the moral proceed entirely from habit, from which they derive their name[63]. It is by practiſing juſtice, that we become juſt; by practiſing temperance, that we become temperate; by practiſing courage, that we become courageous. Hence the wonderful power of legiſlation, and early inſtitution; by which the Cretans, the Spartans, and ſome other nations, were honourably diſtinguiſhed among the reſt of mankind; and by which ſuch ſtates as ſhall wiſely imitate their example, may

[63] Ηθικος, εθος; moralis, mos. The ſame holds not in Engliſh. The words αρετη in Greek, and *virtus* in Latin, are of very general import, denoting any praiſe-worthy diſpoſition, habit, or quality, of body or mind, intellectual or moral. The indeterminate uſe of theſe words has occaſioned ſtrange confuſion. The late ingenious Mr. Hume, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Morals, which, in other reſpects, he juſtly conſiders as the moſt valuable of his writings, enters into a large deduction, to prove that all virtues are praiſed and recommended as uſeful or agreeable. Theſe qualities conſtitute, according to him, the proper definition, the very eſſence of virtue; and all other diſtinctions are frivolous. To juſtify this paradox, he alleges the authority of Greek poets and philoſophers, who apply the term *virtue* to bodily ſtrength or addreſs, to memory, judgment, ſagacity, &c. as well as to juſtice, humanity, charity. This indeed is true; but the Greeks diſtinguiſhed between the virtues of the body, and thoſe of the mind; and the mental virtues, they divided into the intellectual and moral. Ariſtotle characteriſes moral virtue as a voluntary habit, and ſays, that moral approbation is excited only by the praiſe-worthy habit of ſuch affections and actions as originate in ourſelves, and depend on no extrinſic cauſe. See Ariſtot. Magn. Moral. l. i. c. xv. and his commentator, Andronicus Rhodius, p. 89. and the Ethics to Nicomachus throughout. Mr. Hume, therefore, is juſtly reproved by Dr. Beattie, for ſaying, "that the ancient moraliſts made no material diſtinction among the different ſpecies of mental endowments and defects." See Hume's Inquiry, vol. ii p. 387. But although the ancients, and Ariſtotle in particular, make very material diſtinctions between moral and intellectual virtues, yet, in his zeal for the good cauſe, Dr. Beattie appears to me to go too far in aſſerting, "that though they conſidered both the moral and intellectual virtues as neceſſary to the formation of a perfect character, and *ſometimes* diſcourſed of both in the ſame treatiſe or ſyſtem, yet they deemed *the latter valuable only as means to qualify us for the former, and inſignificant, or even odious, when they failed to anſwer this end.*" See Eſſay on Truth, p. 425. Firſt of all, according to the Greek moraliſts, it is impoſſible ever to treat of the moral virtues as diſtinct from the intellectual, ſince the former could not exiſt without a mixture of reaſon or intellect. Ethic. Nicom. paſſim; and particularly, l. iii. c. ii. Secondly, The intellectual virtues were ſo far from being eſteemed only as means to qualify us for the moral, that Ariſtotle conſiders the exerciſe of the former totally independent of the latter, as conſtituting our higheſt perfection and happineſs. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

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ſtill reach the ſame elevation of character, and ſtill acquire the ſame renown: "For it is not a matter of little moment, how we are accuſtomed in youth; much depends on that, or rather all."

Moral virtue neither natural nor contrary to nature.

The moral virtues, it is evident, are not implanted by nature; for that which is eſtabliſhed by nature, cannot be eſſentially changed by cuſtom. Heavy bodies, which, by the law of nature, deſcend, cannot be habituated to mount upwards; nor can fire, which naturally aſcends, be taught by habit to move in a contrary direction. The ſame holds concerning all the other laws by which nature governs her works. Our ſenſes, and other natural gifts, have the *power* of performing their ſeveral functions, before they exert it; and they retain this power, although we ſhould allow them to remain inactive. But virtue, like all practical arts, can be acquired and preſerved by practice only. It is neither natural, nor contrary to nature. We are born capable to attain it, but the invaluable attainment muſt be made and perfected by habit. Yet the greater part of thoſe who aſpire to this ineſtimable prize, have recourſe to vain ſpeculations, flattering themſelves that this is philoſophy. Their conduct reſembles that of a patient, who ſhould carefully liſten to his phyſician, but do nothing which he preſcribed. By ſuch medicine it is not poſſible to cure the diſorders of the body, nor by ſuch philoſophy, thoſe of the mind.

Wherein it conſiſts.

Virtue, as a matter of practice, cannot be reduced to metaphyſical preciſion. It is to be obſerved, however, that all the virtues depend on the propriety of the affections from which they ariſe; and that this propriety conſiſts in a certain point or centre, from which the deviations may be innumerable. The vices, therefore, many of which are without names, are far more numerous than the virtues. In general, virtue may be conceived to lie in a mean betwixt the extremes of too much and too little; and this health of the mind reſembles bodily health and ſtrength, which are deſtroyed by exceſs or defect of nouriſhment and exerciſe. Thus, to fear every thing is cowardly;

cowardly; to fear nothing is audacious; courage requires that we ſhould fear only ſuch objects as are truly formidable, and only in that degree in which they ought to be feared. In the ſame manner, he who is too much affected by objects of pleaſure, and ſeizes every opportunity to enjoy them, is called intemperate; he who is too little affected by ſuch objects, and refuſes every opportunity to enjoy them, may be called inſenſible. Temperance teaches us to purſue only ſuch pleaſures as we ought, at proper times, in proper places, and on proper occaſions. According to the ſame view of things, generoſity lies in the middle between avarice and profuſion; modeſty, between pride and diffidence; mildneſs, between iraſcibility and ſoftneſs; magnificence, between oſtentation and parſimony; popularity, between forbidding diſdain and officious adulation; in a word, every virtue conſiſts in a mean, equally remote from two vicious extremes [64].

How it muſt be attained.

Conſidered as the quality of an action, virtue conſiſts in the propriety of that affection from which the action proceeds; when the affection is neither too ſtrong nor too weak, but has preciſely that degree of ſtrength, which right reaſon teaches us to approve. As the quality of an action, virtue conſiſts, therefore, in mediocrity; but as the quality of a perſon, it conſiſts in the habit of this mediocrity, ſince, in judging perſons and characters, we regard not particular acts and feelings, but ſuch acts and feelings as are frequent and habitual. We may perform many virtuous actions, without being virtuous men. The moſt worthleſs of human kind ſometimes indulge the propenſity to pity and humanity. But whoever acts right merely from feeling, will alſo, from feeling, more frequently act wrong. The ſentiments of nature, which prompt us to take care of our children, to relieve objects in diſtreſs, and to perform many important duties of morality, likewiſe prompt us to gratify the

[64] Ethic. Nicom. l. ii. c. i. & ſeqq.

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vileſt and moſt brutal of our paſſions. Beſides this, there are many, and thoſe the moſt important virtues, the exerciſe of which is not at firſt attended with pleaſure. To ſupport labour, to endure pain, to encounter difficulties and dangers, which wiſdom and fortitude, on many occaſions, require, are not obviouſly recommended by any natural deſire; nor is the practice of ſuch duties immediately agreeable. It is ſtill leſs agreeable, in the firſt inſtance, to curb and reſtrain our natural appetites for pleaſure, which is the proper office of temperance; nor can that vigilant circumſpection, and ever watchful attention to the moſt remote conſequences of our actions, which is eſſential to the virtue of prudence, be acquired without trouble and care, without many painful efforts, and many difficult ſtruggles. Yet it is the nature of all thoſe virtues, as well as of the hardeſt leſſons of juſtice, patriotiſm, and friendſhip, to become, through habit, agreeable; and the only ſure teſt that we have acquired them, is, that they are practiſed with pleaſure. With good reaſon, therefore, Plato defines education to be the art of teaching men to rejoice and grieve as they ought; for though there be three ends ultimately agreeable, the pleaſant, the honourable, and uſeful; yet honour and utility are likewiſe purſued as pleaſures [65].

The hardeſt taſk of moral virtue.

The moſt extenſive part of virtue is employed, therefore, in regulating our deſire of pleaſure, and averſion to pain. It is alſo the moſt difficult; for, as Heraclitus obſerves, it is harder to combat pleaſure than anger. The iraſcible paſſions are always moved by ſome appearance of reaſon; and, in their moſt furious exceſſes, ſtill affect ſome deference for their ſovereign. They often, indeed, miſtake his intentions; and, like haſty ſervants, fly into action, without waiting his laſt orders. But pleaſure paſſively obeys ſenſation, without regarding reaſon at all. The miſchief is the more dangerous, being produced by the firſt object of natural deſire; for the love of

[65] Ethic. Nicom. l. vii. c. xi. & ſeqq.

pleaſur

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pleaſure is implanted in our frame; the germ expands with our nature; and unleſs counteracted in due time, becomes ingrained in our conſtitution, every part of which it impregnates and ſtains. Habit alone can counteract thoſe dangerous propenſities of nature. Habit can enable us to reject diſhonourable or hurtful pleaſures, to prefer honourable or uſeful pains; for, as the poet Euenus ſays, "there is a long-continued exerciſe of attention, which finally becomes nature [66]."

Intellectual virtues the pureſt and moſt permanent ſource of happineſs.

The moral virtues cannot, according to Ariſtotle, ſubſiſt without ſome mixture of the intellectual; but the latter may ſubſiſt alone and independent; and according to both Ariſtotle and Plato, the pureſt and moſt permanent felicity of which man is ſuſceptible, reſults from the exerciſe of his rational powers upon ſubjects of abſtract ſpeculation. The labours of the ſtateſman or general, the exertions of the legiſlator or patriot, all refer to ſome end or purpoſe, the attainment of which may be prevented by fortune, or fruſtrated by the weakneſs or wickedneſs of man. The practice of juſtice, generoſity, temperance, and fortitude, require many conditions, and ſuppoſe a variety of ſituations, which it is not always in our power to command. The juſt or generous man muſt have objects to whom he may diſtribute his juſtice or generoſity; he muſt poſſeſs the means by which to exerciſe thoſe virtues, which all participate of frail mortality; ſince, though directed by prudence, they are impelled by paſſion, and reſult from the exigencies of our preſent corporeal ſtate. But the energies of contemplative wiſdom are pure and ſimple, like the intellectual ſource from which they ſpring. Not ſubſervient to remote purpoſes, or contingent ends, they are immediately agreeable on their own account; and, on

[66] Euenus was an elegiac poet of Paros, of whom few fragments remain. The verſes tranſlated in the text are,

Φησι τολυχρονιον μαθετον ἐμμεναι ἀνθρωποισι,
Ταυτην ἀνθρωπων τελευταιαν φιλιην ειναι.

This is better expreſſed by another Greek proverb: Ἀμεινον ὁ βιος ἐστι, τῳ δε αὐτον ἡ συνηθεια ποιησει. Plut. Moral. p 602. "Chooſe the beſt life, and cuſtom will render it agreeable."

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every ſide, round and complete in themſelves. If the proper exerciſe of every member or faculty enlivens the ſenſe of our exiſtence, and thereby yields us a perception of pleaſure, how wonderfully delightful muſt be the exerciſe of the intellect, which renders us ſenſible of the divine principle within us! To live according to nature, is to live according to the nobleſt part of our nature, which, doubtleſs, is the mind. To live thus, is the life of a god; for, human as we are, we ought not, according to the vulgar exhortation, to regard only human things; but, though mortal, ſtrive to put on immortality [67]; aſſured that, as the mind chiefly forms the man, he who moſt cultivates his mind, is the beſt diſpoſed in himſelf, and the moſt agreeable to the gods [68].

Eſtimate of Ariſtotle's philoſophy.

Such is the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, lofty ſometimes, and impoſing, but in general, leſs erect and independent than that of Socrates and Plato, who preceded him; leſs proud and boaſtful than that of the Stoics, or even the Epicureans, by whom he was followed; and on the whole, perhaps, as unexceptionable as that of any moraliſt ancient or modern.

Its fate in the world.

It is commonly obſerved, that Ariſtotle attained the ſame authority over the opinions of men, which his pupil Alexander acquired over their perſons. But the empire of Alexander was eſtabliſhed in his own lifetime, and periſhed with himſelf. That of Ariſtotle did not commence till more than a thouſand years after his deceaſe, and continued ſeveral centuries. The Peripatetic ſchool ſubſiſted, indeed, without interruption, at Athens; but the Lyceum never attained there any pre-eminence above the Portico and Academy. When philoſophy was tranſplanted to a more ſplendid theatre in Rome, men of ſpeculation and ſcience generally preferred Plato to Ariſtotle [69]; while many of the moſt celebrated cha-

[67] Χρὴ δὲ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς παραινοῦντας, ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν, ἀνθρώπου ὄντα, οὐδὲ θνητὰ τοῦ θνητοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀθανατίζειν, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν κατὰ τὸν κράτιστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

[68] Ὁ δὲ κατὰ νοῦν περῶν, καὶ τοῦτον θεοφιλέστατος· εἰκὸς γὰρ διακεῖνος ἄριστα, καὶ βιοφιλέστατος εἶναι τοῦτο. Ib. c. x. c. viii.

[69] Cicero, paſſim.

racters

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racters of the republic enlisted themselves under the banners of Zeno or Epicurus. With the fall of Roman liberty, philosophy, as well as literature and the fine arts, slowly declined; and under the emperors, particularly in the second and third centuries of the Christian æra, the most extravagant of Plato's speculations were the only doctrines adapted to the condition of the times, and to the dark and shadowy minds of Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and other contemplative visionaries, distinguished by the appellation of Eclectics, or later Platonists, who possessed the wildness without the fancy, and the subtilty without the genius, of Plato[70]. During the succeeding centuries, the doctrines of Aristotle slowly gained the ascendant; but, as had happened to Plato in an earlier period, the most frivolous part of Aristotle's philosophy was the highest in esteem during the darkness of the middle ages. The decisive boldness of his logic, physic, and metaphysic, suited the genius of a church which affected to be universal, and the insolence of a man who pretended to be infallible; and, while the useful and practical works of Aristotle were neglected, his speculative philosophy being thus incorporated with the Romish superstition, they long conspired, with astonishing success, to enthral the human mind.

Coincidence in the opinions of Zeno and Epicurus.

Zeno and Epicurus pretended, as well as Plato and Aristotle, to deduce their philosophy from experience; but their views of nature are less perspicuous, and less extensive; and their conclusions, less convincing, and less reasonable. For the infinite variety of nature, they substituted the narrowness of their own artificial systems; and it will ever be the scandal of this abstract philosophy, that men who boasted following the same path should have reached such opposite goals; the sect of Zeno having discovered, by all its researches, that pain was not an evil, and the sect of Epicurus, that pleasure was the only good; the Stoics, that virtue alone was truly

[70] Besides the works of Brucker and Stanley, the learned reader may consult, on this subject, professor Meiner's Beytrag uber die Neu Platonische Philosophie. Leipsig. 1782.

valuable

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valuable in itſelf, and deſirable on its own account; the Epicureans, that virtue in itſelf was really of no value, and merely deſirable for the ſake of pleaſure. Yet, amidſt the ſtriking contradictions of theſe ſects, they agreed in ſpeculative pride, loudly aſſerting, that the philoſophy which they reſpectively taught, was the excluſive road to happineſs. Both required from their imaginary ſage an abſolute command over his paſſions; and both ſuppoſed, that in his preſent ſtate of exiſtence, he could attain this perfection. Zeno and Epicurus alike rejected the doctrine of future rewards and puniſhments, as unneceſſary to their ſyſtem; both juſtified ſuicide; both boaſted of enjoying a felicity equal to that of the gods; and, in proportion as their principles receded from truth and nature, and flattered that factitious vanity incident to the human heart, they were diffuſed with greater rapidity, more zealouſly embraced, and more obſtinately defended [71].

The ſtoic philoſophy.

In examining by what ſhew of reaſon, men, whoſe wiſdom was revered by their contemporaries, could arrive at ſuch extraordinary concluſions, the dignity of *virtue* demands the precedence for Zeno. That philoſopher affected, with great accuracy, to examine the natural propenſities of the human race; to obſerve the various changes which they underwent in their progreſs from infancy to manhood; to contemplate the effects produced by external cauſes on our internal frame; and, by comparing man with inferior animals, to diſplay the illuſtrious prerogatives which he enjoyed, and the high deſtination which nature had aſſigned him. Self-preſervation, he obſerved, was the univerſal and primary deſire of all animals. In man, this deſire reſpected his body, and all its different members, his mind, and all its different faculties; and prompted him to maintain the whole fabric of his complex exiſtence in the moſt perfect condition of which it is capable. Nature had generally attached a plea-

[71] Laert. in Zenon. & Epicur. Cicero de Finibus, l. i, ii, iii. Plutarch. de Commun. Concept. contra Stoicos.

ſure

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ſure to the means neceſſary for this purpoſe; but that we deſired pleaſure for the ſake of preſervation, not preſervation for the ſake of pleaſure, he thought evident from the firſt motions and efforts of all animals, tending to prevent diſſolution, and preceding any diſtinct notions of pain or pleaſure [72].

Love of truth.

Although in the order of time, man perhaps firſt felt the propenſities requiſite to the ſafety of his bodily frame, yet, at a very early period, he ſhewed himſelf endowed with deſires of a different, and more exalted kind. Not to mention the obſcure intimations of his love of truth and knowledge during his infant ſtate, in which he applied his ſenſes with great activity to the examination of the objects preſented to him, he naturally learned the uſe of words to expreſs theſe objects, as well as the notions of his own mind concerning them; and had no ſooner made this important acquiſition, than he teſtified an ardent curioſity to extend his knowledge, and to enlarge his acquaintance with the nature, the cauſes, and dependencies of the various claſſes of beings which he beheld around him. From this love and approbation of what is true and ſincere, rather than of the contrary, which he felt to be congenial to his own nature, he readily believed whatever thoſe perſons, with whom he converſed, thought proper to communicate to him; a principle which, though the ſource of innumerable errors and prejudices, ſerved, however, as the only foundation on which his future improvements could be built.

Social affection.

In examining the nature and relations of other things, he gradually became ſenſible of his own. His affections, he felt, carried him beyond his own perſon, and he derived happineſs from the happineſs of others, although he received from it no advantage but the pleaſure of beholding it. The ſentiments of juſtice, grati-

[72] The principles of the ſtoical philoſophy are explained in Cicero de Finibus, the works of Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius, and Seneca. In treating of the practical duties of morality, Cicero, in his Offices, chiefly follows the principles of the ſtoics.

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tude, and benevolence, he felt to be agreeable to his nature, to be proper and laudable; the contrary ſentiments, to be diſagreeable to his nature, to be improper and odious. His own good, therefore, was thus pointed out to him, by the original frame of his ſentiments, to be intimately connected with the good of his family, his friends, his country, and the great ſociety of mankind, of which he made part. Enlarging his views ſtill farther, he perceived that every ſpecies is relative to the element in which it lives; thus fiſhes have fins for the water, birds have wings for the air; and that many of theſe ſpecies are mutually connected with, and reciprocally ſubſervient to, each other, while all of them eſſentially enter into the great plan of nature, and complete the harmony and perfection of that univerſal ſyſtem, to the ſtability of which the order of particular parts, or what, in each ſpecies, and in each individual, is called private good, muſt neceſſarily be ſubordinate. Conſidering the narrowneſs of human capacity, it is not wonderful that many of the connections and dependencies of this univerſal ſyſtem ſhould eſcape our obſervation. But if we confine our view to thoſe objects of which we have the cleareſt apprehenſion, we ſhall find that they all depend on each other, and are united in one ſcheme or conſtitution of things. The individuals of the human race were doubtleſs formed not for themſelves alone. In the different ſexes, the external organization, and ſtill more the inward frame, the correſpondence of parts, and ſtill more the ſympathy of ſentiments, indicate the male and female mutually deſtined for each other. The naked helpleſſneſs of infancy requires the tender cares of a parent. The decrepitude of age loudly demands the kind returns of filial gratitude. In early ages of the world, men, without uniting in ſmall communities, muſt have fallen a prey to the ſavages of the deſert; and with the growth of theſe communities, ſocial affection naturally makes progreſs; ſince, with the advancement of arts and civility, the bands which unite us to our country are continually multiplied and ſtrengthened.

Univerſal ſyſtem.

In

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Rules of duty thence derived.

In thus contemplating the relations in which he ſtands, man becomes ſenſible of the duties required of him. The voice of nature teaches him (for this is her univerſal law) that the greater good is to be preferred to the leſſer, and the good of the many to that of the few. In applying this rule to all the claſſes of objects ſubmitted to our choice, we live conſiſtently with nature. The goods of the mind, therefore, muſt be preferred to thoſe of the body; and what is called private intereſt muſt yield to that of the public. Even in objects of the ſame claſs, the general law muſt be obſerved. We muſt prefer and reject, according to the rules of right reaſon, not according to caprice and fancy. In the primary objects of deſire reſpecting the body, health is to be preferred to ſtrength, and ſtrength to agility; and in the ſecondary objects reſpecting this part of our nature, or thoſe which may be employed as inſtruments to procure bodily pleaſures, and ward off bodily pains, ſuch as wealth, power, the good opinion of thoſe with whom we live, and innumerable other circumſtances of a ſimilar kind, we muſt uniformly regulate our conduct by the ſame great principles of preference and rejection[71]. In thus appreciating the objects of deſire, and when all cannot be obtained, in preferring the moſt valuable and honourable; in thus appreciating the objects of averſion, and when all cannot be avoided, in rejecting the moſt hurtful and odious, conſiſt that order and harmony, that juſt balance of affection, and perfect propriety of conduct, which eſſentially contains in it whatever is meritorious, laudable, and happy. It is concerning the primary objects of deſire, indeed, and the means neceſſary to attain them, that this propriety of ſentiment and action is exerciſed; but as thoſe to whom we are recommended are often more valued by us, than thoſe by whom we were made known to them, ſo the duties of wiſdom and

[71] The technical terms of the ſtoical philoſophy, like all terms of art, found awkward in languages in which they were not originally invented; nothing can be more natural than the Greek expreſſions, ..., ... and ...

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virtue, to which we have been, as it were, recommended by the original propenſities of our nature, are far more eſtimable in themſelves, than all the external advantages which they are fitted to procure. When our lives are harmoniſed to virtue, when we perceive the agreement of our thoughts and actions to propriety and decorum, the beauty of this concord ſtrikes us as infinitely more deſirable than all the ends which it has a tendency to promote; this concord itſelf becomes the great, or rather the ſole, end of all our purſuits; compared with which, health and ſickneſs, riches and poverty, pain and pleaſure, are finally conſidered as objects of little moment, and altogether incapable of ſhaking the ſtability of our happineſs.

The pleaſure of obſerving them.

It is in vain that men ſeek felicity in thoſe objects which depend not on themſelves; which, even while they poſſeſs, they fear to loſe; and which fortune can either give or take away[74]. The feelings of our own minds, which are ever and intimately preſent to us, muſt always afford the principal ſource of our happineſs or miſery. To a wiſe man, therefore, every condition of external circumſtances, and every ſituation in life, muſt be alike indifferent, ſince there is none wherein he can be placed, in which he may not perform his duty, and render himſelf an object of approbation and applauſe to all rational nature. To feel in our own minds the teſtimony of the whole univerſe in our favour, and to be ſenſible, that whatever may be the conſequences of our conduct, it has been governed by the great rules which the Divinity preſcribes, affords a degree of inward ſatisfaction, to which the greateſt outward proſperity can add nothing worthy of calculation; for as a ſingle drop of water is loſt in the broad expanſe of the Ægean, as a ſingle ſtep is diſregarded in the immenſe diſtance to India, as the light of a taper is eclipſed by the meridian ſun[75], ſo the external conveniencies of life, and the advantages pertaining to the body, are overwhelmed, obſcured,

[74] Και τα μεν εφ' ημιν εστι φυσει ελευθερα, ακωλυτα, απαρεμποδιστα· τα δε ουχ εφ' ημιν, ασθενη, δουλα, κωλυτα, αλλοτρια. Epictet. Enchir. c. ii.

[75] The illuſtrations given by Cic. de Fin.

and

and loſt, in the tranſcendent excellence, and incomparable ſplendor of virtue.

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Thoſe dangers which appear moſt formidable, and thoſe calamities which appear moſt dreadful to the vulgar, cannot intimidate or deject the man, who has fortitude to deſpiſe the one, and conſtancy to bear the other. The ſage delights in thoſe clouds of adverſity, through which his virtue beams forth with peculiar luſtre; and rejoices in the kind cruelties of Fortune, which ſubject him to difficult and glorious combats. Senſible of his own powers, he is happy to meaſure them againſt a vigorous antagoniſt. The victory is not liable to contingencies, but depends on himſelf alone; a conſideration ſufficient to ſupport him againſt the number and ſtrength of his enemies[76]. When the firm probity of Regulus ſubmitted his periſhable body to be burned and lacerated by the Carthaginians, he well knew that thoſe revengeful Barbarians could not torture his fortitude, his patriotiſm, his magnanimity. His mind, guarded by ſuch an aſſemblage and attendance of virtues, bade defiance to every aſſault. The mind of Regulus ſtill triumphed; and amidſt the painful diſcerption of his frail members, he maintained and fortified the integrity of that part of his nature which properly conſtitutes the man, and in which alone any permanent happineſs or miſery can reſide.

Fortitude.

From the enthuſiaſm naturally inſpired by the beautiful and auguſt forms of benevolence and magnanimity, the ſtoics again returned to the ſpeculations of abſtract philoſophy. In every arrangement or combination of objects, which can be called a conſtitution or ſyſtem, the good of each part, they obſerved, muſt be relative and ſubordinate to that of the whole. To illuſtrate in the conſtitution moſt familiar to us, the body of man, the good of each limb and member, conſidered as ſomething ſeparate and independent, conſiſted in preſerving its natural ſtate, and in never being ſubjected to any fatigue or hardſhip, to any pain or uneaſineſs. But con-

Reſignation.

[76] Ανικητος ειναι δυνασαι, εαν εις μηδενα αγωνα καταβαινης, ὁ ουκ εξι σοι νικησαι. Enchir. c. xxv.

ſidered

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ſidered as the part of a ſyſtem, in the good of which its own is neceſſarily included, this limb or member muſt often ſubmit to great inconveniencies. For the ſake of the whole body, the foot muſt often trample in the dirt, muſt often tread upon thorns, and ſometimes be burned, or lacerated, or even cut off, when ſuch operations are requiſite for the ſafety of the whole ſyſtem. In refuſing to comply, the foot ceaſes to be a foot; in the ſame manner do *you* ceaſe to be a man, in ſhrinking from the hardeſt duties required by the intereſt of ſociety. But that ſociety itſelf, as well as every member which it contains, are parts of a larger ſyſtem, that harmonious whole, whoſe admirable order and beauty evince the ſuperintendence of infinite wiſdom and goodneſs. Under ſuch government, no abſolute evil can exiſt; and what appears wrong reſpecting particular parts, muſt neceſſarily be right reſpecting the whole. A wiſe man will therefore be alike ſatisfied with every ſituation in which he may be placed; deeply convinced, that were he acquainted with the whole connections and dependencies of events, that ſituation would, even to himſelf, appear the moſt proper, that could poſſibly be aſſigned him. He uſes, indeed, ſuch means as prudence directs, to avert calamity; but when that is his lot, he cheerfully ſubmits to the wiſe diſpenſation of Providence. The eſtabliſhed order of the univerſe, he knows, is not to be changed by the prayers of men. When *he* prays to the Gods, it is not with a view to alter their wiſe intentions concerning him: he prays that they would ſhow him the hardeſt trials with which he muſt contend, and the ſevereſt circumſtances in which he muſt be placed; that by voluntarily accepting thoſe trials, and voluntarily embracing thoſe circumſtances, he may prove his confidence in their goodneſs, and his perfect reſignation to their ſovereign will[77].

[77] Αγε δη μοι, ω Ζευ και συ ἡ πεπρωμενη,
Οπου ποθ' ὑμιν ειμι διατεταγμενος,
Ὡς ἑψομαι σπουδαιος· ηδε κακος.

The reaſon is ſubjoined,

Εαν δε μη ἑθελω, ουχ ἡττον ἑψομαι.

"We ought to be willing to obey the Gods, ſince we *muſt* obey them, whether we are willing or not."

If

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Command over the paſſions.

If our own unmerited misfortunes ought never to occaſion us any uneaſineſs, ſo neither ought we to be affected by thoſe of our relations, our friends, or our country. When calamity threatens connections ſo dear to us, we muſt exert ourſelves ſtrenuouſly in their behalf; but ſhould our well-meant endeavours be fruſtrated by circumſtances not liable to our controul, it would be highly ungraceful and improper to have recourſe to unmanly lamentations. The ſame law of propriety which prompts our active exertions to the good of others, reſtrains our paſſive feelings at ſight of their diſtreſs: the former alone can be uſeful to *them*; the latter would be both hurtful and diſhonourable to *ourſelves*.

The ſtoical philoſophy impoſed therefore an abſolute ſilence on the ſoft voice of pity[78], as well as on the boiſterous diſſonance of anger, and on all paſſions in general which were regarded as perturbations and diſeaſes of the mind, that a wiſe man ought not merely to appeaſe, but utterly to eradicate. As they ſuppoſed their imaginary ſage capable of attaining this perfection, they inferred that all duties were alike eaſy to him. *His* actions were continually regulated by propriety, and all of them therefore equally laudable; whereas thoſe of a fool, or one who ſubſtituted paſſion and caprice in the ſtead of reaſon and principle, were all equally blameable. This doctrine, which ſo nearly reſembles that of many Chriſtian divines, "that the greateſt virtues of the heathens were but ſplendid vices," is the ſource to which all the other paradoxes of the ſtoics may be traced. Both theſe Chriſtians and the ſtoics conſidered good or bad actions as relative only to the cauſe which produces them, the affection or character from which they proceed, not to the conſequences which flow from them, the good or bad effects which they tend to promote.

[78] Epictetus, however, allows the *appearance* of ſympathy with objects in diſtreſs, but ſternly forbids the reality. Μὴ συνοδύρου τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοκοῦσι κακοῖς (viz. the perſon afflicted) κατατρυχομένοις· μὴ μόνον οὖν μὴ συνοδύρου, μὴ δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν συμπάσχε. Epictet. Enchir. c. xxii.

These

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These conſequences and effects, it was obſerved by the ſtoics, depended not on ourſelves. With regard to us, therefore, they were altogether indifferent; and as ſuch, could not poſſibly conſtitute any part of merit or demerit, or become the proper objects of praiſe or cenſure.

Vulgar eſtimation of actions and characters.

The ignorant vulgar indeed, and as ſuch the ſtoics conſidered all thoſe who were unacquainted with their philoſophy, allowed ſuch contingent circumſtances to influence their appreciation of actions and characters; and thence the extraordinary confuſion introduced into religion and morality. Of two men, equally vicious, the one may be condemned to obſcurity, and bereft of opportunity to exert his wickedneſs; the other may be raiſed to power, which he abuſes, or entruſted with a ſceptre, which becomes an iron rod in his hands. To the bulk of mankind, the ſecond appears a greater monſter than the firſt. To the philoſopher, they appear equally criminal; but the firſt is a ſtorm which ſpends its rage in vacuity; the ſecond a cloud, not more tempeſtuous, that deſtroys the fair objects accidentally expoſed to its violence. In the ſame manner two men may be equally meritorious, although the one, from the unfavourable circumſtances in which he is placed, may reſemble a clear ſtream rolling through a loneſome ſolitude, while the other, more advantageouſly ſituated with reſpect to external objects, may reſemble a beautiful river flowing through a populous valley, ſupplying the wants of man and other animals, and diffuſing abundance and pleaſure through the adjoining country, which it fertiliſes and adorns.

Corrected by the ſtoics.

The injudicious eſtimation of virtues and vices, by the effects which they tend to produce, is the ſource of that extravagant admiration on the one hand, and that exceſſive ſeverity on the other, which univerſally characteriſe the judgments of the vulgar. But a wiſe man, who examines the firſt principles of action in the human heart,

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heart, will neither be dazzled by the ſplendour of heroes and patriots, nor provoked to undue revenge againſt illuſtrious criminals[79]. The civil magiſtrate, who is intruſted with the intereſt of ſociety, and who has that intereſt always in views, muſt chiefly regard external actions, and conſider *them* as ſufficient indications of the inward affections and character. It is his buſineſs to regulate the lives, not to purify the hearts, of men. But we may be aſſured that He, who can penetrate deeper than an earthly judge, governs the moral world by more refined principles, and diſpenſes rewards and puniſhments according to a more accurate ſtandard[80]. To avert his anger, ſuperſtition tells us to repair the bad conſequences of our miſconduct; and, as this is often impracticable, therefore commands an impoſſibility: to regain his approbation, and that of our own breaſts, philoſophy exhorts us to fix our chief attention, not on effects, which are tranſitory, but on the cauſe, which is permanent; to be leſs anxious about wiping off the ſtain of particular ſins, than ſolicitous to ſtop the ſource from which they all flow. When we have accompliſhed this great purpoſe, we have reached the perfection of our nature. For the Deity, who has enjoined virtue as our duty, has placed our happineſs in virtue. In performing the taſk aſſigned us, we neceſſarily attain our reward[81].

Philoſophy of Epicurus.

Such is the philoſophy of the ſtoics, which beſide containing ſeveral contradictions which all the ſubtlety of the ſect was unable to reconcile, evidently ſuppoſes a degree of perfection far beyond the weakneſs of humanity. The ſyſtem of Epicurus is not leſs artificial in its texture, and, though humbler in its origin, is equally magnificent in its concluſions[82]. Like the lowly plant, which, at firſt feebly

[79] Σημεια προκοπῆς· ἀδιάπτωτος, ἀδιάπτωτος φυγαῖς, ἀδιάπτωτος ὁρμαῖς, &c. Enchir. c. lxxii.

[80] Epictet. Enchir. c. xxxviii.

[81] Quod ſi ita eſt, ut neque quiſquam, niſi bonus vir, & omnes boni beati ſint; quid philoſophiâ magis colendum, aut quid eſt virtute divinius. Cicero de Fin. l. iii. ad. fin.

[82] Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtip. & Epicur.

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emerging from the ground, gradually riſes to a ſtately tree towering to the ſky, the philoſophy of Epicurus, at firſt reſtricting the primary objects of natural deſire and averſion to bodily pleaſure and pain, by degrees expands itſelf into the faireſt forms of virtue, and enforces the ſevereſt leſſons of duty. That pleaſure and pain are the univerſal objects of deſire and averſion is a truth, he obſerved, powerfully atteſted by the conſenting voice of all animated nature. Not only men, but children, and even brute animals, could they emit articulate ſounds, would declare and cry out, that pleaſure is the ſovereign good, and pain the greateſt evil[63]. That they are, not only the greateſt and moſt univerſal, but the *ſole* ultimate objects of deſire and averſion, Epicurus endeavoured to prove by analyſing our paſſions, and actions, and virtues, all of which, he pretended, had, in the laſt inſtance, nothing farther in view than to procure bodily pleaſure, and avoid bodily pain. If we deſire power and wealth, it is becauſe power and wealth furniſh us with innumerable means of enjoyment. Senſible that the good-will of the ſociety in which we live, is neceſſary to our ſecurity, we ſtrive aſſiduouſly to acquire it, cultivate friendſhip, exerciſe benevolence, and practiſe with diligence and alacrity all thoſe ſocial virtues eſſential to the public ſafety, in which our own is included. When it is neceſſary to reject a preſent pleaſure, in order to attain a greater in future, temperance muſt moderate the eagerneſs of deſire; and when it is neceſſary to encounter a preſent pain, in order to avoid a greater in future, fortitude muſt controul the dictates of puſillanimity. Juſtice teaches us to abſtain from injuring others, as the only condition on which we can eſcape being injured by them. And prudence, which, according to Epicurus is the queen of all the virtues, and to which juſtice, temperance, and fortitude are barely handmaids and attendants, invariably points out to us, and enforces, that courſe of action which

[63] Cicero de Finibus, l. i. c. ix. & paſſim.

is moſt conducive to our private comfort and happineſs. This courſe of action is acknowledged by all moraliſts to conſiſt in the practice of virtue; ſo that virtue, according to Epicurus, is the only true wiſdom, and vice the moſt ſhort-ſighted levity and folly.

His analyſis of pleaſure and pain.

To illuſtrate this doctrine, he obſerved, that though all the modifications of hope and fear ultimately refer to the ſenſations of bodily pleaſure or pain, yet the pleaſures and pains of the mind are infinitely more important than their originals. The body can only feel the ſenſation of the preſent moment, which can never be of great importance; whereas the mind recollects the paſt, and anticipates the future. If our mental frame, therefore, be properly adjuſted, if our ſentiments and judgments be duly regulated, it is a matter of little moment how our bodies be diſpoſed; we may deſpiſe its pleaſures, and even ſet its pains at defiance. If pain be violent, experience teaches us that it muſt be ſhort; it cannot be continued long without becoming moderate, and admitting many intervals of eaſe; beſides, death is always within our reach, and ready at a call to deliver us, whenever life becomes a burden.

Bold pretenſions of his philoſophy.

By this kind of philoſophical chemiſtry, Epicurus extracted from the groſſeſt materials, the moſt ſublime principles of wiſdom and virtue. His philoſophy impoſed abſolute ſilence on the paſſions; ſince no ſtate, and therefore not the little republic of man, can be happy in ſedition. In this tranquillity of mind, he boaſted a felicity which external pleaſures might vary, but could not increaſe; and his ſecurity of enjoyment he aſſerted to be equally firm and unalterable with that of the Gods, ſince the moſt unbounded duration could not afford greater happineſs than aroſe from reflecting, that all our pleaſures and pains are confined within a narrow ſpan. Having adopted the atomic philoſophy of Democritus, he rendered it ſubſervient to his morality. The phænomena of nature, he fancied, might be explained by the figures and motions of the ſmall particles of matter; and as the univerſe aroſe, ſo did it continue, without the interference

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of the Gods, thoſe celeſtial beings, who, enjoying complete happineſs in themſelves, and totally independent on the actions of men, are neither pleaſed with our virtues, nor offended by our crimes. Confiding in the certainty of theſe ſpeculations, he trampled under foot the ſuperſtitious terrors of the vulgar, and fortified his mind againſt the fear of death [84].

His character.

Such were the tenets of Epicurus, than whom no philoſopher was ever more admired and beloved by his diſciples, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate eſteem. He is deſcribed as a man of the moſt amiable diſpoſition, of great gentleneſs and humanity; and, like Eudoxus, who preceded him, and who inculcated the ſame looſe doctrines of religion and morality, extremely temperate with regard to pleaſure; a circumſtance which failed not to add much reputation to his philoſophy. In his character, the firm and manly, were united with the gentler, virtues. When grievouſly afflicted with the ſtone, he bore the agony incident to that diſeaſe with the greateſt conſtancy; and, in the laſt day of his life, when his pain had reached a degree beyond which he could conceive none greater, wrote to his friend Hermachus [85], and recommended to him the children of his favourite diſciple Metrodorus, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that as to himſelf, he ſtill was happy, ſince the ſmart of his bodily ſufferings was more than compenſated by the pleaſures of his mind, and particularly by the agreeable remembrance of his diſcoveries; a declaration, however inconſiſtent it may be deemed with his opinions, highly honourable to the man.

Philoſophy of Pyrrho.

Such were the philoſophical ſyſtems reſpecting life and happineſs, by which the more liberal part of mankind long affected to regulate their ſentiments and conduct. The exceſſive ſcepticiſm of Pyrrho, which none could reduce to practice without meriting the charge of infanity, ſeems never, even in theory, to have had much vogue

[84] Lucretius, paſſim. Finibus, l. ii. c. xxx. & ſeqq.

[85] Vid. Diogen. Laert. l. x. ſect. ix. & Cic. de

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among the ſpeculatiſts of antiquity. In matters of doubtful evidence, indeed, a prudent ſuſpenſion of judgment had been recommended by Socrates, enforced by Plato, and extended to ſubjects of every kind by his followers Arceſilas and Carneades [86]. Theſe philoſophers, however, in denying certainty, ſtill admitted probability, which they thought ſufficient for regulating our judgments and actions. But the extravagant Pyrrho was dogmatical only in maintaining, that no one opinion was more probable than another. The non-exiſtence of ſenſible qualities, which had been proved by Democritus [87], Protagoras, [88], and Ariſtippus [89], and which is commonly ſuppoſed a modern diſcovery, becauſe the contrary opinion obtained among the ſchoolmen, probably led Pyrrho to deny the reality likewiſe of moral qualities and diſtinctions. As heat and cold, taſtes and colours, had no external exiſtence in bodies, and were mere ideas of the mind; in the ſame manner, beauty and deformity, virtue and vice, happineſs and miſery, had no real or permanent cauſe, but depended, like every thing elſe, on relation or compariſon. Upon this principle, "that all was relative [90]," Pyrrho eſtabliſhed topics for enabling his ſect readily to diſpute the truth of all poſitions whatever, and which were reduced to ten [91], probably in oppoſition to the ten categories of the dogmatiſts. The great patron of Pyrrhoniſm boaſts, that while other philoſophers wandered in purſuit of a falſe and artificial happineſs, Pyrrho alone had diſcovered the true and natural

[86] Becauſe Socrates and Plato doubted ſome things, theſe philoſophers doubted all. Vid. Cicer. Acad. l. i. They formed, what was called, the New Academy, which held the ſame tenets with the ancient, only aſſerting them ſtill leſs poſitively.

[87] See Sextus Empiricus, p. 399.

[88] Pyrrhon. Hypot. l. i. ſect. 216.

[89] Præteria quoniam nequeant ſine luce colores [rerum
Eſſe, neque in luce exiſtant primordia
Scire licet, quam ſint nullo velata colore.
. . . . .
Sed ne forte putes ſolo ſpoliata colore
Corpora prima manere; etiam ſecreta teporis,
Sunt, ac frigoris omnino, &c.
LUCRETIUS, l. ii.

[90] Παντα προς τι. Sextus Empiric.

[91] Sextus Empiric. Hypothet. Pyrrhon. l. i. c. xiv. & Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrhon.

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one, and that, by an accident ſimilar to the painter's [92], who having finiſhed the picture of a dog all to the foam of his mouth, could not, after repeated trials, ſatisfy himſelf in painting this laſt circumſtance. Enraged by diſappointment, he at length daſhed againſt the canvas the ſpunge with which he wiped his pencils. Accident produced the effect which he had vainly ſought from art; and the foam was repreſented ſo naturally, that the picture, though admirable in other reſpects, was chiefly admired on this account. Fatigued by many painful reſearches into the nature of truth and virtue, Pyrrho, in the ſame manner, had diſcovered that truth and virtue were nowhere to be found; a diſcovery which produced that moderation and *indiſturbance* [93], that happy indifference, or rather perfect inſenſibility, which is as naturally attended by happineſs, as a body is followed by its ſhadow [94].

Concluſion.

In concluding this work with the ſcepticiſm of Pyrrho, it is proper to obſerve, for the honour of Greece, that though the doctrines which that philoſopher inculcated, can have no other tendency than to unhinge the moral principles, to darken and perplex the mind; yet thoſe ſyſtems of his contemporaries, or predeceſſors, which have been more particularly explained in the preſent hiſtory, amidſt all their apparent contradictions, uniformly afford ſuch views of nature and of man, as awaken and cheriſh our love for both. Eſtabliſhed on firm grounds of reaſon, they evince the indiſſoluble union of intereſt with duty, diſplay the beauty of virtue in its brighteſt charms, and unmaſk the hideous ſpectres of fancy and ſuperſtition.

[92] Sextus Empiric. l. i. c. xii. Sextus calls the painter Apelles. Pliny, l. xxxv. c. xx. aſcribes this accident to Protogenes, and a ſimilar one to Nealces, in painting a horſe.

[93] Αταραξια. Sextus Empiric.

[94] Sextus Empiric. ubi ſupra, & paſſim.

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THE END.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 41, l. 7 from the top, before " generation," insert " fourth."
—— 42, in the note, l. ult. for " unintelligible," read " intelligible."
—— 238, in the note, l. 5. read " απεκειρατο."
—— 401, l. 15 from the bottom, insert " like," before " the legiſlator."
—— 401, l. 13 from the bottom, insert " Pythagoras," before " enjoined."
—— 560, l. 4 from the bottom, for " theſe," read " all."
—— 642, in the note, l. 2. for " Atonic," read " atomic."
—— 684, l. 13 from the bottom, for " they," read " the captives."

VOL. II.

Page 6, l. 13 from the top, for " natural, read " national."
—— 11, l. 7 from the bottom, for " enſnare," read " enſure."
—— 35, l. 7 from the top, for " Eumelus," read " Eumolpus."
—— 168, in the note, l. 2. for " Phœnicians," read " Phæatians."
—— 290, in the note, l. ult. read " νομιζον επι τοις ευπροσοδωτατοις."
—— 558, l. 6 from the bottom, for " Delphi," read " Delphic."
—— 559, in the note, read " στρατηγον."
—— 710, in the note, read " πολιχριον."